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ABSTRACT

This journal is devoted to the reflective examination of educational issues and problems from the perspective of diverse disciplines. Volumes 19-25 were published under the title "Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society," while volumes 26-27 were published under the title "American Educational History Journal." Volume 19, 1991, (Editors: David B. Ripley; Norma Davis) contains 10 papers from the 26th Annual Meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society. Volume 20, 1992, (Editors: Norma Salazar Davis; David Ripley) contains 12 papers from the 27th annual meeting. Volume 21, 1994, (Joseph Watras, Editor) contains 17 papers from the 28th and 29th annual meetings. Volume 22, 1995, (Joseph Watras, Editor) contains 23 papers from the 30th annual meeting. Volume 23, 1996, (Joseph Watras, Editor) contains 26 papers from the 31st annual meeting. Volume 24, 1997, (Joseph Watras, Editor) contains 34 papers from the 32nd annual meeting. Volume 25, Number 1, 1998, (Joseph Watras, Editor) contains 28 papers. Volume 26, Number 1,1999 (Anna Victoria Wilson, Editor) contains 33 papers. Volume 27, Number 1, 2000 (Anna Victoria Wilson, Editor) contains 15 papers. (BT)

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Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society, 1991-2000

Editors
David B. Ripley
Norma Salazar Davis
Joseph Watras
Anna Victoria Wilson

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the 26th Annual Meeting

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Volume 19 1991

David B. Ripley Editors Norma Davis

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The Media, Black Leadership, and the University in the Post-Sputnik Curriculum Debate: Detroit, 1958

David L. Angus
University of Michigan

On 5 October 1957, Americans learned that a small, man-made object was passing over their heads in orbit around the earth, placed there by a Soviet rocket. The Russian space achievement shook the confidence of Western nations in their scientific and technological superiority. In the U.S. the event also lent powerful reinforcement to a school reform movement that had begun in the early 50s and seemed to be on the wane. Sputnik gave this movement renewed vigor, expanded its base of public support, set in motion a fundamental shift in the historic relationship between the Federal government and the nation's schools, and shaped an educational policy "climate" that would last for at least six more years.

Educational historians and policy analysts have noted the similarities between this reform movement and the more recent movement symbolized by the Report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, "A Nation At Risk." Both movements are said to be conservative, if not reactionary; both valued something called "excellence" more than something called "equity;" both invoked fears about the U.S. falling behind other nations in international competition; and both called on the schools to become more focused on the teaching of basic subjects, science and mathematics in particular. There are, of course, some obvious differences. The 50s emphasis on the teaching of foreign languages has been eclipsed in the 80s by the demand for computer literacy. The 80s movement places reform leadership squarely in the hands of the states, while the 50s movement stressed the need for Federal action.

But beneath the level of comparing the thematic material of the two reform periods lies a deeper and more interesting question for historians of American educational policy; what are the similarities and differences in the alignment of interests--the coalitions of support for or resistance to reform--in the two periods? Is school reform in America merely a ritual dance in which interest groups take their customary places and waltz around the hall one more time, or does each reform period represent a realignment of forces interacting with a changing society and perhaps producing less predictable outcomes?

This study attempted to "locate" the positions of various groups with respect to the post-Sputnik crisis in education by focusing closely on a single city, Detroit, and on a fairly narrow time span, the Spring of 1958, when the crisis seemed to reach its peak. Major attention was given to three "groups" whose positions on the issues seemed to frame a particularly sharp conflict: the Detroit print media, the emergent leadership of Detroit's black community, and the University of Michigan, as represented by its agency for the accreditation of high schools. Passing mention was made of other groups such as high school students, school administrators, and parents.

Detroit's Newspapers on School Reform

The *Detroit Free Press* opened an attack on Detroit's public schools on 17 March 1958 in a four-part series with the theme, "What is a high school diploma worth?" The series ranged quite broadly to present evidence to support its contention that the diploma was not worth very much. It included interviews with local personnel managers; a comparison of the transcripts of 50, 1958 graduates of Pershing High School with those of 50, 1933 graduates; an examination of the performance of Detroit high school graduates on the Wayne County Civil Service Examination; a case by case review of the test papers and high school transcripts of eight "C grade average" students; and finally, a comparison of our schools to those of the Soviet Union, relying mainly on the testimony of Admiral Rickover.[1] The series' overall conclusion was that the declining value of the diploma was due to the weakening of standards that had occurred in the general, vocational, and commercial tracks, and to what it called "cafeteria-style" education. The *Free Press* ended with a call for a national standard for the high school diploma, as well as for the scholastic competence of teachers.

The *Free Press* series was certainly no "hatchet job" on the schools. They had not interviewed persons who were known "enemies of the public school" but rather people who wanted and expected the schools to do a good job. Further, they had done what they could to muster both informed opinion and empirical evidence. If they failed a basic test of fairness it was in not interviewing school officials to get their responses to the charges that the series leveled at the schools.

These responses were indeed forthcoming, but only at the end of a five-part series beginning ten days later in the *Free Press's* chief competitor, the *Detroit News*. As might be expected, the *News*' series began with a challenge to the *Free*

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[1] *Detroit Free Press*, 17 March 1958; Ibid., 18 March 1958; The overall finding was that "[in 1933] Detroit high school students spent 20 percent more time on academic learning than today's students do." Specifically, the 1958 students took 12 percent less English, 10 percent less history, 40 percent less mathematics, and 40 percent less science. The general track students of 1933 took only a few percentage points less academic work than the academic track students of 1958; Ibid., 19 March 1958; The paper reported that 90 percent of the more than one thousand graduates taking the Wayne County Civil Service exam for entry level clerical jobs failed the test, a test of verbal and arithmetic skills said to represent the seventh grade level; Ibid., 20 March 1958.

Press' main contention under the lead-in "short-changed?" and the headline, "Detroit High School Seniors Give Courses a Passing Grade." Based on a set of interviews of 50 Detroit seniors, "chosen at random from 50 Detroit high schools," the article concluded that students generally disagreed with the critics, and in particular, they disagreed with the critics' definitions of educational "frills," some seeing vocational courses as leading to jobs, others arguing that elective courses were a part of their "cultural" education. They expressed a confidence in their knowledge and capabilities, though a few thought that high school could have been a bit more demanding.[2]

Over the next few days, the series, under a new writer, took a different tone. Interviews of recent graduates now in college and of college admissions officers echoed the criticisms leveled by the *Free Press*. Typical remarks were, "Most high school courses are geared to the mediocre student and the slow learner." "It's too easy to get A's and the textbooks aren't practical." "Teachers don't tell how to study, stress memorizing and fail to encourage thinking in their classes." "There's too much stress on social activities." "It's too easy to slide through high school on snap courses." These college freshmen called for ability tracking, more emphasis on study skills and thinking skills, more homework, and complained that their teachers in math and science were not well prepared. The admissions directors of the state's three large state universities argued that Freshman failures were largely caused by a lack of basic skills, particularly reading, writing, and study skills.[3]

Finally, on the last day of this second series of critical articles, school officials got their chance. Speaking for the Detroit Board of Education, its President, Leonard Kasle, claimed that the answer to the range of criticisms that had been raised was "understaffed and overcrowded classrooms." Kasle pointed out that Detroit voters had defeated a $33,000,000 bond issue in April of 1957, a tax hike that was intended to provide 50 more classrooms in the city. Deflecting criticism away from the schools and on to the voters, Kasle said, "Our children know the community does not care enough about their education to provide the seats and the staff necessary for a full day's educational program. They cannot be taught another attitude until the community itself revalues its standards."[4]

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[2] *Detroit News*, 30 March 1958.
[3] Ibid., 31 March 1958; 1 April 1958; 2 April 1958.

There can be no doubt about the financial difficulties of the system, but the papers had raised issues they felt had nothing to do with finance.[5] What about the "bloated" curriculum, the "cafeteria-style" education, the "decline of standards?" In a classic evocation of the threat of the dropout, Arthur MacGrath, Assistant Superintendent for Secondary Education, said, "We are trying to keep the dropout rate down and keep youngsters in school as long as possible by offering interesting, attractive and constructive courses. Don't forget, many students are late bloomers and don't realize the value of education until they are seniors."[6]

Speaking for the teachers and admitting that many of their former students' complaints were accurate, Antonia Kolar, President of the Detroit Federation of Teachers, and Raymond Mroch, head of the Detroit Education Association, cited working conditions, particularly class size, as the chief causes of the difficulties. But much of the blame belonged on the students, themselves, since "many students don't realize the value of education until they reach college. They suddenly discover they should have taken other courses and consequently find themselves in trouble."[7]

Were Detroit high school students typical of high school students generally in their support for "cafeteria style" education? A survey by the Youth Research Institute, reported in April 1958 that 65 percent of those interviewed felt that the U.S. education system was the best in the world, 75 percent felt that they had access to the courses they wanted and that they should not be forced to take "tough" courses, and a solid 80 percent were convinced they were receiving a "good" education.[8]

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[4] Ibid., 3 April 1958.

[5] The Detroit Board of Education seriously debated a year-round school proposal by two of its staff members later in the Spring, and several of the high schools were severely overcrowded. *Detroit Free Press*, 11 April 1958; 12 April 1958; Despite their criticisms of educational quality in the city, both newspapers editorially supported the bond issues and mileage requests during this period. Editorial, *Detroit Free Press*, 20 March 1958; Editorials, *Detroit News*, 10 April 1958 and 14 April 1958.

[6] *Detroit News*, 3 April 1958.

[7] Ibid.

What about school leaders elsewhere? Were Detroit administrators typical of the country as a whole? The American Association of School Administrators, meeting in Cleveland in the Spring of 1958, voted 4-1 for a 40 to 44 week school year, taking this position as a response to what they perceived as "increasing demands for expanded curriculum."[9] The National School Boards Association took the curriculum as its main theme in 1958, yet little was said except that boards should exert more authority over curriculum matters. More revealing, perhaps, was a poll of eleven hundred high school principals taken by George Gallup. His poll showed that a large majority believed that "high schools today demand far too little work of students," that "there are far too many easy courses and too much `automatic promotion,'" that there is "too little emphasis on reading and too much emphasis on extra-curricular activities such as athletics."[10] They were also highly critical of teacher education programs, placing much of the blame for the educational crisis on poorly prepared teachers.

In Detroit, when the city's press raised serious charges about the deterioration of academic quality in the schools, school officials deflected the criticism onto the voters and onto the students, repeating a fundamental ideology of secondary education that had been dominant in their thinking at least since the thirties.[11] In this, they seem not to have shared the views of a majority of the nation's high school principals, who generally supported the contentions of the press that educational quality had slipped.

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[8] *Ann Arbor News*, 22 April 1958.

[9] *Detroit News*, 6 April 1958, sec a.

[10] The six-part series ran in the *Detroit Free Press*, 6 April 1958, through 11 April, 1958; see also Editorial, 8 April 1958.

[11] See Jeffrey E. Mirel and David L. Angus, "The Rising Tide of Custodialism: Enrollment Increases and Curriculum Reform in Detroit, 1928-1940, *Issues in Education* 42 (Fall 1986): 101-20 and Jeffrey Mirel and David Angus,

Black Leaders on School Reform

In 1955, Dr. Remus Robinson became the first black person to be elected to the Detroit Board of Education. In March of 1958, he became President-elect and ended his relative silence on racial matters. In an interview with the *Michigan Chronicle*, he detailed a list of grievances against the school system. Teacher assignment and the racial isolation created by school attendance boundaries came in for the heaviest criticism, but Dr. Robinson also went on to complain about the system's use of intelligence tests for grade placement.[12] "Negro children out of the South are given tests according to mid-western standards. . . . To presume these children are not intelligent on the basis of standards new to them is unfortunate and unfair." One consequence of this, according to Robinson, was that "at some high schools (in the center section of the city) courses were 'watered down' so that students were hampered in college or failed to measure up to college entrance requirements. . . . If the curriculum is heavily influenced by previous testing, students are given less than their ability and as a result are unprepared to meet the challenge of college."[13]

In other quarters, blacks had already begun to speak out on the issue of educational quality. In the Winter of 1958, the Parents Club at McMichael Junior High School, a nearly all black school feeding into Detroit Northern High School, blasted the

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"Youth, Work, and Schooling in the Great Depression, *Journal of Early Adolescence* 5, 4 (Winter 1985): 489-504.

[12] See Stephen Scott Williams, "From Polemics to Practice: IQ Testing and Tracking in the Detroit Public Schools and their Relationship to the National Debate" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Michigan, 1986).

[13] *Michigan Chronicle*, 12 March 1958.

school for low academic standards. Getting no satisfaction from the school principal, the parents met with Assistant Superintendent MacGrath, who offered to allow ninth-grade students at McMichael to "take science and standard English courses not regularly offered at the school." MacGrath pointed out to the parents that "students coming to McMichael from elementary school were not prepared to do junior high school work."[14] He did not explain why school officials did nothing about this.

Not surprisingly, the McMichael parents were not satisfied with MacGrath's explanations and on February 6, met with Superintendent Brownell to present these problems: (1) students are not required to work hard; (2) McMichael is woefully lacking in adequate equipment, except in sewing, cooking and shop; and (3) there is no set discipline policy. Brownell told the parents that it might take four to six weeks to take care of these problems, but when he was called in mid-March, he said he assumed that MacGrath had taken care of things. Oscar Dotson, head of the Parents Club, pointed out that the students were using pamphlets in the science course and had not been encouraged to buy the regular English textbook. Dotson expanded his criticisms to include low academic standards at Northern High School and other predominantly Negro elementary and secondary schools.[15]

On 24 March, Dotson and others aired their grievances at a Board meeting. Mentioned were the lack of college preparatory courses, the failure of teachers to encourage students to strive for high standards, outdated or no textbooks and other equipment, teacher indifference to bad conduct, no adequate punishment policy, and no efficient counseling system. Brownell responded that he had attempted to correct some of the conditions. He defended the use of pamphlets instead of a text in the science class on the grounds that students needed to have the most current information available. Generally, he said that every effort was being made to counsel students to their "best advantage."[16]

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[14] Ibid., 22 March 1958.
[15] Ibid.

> On 12 April, this skirmish dropped from public view, but in its final moment, McMichael's principal, Luther Hail, made a crystal clear statement of the school administrators' understanding of educational opportunity. Mr. Hail said that the adverse publicity his school had received was not fair.

The faculty spends a lot of time studying the records of incoming 7Bs. We try and group them, by achievement tests, IQ scores, teacher ratings and reading score according to their learning capabilities. . . . We will take the children along as fast as they will go. Our teachers are making a sincere attempt to adjust the work to meet a student's needs. . . . In the present 7B grade, of five sections, there is one section of the better students. The other four sections are made-up of mediocre students.[17]

The administration's response to criticisms from Detroit's black community was to defend an understanding of "equality of opportunity" that was at sharp variance with that of the McMichael parents. The parents were concerned with the lack of an educational climate which might prepare their youngsters for college. The view held by those **within** the family of professional educators, Detroit's school leaders included, was perhaps best summed up in the report of a group of University consultants to a citizen's advisory committee appointed in 1957.[18] Discussing in particular the general curriculum, the one followed by at least a third of all high school students in Detroit, the consultants operated from the premise that the primary purpose of this curriculum was dropout prevention.[19]

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[16] Detroit Board of Education, *Proceedings*, 24 March 1958, 215.

[17] *Michigan Chronicle*, 12 April 1958.

[18] Detroit Board of Education, "Findings and Recommendations of the City-Wide Citizen's Advisory Committee on School Needs," November 1958. This was a large "blue-ribbon" panel chaired by George Romney, then Chairman of American Motors Corporation and was the first such major citizen study of an urban school system after World War II.

[19] See Patricia Cayo Sexton, *Education and Income: Inequalities in our Public Schools* (New York: Viking Press, 1961), 171-81. Sexton's "Big City" was

> There are some laymen (and a few teachers) who . . . express the wish that many of these students now in high school and in the general curriculum would join this drop-out group. `Good riddance' they say. This is a denial of equality of educational opportunity which is one of the basic freedoms that this country and other democratic societies have subscribed to. We have always believed that every boy and girl is entitled to all the growth and development that education can help him (sic) make. To do this for all types of students, it cannot offer all an *identical* program. *Identical education does not provide equal educational opportunity*. It denies it. The school must offer all types of courses to do for each what a limited narrow program will do for a few. . . . Otherwise public education is being used to produce a large group of second-class citizens by denying them a secondary education or forcing them to take one of little value to them [italics in original].[20]

The view of black leaders that equality of educational opportunity meant college preparatory courses with high academic and disciplinary standards was to have some endurance. Detailed research on the shifting politics of education in Detroit has shown that as new black leaders came to the fore in the sixties, they continued to demand an end to the unfair testing and tracking of black kids into what they perceived as the dead end curricular tracks, as well as an end to discriminatory practices in teacher and pupil assignment. As late as 1966, on the eve of the Detroit riot and a shift toward the ideology of

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in fact Detroit, and her data was collected in the 1957-1958 school year; "Under modern conditions of urbanized life and of our industrialized economic life it is impossible to keep all youths in school for twelve years, but it is better that as many as possible be in school, at least during their 16th and 17th years. . . . The remedy is to accept the fact that these youths exist and that they should be in school, at work on a program which they can see has some relation to the conditions of their present and immediate future living." Detroit Board of Education, *Citizen's Advisory Committee on School Needs*, "Consultants' Report on the Curriculum," Collection, "Detroit Public Schools Division of Community Relations," Series 1, Box 2, Folder 2-12, p.97, Archives, Reuther Library, Wayne State University.

[20] Ibid., 99-100. In contrast to this ideology, Sexton said simply, "all students could be processed through high school on the assumption that someday they might want to go to college." Sexton, *Education and Income*, 175.

black separatism, the students at Northern High School staged a walkout to protest low academic standards and the lack of college preparatory opportunities.[21]

Were the views of these black parents different from those of white parents in Detroit? Did they echo the views of parents generally, about the post-Sputnik crisis in education? A cross-section of American parents were interviewed as part of the George Gallup poll mentioned above.[22] Their views seemed to support the position of Board President Kastle in that overcrowded classrooms, low teacher's salaries, and lack of discipline were seen as more serious problems than the school curriculum. Further, these parents were opposed to any such radical reform as a lengthened school year. Yet in a curious twist, a solid majority of these parents felt that everyone should have a chance to attend college, and that the government should step in to provide financial help, either in the form of student loans or income tax deductions. This at least hints at a concept of equality of opportunity that was closer to the views of Detroit's black parents than to those of its school officials.

If in the Spring of 1958, Detroit's print media and Detroit's black leaders were criticizing the Detroit schools for declining educational quality and were presenting evidence to support their views, what was the stance of the agency most clearly responsible for setting and maintaining high educational standards?

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[21] Jeffrey E. Mirel, "There is Enough Blame to Go Around: Race, Class, and the Decline of the Detroit Public Schools, 1965-1981,"(paper delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, April 1991).

[22] *Detroit Free Press*, 6 April 1958 through 11 April 1958; *Editorial*, 8 April 1958, 8.

The University of Michigan's High School Accrediting Agency

From at least the 1930s some Detroit high schools were consistently overcrowded. These were the high schools that were farthest from the city center, none enrolling large numbers of black students. In 1958, for example, six fringe high schools were nearly 50 percent over capacity necessitating split-day schedules with students receiving less than a six-hour instructional day. In the late 30s, these schools had been placed on warning by the state accreditation agency, located at the University of Michigan, for class sizes and teacher loads that exceeded the standards. The warnings were removed when enough teachers were hired to bring the situation into compliance, even though the buildings remained overcrowded.

During the 50s, several teams representing the University of Michigan accrediting system or the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges, visited these high schools for inspection purposes. While the "difficulties of the overcrowded conditions" were often mentioned in their reports, at no time was the accreditation status of these schools placed in jeopardy.[23] Neither of the two accreditation systems actually had a standard dealing with the issue of building capacity.

This situation contrasted rather sharply with what happened in the case of Holland Christian High School. In the midst of the school reform debate in the Spring of 1958, Fr. Francis

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[23] This conclusion is based on a thorough examination of the accreditation files on the six high schools contained in the Archives of the former Bureau of School of Services at the University of Michigan. A possible exception to this occurred when the newly built Osborn High School sought NCA accreditation in 1957 and was denied it on the grounds of inadequate facilities. As the Spring 1959 school bond election drew near, the director of NCA accreditation for Michigan sent a letter to Detroit's papers calling attention to the rejection of Osborn and threatening to disaccredit other high schools on the same grounds. This was correctly perceived by the editors of the *Free Press* as an attempt to pressure the voters, not the Detroit Board of Education. See Editorial, *Detroit Free Press*, 28 March 1959.

C. Wade of Marquette University, addressing the American Catholic Philosophical Association in Detroit, attacked the University of Michigan for dropping the accreditation of Holland Christian High School for its refusal to offer "frill" courses, such as cooking, sewing, driving, and shop. This high school was described by Fr. Wade as having academic standards "unsurpassed in Michigan."[24]

A few days later, Kent Leach, the Director of the University's accrediting bureau, replied that Fr. Wade was wrong. The school had indeed been dropped for "violations" in its curriculum offerings, but by the NCA, not yet by the University. The University had merely placed the school on probation, and had not yet made a final decision to drop its accreditation.[25] This was a somewhat duplicitous response, since Dr. Leach's office was actually responsible for administering both accrediting systems, albeit on the basis of two different sets of standards.

The case of Holland Christian High School illustrated just how far the concept of high school accreditation had strayed from its original intention to guarantee the quality of entering freshmen by setting high standards for the high schools, and how thoroughly it had become committed to the ideology of the differentiated curriculum. The school was first accredited by the University of Michigan in 1924 and had often been acclaimed for its academic excellence by inspecting teams. Its curriculum "deficiency" was first noted by a University inspector in 1950. Commenting on the fact that the school's enrollment had doubled since 1946, he continued;

> Your school is extending the boundaries of the area which you serve and reaches as far as Hudsonville and other outlying communities. The bringing in of these pupils requires that a program be developed of sufficient scope to meet their present and future needs. The lack of adequate facilities for physical and health education, music, art,

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[24] *Detroit Free Press*, 11 April 1958; *Detroit News*, 9 April 1958; *Ann Arbor News*, 12 April 1958; *Michigan Daily*, 15 April 1958.
[25] *Detroit News*, 11 April 1958.

> business education, homemaking, industrial and farm shops, limits the program.[26]

Despite the fact that the high school added music, art, business education, and physical education over the next six years, and in the face of a clear majority vote within the parents' assembly that they did not wish to offer homemaking and industrial arts, the NCA withdrew the school's accreditation in the Spring of 1957. The NCA's action against the school was a case of the agency attempting to impose it's philosophy on a community which had a pretty clear philosophy of its own, an act which was arguably in violation of NCA's own principles that ". . . a school should be judged, insofar as is possible, in terms of its own philosophy and the purpose which it serves in its own community . . ." and ". . . each school should be free to determine its philosophy to the extent that it promotes the principles and spirit of American democracy."[27]

In summary, then, Detroit high schools which were grossly overcrowded, with students on short programs and many classes enrolling more than 50 students and which had been charged with maintaining low academic standards, lax discipline policies, and a deficient college preparatory program, continued to be fully and unqualifiedly accredited while a high school on the other side of the state, of very high academic repute was dropped for its carefully considered refusal to provide courses in homemaking and industrial arts. The significance of this was not lost on the editor of the *Free Press*, who said, "Educators frequently plead that parental pressure is responsible for the frill courses that have swamped school curricula. In this instance, a professional education organization has flown directly in the face of this claim." He called on the University to renounce the action by the NCA and to "demonstrate to the public that educators are responsive to public will and that high standards are what professional education organizations seek to uphold rather than dissipate."[28] An editorial writer for the University's student newspaper, the *Michigan Daily*, which had actually broken the Holland Christian High School story a month before, took an even stronger line. "From our narrow perspective it seems that the major purpose of accreditation by an association of high schools and colleges should be to insure for the colleges and universities the academic validity of a diploma from a given high school as a basis for admission. . . . In short, it is to protect the colleges from any anti-academic tendencies in the community and the school board which represents it, not to dilute the academic content of the school's curriculum."[29]

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[26] Lawrence E. Vredevoe to Dr. Bert P. Bos, 29 May 1950, Holland Christian High School File, Archives, The Bureau of School Services, The University of Michigan.

[27] Ibid., Correspondence related to NCA's warnings and final action.

Further evidence of the accrediting bureau's stance with respect to the pressing educational questions of the day was the response of its director to an inquiry from the President of the Economic Club of Detroit concerning the amount of mathematics and science being studied in the state's high schools. Director Leach said that it seemed to him that the problem was not the amount of mathematics and science being offered but that other areas of the curriculum were being slighted, such as art, orchestra, and boy's vocal work![30] This left little doubt as to where the University's accrediting agency stood as Detroit and the nation agonized over the question of academic standards and international competition.

Summary

In the 1980s, the nation was declared to be "at risk" of losing it's international standing because of a deteriorating educational system. Educational reform proposals poured forth and the national media focused a jaundiced eye on the nation's schools. Those old enough to remember saw in these proposals and this media attention echoes of a previous period, the post-Sputnik educational crisis of the late 50s. This paper sought to analyze the views of specific interest groups as they responded to that previous crisis in hopes that we might better understand the dynamics of reform in the 80s and 90s.

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[28] *Detroit Free Press*, 13 April 1958, sec. C.

[29] Editorial by Peter Eckstein, *The Michigan Daily*, 12 February 1958; 11 February 1958; 15 April 1958.

[30] Kent Leach to Harlan Hatcher, 10 December 1957, The Hatcher Papers, Box 19, Folder 9-12, Michigan Historical Collections, The Bentley Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. The other subjects mentioned as "slighted" were foreign language, "a diversified program of social studies," and physical education.

Then as now, the media led an attack on the schools, citing a decline in educational standards and in student achievement. They called for such things as a national examination system, more emphasis on basic subjects and basic skills, and new and better methods to teach students to think critically. Perhaps in contrast to today, these views were strongly seconded by black parents and leaders in Detroit, though they seem not to have been supported by parents at large. A national sample of high school principals also agreed that standards were dangerously low and echoed the call for a national examination. Today, while the NASSP supports curriculum reform in the high schools, it remains to be seen what position they will take on the question of national standards.

Then as now, high school students were complacent about the education they received, taking the view that American schools were the best in the world and that it would in some sense violate their "rights" to "have to take" tough courses, rather than what they enjoyed taking. If there is anything surprising about this it is the persistence of our policy of expecting high school students themselves to determine the scope and depth of the secondary education they receive.[31]

Finally, the accrediting agencies which were historically responsible for defining and enforcing high academic quality in the nation's schools were at least minor players in the debate of the 50s. But by then, they seem to have become so thoroughly imbued with the philosophy of "student needs" that they no longer had anything useful to contribute to a national debate over educational values. Today, they do not seem to exercise any significant influence on educational policy, despite their attempts to remain current by recognizing different "types" of schools or by shifting to an "outcomes-based" model of accreditation.

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[31] Arthur Powell, Eleanor Farrar, and David Cohen, *The Shopping Mall High School* (Boston: Houghton Miflin, 1985).

Northern Philanthropy: Ideology and Role of the Jeanes Supervisor

Bernadine S. Chapman,
Northern Illinois University

> The men and foundations created a generation-specific sphere of knowledge production which in the main was accommodative to Jim Crow societal structure and helped to produce it.[1]

From the very beginning, the leaders of the philanthropic foundations aligned with the Jeanes Movement supported racial inequality in the South and accepted General Samuel Chapman Armstrong's "Hampton Idea." Consequently, what emerged were two divergent schools of thought that focused on the educational training of African-Americans: namely the new England "classical" curriculum versus "black industrial education." The reference to "black" industrial education connotes a specific type tailored to African-Americans. A type of training which prepared African-Americans for menial, subservient positions that were readily becoming non-existent in the expanding and changing industrial economy of the New South.[2] But in opposition to "black industrial" educational ideology was that ideology initiated first by the missionaries: classical or "liberal arts" training. The philanthropic funds or foundation agents were seen as advocates for industrial education which was accommodative to the Jim Crow societal structure.

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[1] John H. Stanfield, *Philanthropy And Jim Crow In American Social Science* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), 7.

During the Civil War and Post Reconstruction Era missionary philanthropies, philanthropic agencies, and foundations became quite prevalent. The first philanthropists were the missionaries and next emerged the philanthropic funds or foundations. Many of the foundation administrators, agents, or financiers were intricately involved with the missionary agencies, directly or indirectly. My purpose, however, is to concentrate more on the early philanthropic funds or foundations and to discuss how their ideology, regardless of their "goodwill," was practically the same as that of the hegemonic South. Therefore, the philanthropic funds were not used to change the existing social order, but rather to educate individuals for their place within that structure. Before discussing these foundations, however, I must note briefly that the missionary philanthropies were responsible for funding a number of important black institutions and many of them, excluding Hampton and Tuskegee, were schools that promoted classical training. Paralleling the missionaries' efforts were the contributions of the emerging industrial philanthropists. This group placed emphasis almost exclusively on industrial training. Industrial philanthropy began in the postbellum South with the educational reforms of the Northern-based Peabody Educational Fund founded in 1867, supported by the establishment of the John E. Slater Fund in 1882, General Education Board, 1902, and contributions by Julius Rosenwald beginning in 1910.[3]

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[2] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South 1868-1935* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina press, 1988), 245-46; John E. Fisher, *The John F. Slater Fund A Nineteenth Century Affirmative Action for Negro Education* (Lanham, M.D.: University Press of America, 1986), 121.

[3] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 245-46.; Fisher, *The John F. Slater Fund* 121.

Only a few people made great fortunes and accumulated wealth immediately after the Civil War, therefore many individuals who needed funds sought the support of that privileged few. As fund raisers grew in numbers, so did the individual causes and the interests of the philanthropists. This necessitated new arrangements and more structure; so foundations were created to assume the growing responsibilities incurred by the philanthropists and the increasing requests made by fundraisers. These new foundations took the form of independent organizations specializing in the efficient allocation of another person's money for philanthropic purposes. An individual who made his career by dispensing the money of others became known as a "philanthropoid." The philanthropoid was responsible for collecting information, evaluating it, and providing advice, encouragement, or criticism.[4] The emergence of large, powerful, and influential organizations began and these organization's leaders greatly affected the ideological frame for education and the dissemination of knowledge nationally, and internationally. The role that these organizations assumed and their influence on the educational ideology of rural African-Americans is important and significant.

As Berman stated, "Those who control the production and dissemination of culture and ideas influence, to a great degree, the way in which people view the world and the common sense categories into which they organize their knowledge and by which they conduct their lives." Thus, the desire to utilize ideological hegemony to further their own interest became part of the focus of the controlling class. To accomplish this feat, the philanthropic foundations recruited trustees and staffs who shared their beliefs, values, and interests. These and other important elements, used as criteria for selection, contributed to the "understanding and furtherance of their hegemony." The foundations' emphasis on the training of experts combined with their support for educational institutions, gave them exceptional leverage in the "production and dissemination of knowledge".

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[4] Merle Curti and Roderick Nash, *Philanthropy in the Shaping of American Higher Education* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1965), 211-12.

This was the approach utilized by the early philanthropic boards: the General Education Board, the John F. Slater and Rosenwald Fund, together with the Anna T. Jeanes Foundation, which financed the Jeanes ideological model. Philanthropic foundations were characterized as the "gate keepers of ideas." In other words, because of the significant resources available to them to use at their discretion, they were "in positions to foster certain lines of inquiry while neglecting or de-emphasizing others."[5]

The George Peabody Fund, established in 1867, was the first major philanthropic attempt to aid in the educational development of those Southern states that had suffered during the Civil War. The Peabody Fund was significant because it established a precedent for the others and this fund was used for "improving education among the poorer classes of the South without regard to race. But more importantly concerning the Peabody fund, according to J. M. Stephens' assessment, was its trend-setting philosophy toward the educability of African-Americans, and its enduring influence on Jabez Lamar Monroe Curry, the fund's second administrator. Curry's philosophy helped to shape the Peabody fund and it was used as a model for most of the subsequent foundations. As Merle Curti notes, "in 1892 Jabez L. M. Curry followed the policy of cooperating with Southern opinion. This meant that segregation was maintained, vocational training promoted, a policy of inequality established in allocation of funds . . . and control of the institutions kept out of Negro hands"[6]

The Slater Fund was established solely for African-Americans by John F. Slater, a Rhode Islander who became rich from the manufacture of textiles. Slater was led to support education for African-Americans after hearing a sermon delivered on the

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[5] Edward H. Berman, *The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy: The Ideology of Philanthropy* (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1983), 11, 13.

[6] Curti and Nash, *Philanthropy*, 72; J. M. Stephen Peeps, Northern Philanthropy and the Emergence of Black Higher Education-Do-Gooders, Compromisers, or co-conspirators, *Journal of Negro Education* 50 (1981): 262; Curti and Nash, *Philanthropy*, 175.

"Opportunity of advancing human welfare by the proper use of wealth." This and other experiences caused him to tell the minister after the sermon that he intended to contribute a million dollars for the education of African-Americans. Slater appointed a board to administer the million dollar fund and gave them complete freedom to execute policy and the distribution of his gift. According to Slater, the fund could be managed better by a group of wise and experienced individuals as opposed to just one person. However, Slater did stress that his money be distributed "in no partisan, sectional, or sectarian spirit" and that it should promote rather than discourage self-help on the part of the African-Americans in the South. Black colleges and public school systems also benefitted from this fund. However, it was the county training school which evolved as a result of this fund with a community-centered program aimed directly at the task of helping rural African-Americans improve their living conditions within the framework of segregated living. The Slater and Jeanes funds ultimately joined forces to achieve the goals of teacher training and a community-centered program implemented through the county training school.[7].

The trustees for the Peabody and Slater funds (which merged in 1890) insisted on implementing the "self-help" principle. This meant that any institution aided was expected to contribute an equal amount to show growth and commitment; individuals assisted were required to work with members of their own race as evidence of being worthy recipients of the money. Two noteworthy trustees for the Slater fund in order of their service were, J. L. Curry who was previously introduced, and Wallace Buttrick. These men were particularly significant because they were vocal and adamant supporters of the "white supremacy" ideology; yet they were major spokesmen and administrators for funds primarily responsible for the education of African-Americans. As members of these major boards, they established policy for Southern rural education. Buttrick, like Curry, expressed his views on African-Americans to his friend Robert C. Ogden, "I recognize the fact that the Negro is an inferior race and that the Anglo-Saxon is the superior race." These statements were reflective of the racial views and/or racial hegemonic ideology of these leading philanthropoids. Finally, let me note that most of the men on the Slater board were also the organizers and trustees for the other foundations supporting the Jeanes movement.[8]

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[7] Fisher, *The John F. Slater Fund.*, 2.; Curti and Nash, *Philanthropy*, 173; Ullin Whitney Leavell, *Philanthropy in Negro Education* (Westport, Conn.: Negro University Press, 1970), 80; Edward Redcay, *The County Training Schoo's and Public Secondary Education or Negroes in the South* (Westport, Conn.: Negro University Press, 1935), 5.

The General Education Board, better known as the GEB, was initiated in 1902 and incorporated in 1903. It earned special recognition because of its extensive influence and financial contributions to education in the South. Curti, in his observation of the GEB, states "no other agency, public or private exerted a comparable force in shaping Negro higher education."[9] The GEB began with a $1 million bequest from John D. Rockefeller. An additional $50 million was added in 1909. By 1921, the Board's endowment had risen to $129 million. "The Board," served the needs of a broad educational clientele and used its influence and power to spread its educational mandate throughout the nation.[10]

The Jeanes Movement began in 1908 with one,then later a corps of African-American females teaching industrial education to rural, isolated, one-room school teachers in the South. Their work was extended to the surrounding communities and they served to "link the schools and the communities through their work. The Movement ended after six often turbulent, but meaningful decades. A $1 million endowment, contributed by Anna T. Jeanes in 1907, established the Jeanes fund. It, initially was called the "Negro Rural School Fund," because it was for the singular and specific purpose of "rudimentary education" in small rural African-American southern schools and communities.[11]

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[8] Fisher, *The John F. Slater Fund,* Xi,xii,xiv; Anderson, *The Education of Blacks,* 92.

[9] Curti and Nash, *Philanthropy,* 173.

[10] Berman, *The Influence,* 11.

Anna T. Jeanes' endowment emphasized her interest in the support of small, rural one-teacher schools. This was her largest contribution but it was only one of several contributions for African-American education. She made small contributions to Tuskegee Institute through Booker T. Washington in the late nineteenth century. Contributions were also made to the Normal Industrial Institute of Fort Valley, Georgia, and Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia.[12]

In spite of the existing social, political, and economic milieu during the six decades of the Jeanes Supervisor's movement, the Jeanes endowment proved to be an investment crucial to the educational endeavors of the Southern disenfranchised African-Americans. As Lance G. E. Jones states:

> I trust that no one will be left in doubt as to the significance of this movement in the educational and social history of the South. Not only has it covered the countryside with Jeanes Teachers and brought help and hope to many a rural school, but in times both of prosperity and adversity it has provided a channel through which the better elements of both races have been able to find expression in co-operative effort for the common good.[13]

The Jeanes Movement was noteworthy for its pedagogical influence on the initiation of Southern rural education and racial cooperation which it inspired between the local black and white citizens of the community. However, at this point attention is given to the andragogical role of the Jeanes Supervisor which developed out of a segregated educational system. This system perpetuated a subservient livelihood and served initially to control the socio-economic environment of rural African-Americans.

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[11] Arthur D. Wright and Richard E. Redcay, *The Negro Rural School Fund, Inc.* (Washington, D.C.: Negro Rural School Fund, 1933), 1.

[12] Ibid., 8-9.

[13] Lance G. E. Jones, *The Jeanes Teacher in the United States, 1908-1933* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1937), xv-xvi.

The role of the Jeanes Supervisor highlighted the educational activities of this era which were surely "adult education in their way," even if the goals were not always "clearcut and incisive." Ira De A. Reid's assessment of the Jeanes Supervisor's work emphasized the obstacles encountered due to "The very character of the sponsoring organization or by the special and restricted range of the folk reached. Too frequently the program was concerned more for the good of the sponsoring organization's activity program than for the good of adult education." The interest of the sponsoring organization rather than the good of adult education was frequently reflected in the philosophy and principles of the individuals responsible for structuring and organizing the Jeanes Foundation.[14]

The Anna T. Jeanes Fund, assisted by the Slater and Rosenwald funds, served as the modus operandi for generating the educational ideology endorsed by the other major philanthropic agencies. As indicated by Ullin Leavell, all these agencies touched every aspect of African-American education and frequently united to assist both public and private educational efforts for African-Americans in the South. As stated before, administrators and supervisors, who shared similar ideology as the philanthropists, were recruited and employed, thus enabling the philanthropic foundations to propagate the educational training and ideology they deemed appropriate for Southern rural African-Americans.[15]

In actuality, the Slater, Jeanes, Rosenwald, and General Education Board cooperated with Southern opinion. Its leaders believed this was essential for the advancement of African-American education. Funds were allocated mostly for agricultural and vocational training, which supported the Southern whites' opinion of what was needed to keep the African-American subservient. Liberal arts training and professional instruction were not as readily supported.[16]

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[14] Ira De A. Reid, *Adult Education Among Negroes* (Washington, D. C.: The Association in Negro Folk Education, 1936), 18.

[15] Leavell, *Philanthropy* 58, 155-56.

[16] Curti and Nash, *Philanthropy*, 175.

Samuel Chapman Armstrong's actions and ideas were most important when discussing the ideology and role of the Jeanes Supervisor. Armstrong formulated the underlying educational philosophy of Hampton Institute, which resulted in the efficient exploitation of African-American labor and "fitting the Negro in his place." Consequently, Armstrong stressed that through Hampton, "Southerners could save themselves from vast vagrancy and secure for themselves a supply of the best labor in the world"[17]

Armstrong's educational philosophy and practices shaped his racial prejudices and views on black labor. Armstrong, a strong advocate for the New South philosophy, viewed industry and education as complementary. Donald Spivey stated that Samuel Chapman Armstrong reminded African-Americans that "what men want is not talent, it is purpose: in other words, not the power to achieve, but the will of labor."[18] Armstrong encouraged African-Americans to devote themselves to labor because this would enable them to develop character and purpose. In other words, Armstrong looked upon African-Americans primarily in terms of their contributions to the economic prosperity of the country.

As Northern industry required more workers, fewer domestics were available due to the upwardly mobile Irish domestic servants in New York and Boston. Immediately, Armstrong sought to fill this void. According to him, African-Americans were the natural choice for those domestic service positions, which were abandoned by the Irish for the expanding factory system.[19] African-Americans were well qualified to fill these positions because female students were trained to dust, cook, and make beds. The male students were taught how to cultivate crops, grow gardens, and how to do basic carpentry, shoe repair, and printing. Thus, Armstrong had Hampton Institute function as a service to both Southern and Northern employers who wanted African-Americans as "faithful" and "competent" laborers.[20] Out of this historical institution and with this educational ideology the role of the "Jeanes Industrial Supervising Teacher" (now Jeanes Supervisor) was born and nurtured.

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[17] Donald Spivey, *Schooling for the New Slavery Black Industrial Education, 1868-1915* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), 22.

[18] Ibid., 20.

[19] Ibid., 22.

Most significant at this juncture was the introduction of Virginia Estelle Randolph, who was appointed the first Jeanes Supervisor in 1908. This appointment proved to be a significant event in the development and expansion of educational opportunities for rural African-Americans in Virginia and throughout the former slave states of the South.[21] Miss Randolph a small-framed, intelligent, African-American female educator, was credited with the transformation of the community through the influence of her school and its activities.[22] This of course was the basis of the Jeanes work, linking the community and school as partners. It is interesting to note that even though Miss Randolph was credited with the initiation of the Jeanes work, hence the evolvement of the Jeanes Supervisor, that this work was not truly originated by Miss Randolph. An editorial from the *Southern Workman* reported on the Supervisor's Conference held at Hampton Institute in 1912 and referenced Hampton as the initiator of this school-community partnership. The editorial recounted:

> Some years ago Hampton sent out a young woman to introduce cooking, sewing, and better methods of teaching, and to improve schoolhouses and yards in an endeavor to "tie-up" the work of the home and school in Gloucester County, Va. This Young Negro woman went from one schoolhouse to another and showed the teachers how the curriculum could be enriched by introducing instruction in the doing of the duties of daily life. The superintendent of Henrico County, Mr. Jackson Davis, an enterprising and devoted young Southern white man, adopted the plan for his county, securing the backing of some of the best people in Richmond, and employed, to introduce the work, a young

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[20] Spivey, *Schooling*, 22,; Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*, 67.

[21] Fred M. Alexander, *Education for the Needs of the Negro in Virginia* (Washington, D.C.: The Southern Education Foundation, 1943), 110, 157.

[22] Jones, *The Jeanes Teacher*, xi.

> colored woman of exceptional ability. In many ways he improved on the plan as worked out in Gloucester County.[23]

The andragogical role assumed by the Jeanes Supervisor was that of teacher trainer and community developer. The teacher training initiated by Virginia E. Randolph began with Miss Randolph teaching both children and adults to make baskets from honeysuckle vines, and clothing from flour sacks and sugar bags. As Fred Alexander recalled, "In addition to teaching reading, writing and arithmetic, she was a teacher of life and ambassadress of good will between the races." Miss Randolph taught teachers how to plan lessons and to keep good records of their students' attendance and academic work. She encouraged parents to attend classes and she visited homes regularly. She also taught Sunday School classes and was a devout church member. Thus, the Jeanes educational ideology was not merely something which naturally evolved; instead, it was a well-designed and promoted ideal which strategically linked school and community goals. The goals complemented one another in the educational and social milieu prescribed for African-Americans.[24]

The Jeanes Movement spread rapidly throughout the southern states, and brought about vast educational improvements which significantly affected the one-teacher rural schools and communities. The field of education began to reflect changes occurring within the larger society, progressive education began to flourish after the First World War, and many trends affecting instruction and teacher training earned attention.[25]

Jeanes Supervisors were better educated and were constantly compelled to diversify the training techniques offered for Jeanes Teachers. Again, educational innovations within the society, the educational needs of the rural family, and the growing demands placed upon the rural teachers influenced this diversity, but the most important cause to diversify emanated from the nature of the Jeanes work. The Jeanes Teacher's "specialty" was general, rather than specific. It actually translated into being a "Jean of all trades." Consequently, the teachers' training exposed them to a variety of activities outside the normal classroom setting which included visits to historical and educational centers, social and cultural activities, as well as summer institutes for improved teacher certification. The summer institutes and in-service weekend meetings featured outstanding speakers like Professor Mabel Carney, a rural education Specialist from Teachers College, and Dr. Ambrose Caliver, adult educator and specialist for the Unites States Office of Education.[26]

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[23] Editorial, *The Southern Workman* 61 (January 1912): 9.

[24] Alexander, *Education*, 103-04.

[25] Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of The School Progressivism in American Education 1876-1957* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), 82-84.

Finally, the Jeanes Supervisor's role, apart from teacher training and classroom instruction, embraced community development. The enormous need for adult activities, however, often demanded close cooperation with other community agencies. The Jeanes Supervisor, working with these agencies, assisted in the formulation of various clubs within the rural communities. Vocational, 4-H, Farmers of America, and "Negro Home Economics Clubs" were organized along with Parent Teacher Associations which involved literacy programs and Patron Leagues. The Patron Leagues became instantly popular. They cooperated with the Jeanes Supervisor and rural teachers in the implementation of a variety of activities (e.g. securing school transportation, extending the school term, promoting health care). These activities eventually became a part of the school's overall program.[27] The Jeanes Supervisor monitored numerous and diverse community concerns, but the greatest community effort was directed toward health care.

From a community perspective the Jeanes Supervisor was most instrumental in converging African-American schools into community schools primarily designed to improve living rather than just teach individual subjects. Typically, the subject matter under study related to the conditions and problems of the community. Naturally, advocates of the Jeanes Supervisors believed that a positive start towards relating the instruction to needs of the children and community, would also spur the development of social intelligence. Thus, the Jeanes Supervisors worked with the adults for many years to improve living conditions and to relate the school's instruction to the community's socio-economic environment. This was a serious concern for the white-population because they frequently viewed the school and community for African-Americans as unrelated, especially those schools following strict academic programs. Therefore, wherever possible, the Jeanes Supervisor encouraged schools to focus on the problems and needs of the community as the major emphasis in instruction.[28]

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[26] Shellie T. Northcutt, "Problems of the Jeanes Teacher in Rural School and Community Work," Box 177, Folder 1657, General Education Board Papers, Rockefeller Archives, Tarrytown, New York: Summer School Reports, "Hampton Institute Summer School for 1940," Hampton Institute, Box 177, Folder 1657, General Education Board Papers, Rockefeller Archives, Tarrytown, New York.

[27] Alexander, *Education*, 151.

In conclusion, the Jeanes Foundation, with the support of many philanthropic agencies, provided rural African-Americans with educational training for the existing Southern hegemonic social order. Even though this was not the education desired or sought by many, it did serve to improve basic conditions. But more importantly, it enhanced the educational awareness needed to foster change. However, change was not the goal of the industrial philanthropists who were in positions to innovate the "status quo."

Waldemar Nielsen placed into proper perspective the true test for philanthropic programs, especially those which supported the Jeanes Movement:

> "One way to judge the significance of philanthropic programs for American society is to examine their relationship to the great contemporary issues of social change. . . ." But to determine the extent to which the big foundations address themselves to urgent issues of social change and the kinds of actions they take in trying to deal with them, it is necessary to go beyond generalities and look at their actual performance on specific problems. None is more instructive

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[28] Ibid., 124, 148, 18.

than that of racial discrimination in the United States. It is the oldest, the most visible, and now, in the view of many, the most ominous challenge facing American democracy."[29]

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[29] Waldemar A. Nielsen, *The Big Foundations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972), 332.

Sor Juana Ines de La Cruz, Feminist Educator

Norma Salazar Davis
Northern Illinois University

This study deals with the life of Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz (1648-1695) a seventeenth century nun, poet, playwright, feminist, and educator, and will focus specifically on the life circumstances that led to her decision to enter the convent of St. Jerome.

There are two reasons why this study is important. The first reason, and the most important, is that women's lives in education have not been explored as extensively as men's. When they have been explored, women's lives have not received the same importance as men's nor have they been considered as worthy of any recognition by the educational historian. These struggles of a seventeenth century nun emphasize the need for exploring the lives of women in education from a woman's perspective.

The second reason this study is important to the larger field of educational history is that it is important to reach all segments of society in order to encourage them to participate in our system of education. In many instances, some of our students are not finding the relevance of their education to their lifelong experiences. If they did find relevance, it might prevent them from becoming dropouts. By including the life and struggles of Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz as part of the history of women in education, Latin American students are provided with a literary figure that will instill pride in themselves and their heritage. This woman is long overdue for some recognition from educational historians.

Who was she? Why did she join the convent? How did she become an outstanding literary figure in seventeenth century Mexico? These questions will be addressed in the biographical sketch that follows.

Juana Ramirez, the Child

Juana was born in Nepantla, Mexico on 12 November 1648, of a Spanish father and a Creole mother. Juana was illegitimate, but this fact did not carry the stigma in the seventeenth century that it does today.[1] According to Josefina Muriel, illegitimate children were often awarded all the privileges of lawful birth. This depended on the recognition and status of the father.[2]

Josefina Muriel gave the example of the archbishop and viceroy Fray Payo Enriquez de Rivera. He was illegitimate, but rose to eminence because his father was the count of Alcala de los Gazules who recognized him and provided him with status and support.[3]

Unfortunately Juana did not enjoy the same privileges of lawful birth that her friend and protector viceroy Payo Enriquez de Rivera enjoyed because her father abandoned her and her family. Juana, the youngest, had two other sisters. This explains why Juana grew up in her maternal grandfather's house in Amecameca. Her mother turned to him for protection and support.[4]

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[1] A creole was a Spaniard born in the New World.

[2] Josefina Muriel, *Cultura Femenina Novohispana* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico, 1982), 143.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Anita Arroyo, *Razon y Pasion de Sor Juana* (Mexico: Editorial Porrua, 1971), 10.

Juana had an intense desire to learn that lasted throughout her life. "I had not yet reached the age of three when my mother sent my older sister to receive reading instruction in one of the places called Amigas," she later recalled in an autobiographical account. "I was impelled by my love and mischief to follow her; and seeing that she [my sister] was given a lesson I developed a burning desire to learn to read."[5] Juana did not stop there. Thinking that she was fooling the teacher, she demanded a lesson, saying that her mother had given orders. The teacher did not believe her, but to please Juana, she gave her a lesson. Seeing the little girl's desire and ability to learn, the teacher continued the lessons. Juana learned to read in such a short time, that she had already mastered the skill before her mother found out.

By the time Juana was six or seven, her education consisted of reading and writing "with all the other labors and sewing abilities degrading to women," as she eloquently recalls in her autobiography.[6]

It was about this time that she heard that there were schools and a university in Mexico City where she could study "the sciences." She began pleading with her mother to allow her to dress in man's clothes to be able to attend the university. Her mother did not comply. Juana's revenge, she tells us, was to read as many books as she could, in fact several in her grandfather's library, but not without punishments and reprimands from her mother.[7]

Detractors cite this incident of wanting to dress in men's clothes to accuse Sor Juana of being overly masculine. Her most vehement critic, Ludwig Pfandl (1881-1942), a German historian whose most important books comprise psychological studies of several Spanish kings and queens, insists that "it is evident that this nun experiments very early in her infancy with the desire and the impulse to be a man." He concluded that Juana, in failing to realize her desire to be everything that a man can be, demonstrated a lack of intellectual ability.[8]

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[5] Francisco Monterde, *Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz Obras Completas* (Mexico: Editorial Porrua, 1985), 830.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

According to Josefina Muriel, women of this era frequently wanted to dress like men in order to realize what was forbidden to them. She pointed out that Spanish literature has countless cases of women dressing up as men. The difference between these women and Sor Juana Ines was that other women did it looking for adventure, in defense of their lost honor, or as vengeance due to some kind of abuse."[9] Juana's was simply a childhood wish stemming from her most ardent desire to learn.

Juana's notoriety spread throughout Amecameca by the time she was eleven.[10] At that age she wrote her first loa (prologue to a play) to the Holy Sacrament, "Loa al Santisimo Sacramento." She entered this work in a contest at the Church of Amecameca and won. Her prize was a book.[11]

At age eleven Juana arrived in Mexico city. She went there to live with her Aunt Maria Ramirez and her Uncle Juan de Mata. Why was she sent to live with relatives? Several things happened around this time that might have something to do with her journey to Mexico. Paz, her most recent biographer, explained that soon after her grandfather died (1655), there was a new man in her mother's life.[12] Also, her mother gave birth to Juana's stepbrother Diego. According to Paz, all these things coincided with her move to Mexico. He concluded that these are the only reasons that could explain why such a young girl would be separated from her mother.[13]

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[8] Ludwig Pfandl, *Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz La Decima Musa de Mexico*, trans. Juan A. Ortega y Medina (Munich, Germany, 1946, Mexico: UNAM, 1963, repr. Mexico: UNAM, 1983), xxi, 95.

[9] Muriel, *Cultura*, 144.

[10] Her birth date was assumed to be 1651 until her birth certificate was found which listed it as being 1648.

[11] Julio Jimenez Rueda, *Los Empenos de Una Casa* (Mexico: UNAM, 1940, repr. UNAM, 1964), ix.

[12] Juana's mother had three more children by Diego Ruiz Lozano y Centeno, also illegitimate.

[13] Octavio Paz, *Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz Las Trampas de la Fe* (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1982, repr. Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1988), 126.

Juana Ramirez, the Adolescent

Her move to Mexico City represented a childhood dream coming true. Her relatives provided a home for her. More importantly, they also provided a tutor who introduced her to the study of Latin. His name was Martin de Olivas.[14] It was customary for women to receive instruction from private tutors since they were not able to attend the university.[15]

After twenty lessons she knew enough to pursue the language on her own. In her autobiography she explained how she accomplished this feat. Knowing that women placed so much emphasis on their hair, especially during their youth, she cut the length of her hair if she did not learn her lesson. She used her fingers to measure how much to cut, usually four to six fingers, she recalls. She complained that her hair grew rapidly and she learned slowly. Therefore, she cut it again because this was an embarrassment and a sign of her stupidity.[16]

Latin was the language of culture and along with some Greek, was common among educated women in Old and New Spain. Therefore, Juana with her knowledge of Latin was able to achieve the highest education without setting foot in the university.[17]

By age sixteen, Juana was becoming known all over Mexico City because she was both attractive and intellectually accomplished. She had continued to write religious poetry. At about this time, her aunt and uncle were able to place her in the palace. She became part of the vicereine's court.[18]

In the palace, Juana established a long and lasting friendship with the Marquesa de Mancera. La Marquesa and her husband the Viceroy became her family and provided her with warmth, friendship and protection.[19]

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[14] Arroyo, *Razon*, 19.

[15] Muriel, *Cultura*, 144.

[16] Monterde, *Sor Juana*, 830.

[17] Muriel, *Cultura*, 144.

[18] Diego Calleja, *Vida de la Madre Juana Ines de la Cruz Religiosa Profesa en el Convento de San Jeronimo de la Ciudad Imperial de Mexico*, Madrid, in Muriel, *Cultura*, 144.

Juana continued reading and expanding her knowledge with the Marquesa's approval. The viceroy was amazed at how much she had read and wondered how much she really knew. He arranged to have her examined by forty learned men from the university. These men were from the various faculties such as history, philosophy, and theology. Juana's examination was a success. She won the respect and admiration of all the men present. We owe this information to her first biographer and friend, Father Calleja who got the story from Viceroy Marques de Mancera himself.[20]

After this examination, there were few people that had not heard of her erudition. Her knowledge continued to expand by daily contact with the prominent and learned men who visited the palace. They in turn were received kindly and were delighted with her poetry. As Josefina Muriel points out, nobody was against her studies during this time. She was living in harmony with her immediate world.[21] Why then did she join the convent?

Sor Juana Ines De La Cruz, the Nun

Why she chose to join the convent has been one of the mysteries surrounding Juana's life. Sorjuanistas around the world have all reached their own conclusions. Most prevalent among these is that she suffered an amorous disillusion. Octavio Paz, her most recent biographer, disagreed noting that people were mistaken in "reading a baroque text with romantic eyes."[22] Instead of reading her poems as authentic confessions

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[19] Paz, *Trampas*, 130.

[20] Antonio Alatorre, "Sor Juana y los Hombres," *Temas de Historia Mexiquense* (Mexico: El Colegio Mexiquense, 1987), 135.

[21] Muriel, *Cultura*, 146.

[22] Paz, *Trampas*, 143.

Octavio Paz thought we should see them as archetypes of the religious poetry of that time.[23]

Octavio Paz is correct on this issue. When we read Sor Juana's poetry, we must also place it in the period in which it was written. Many of Sor Juana's works showed her great inclination to learn. She expressed in her autobiography that what she wanted the most was the freedom to dedicate her life to her studies. She herself gave this as the reason for electing convent life, and there is no reason to distrust her account.

> I don't want to have the expected occupation [of a married woman] that will hinder the freedom of my studies, nor do I want the rumor from the community that might impede the peaceful silence of my books. . . .[24]

When Sor Juana referred to her "expected occupation" she is referring to becoming a wife, and she explained in her autobiography that she had a "total disinclination to marriage."[25] She also expressed that she did not want the "rumor from the community" that might interrupt her reading and studying. By "community" she meant that convent life might also interfere with her studies. She admitted it when she wrote, "This made me hesitate some in my decision, until certain learned persons enlightened me that it [hesitating to join] was temptation."[26]

According to Josefina Muriel, the "enlightened" person was Antonio Nunez de Miranda, her confessor. Muriel points out that if we read Juana's autobiography and her conversations with Nunez de Miranda, which were documented in his biography by Oviedo, we note that it was almost like a dialogue between them. When Juana stated that she did not want any responsibilities that might interrupt her studies, Nunez told her that her religious obligations would not interfere. When she insisted in asking for reassurance that religious life would not force her to abandon her studies; Nunez reassured her that it would not, that the church approved of nuns pursuing an education, quoting the Benedictine Order that had education as one of their rules.[27]

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[23] Ibid., 148.

[24] Monterde, *Sor Juana*, 831.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

Reassured that she would not have to abandon her studies, Sor Juana entered the convent of San Jose on 14 August 1667,[28] but was forced to leave three months later due to poor health. Octavio Paz thought that it was the hard life of the Carmelites that made her leave the convent.[29] Both reasons were correct. Carmelite life was one of penance and mortification that her weak disposition was not able to tolerate.

Once again, Father Antonio Nunez de Miranda intervened with spiritual guidance and practical help. He convinced her to continue a religious life, but helped her find a house more suited to her inclinations. This time she entered the Convent of St. Jerome. Instead of the austere solitude of the Carmelites, St. Jerome offered her the possibility of buying her own cell. She could also have servants without breaking any rules of the religious life of St. Jerome.[30] Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz entered St. Jerome on 24 February 1669.[31]

In 1680 Sor Juana was commissioned to write Neptuno Alegorico (Allegorical Neptune) in honor of the new viceroy Marques de la Laguna. She was chosen to take charge of preparations for the welcoming ceremony, designing a triumphant arch and selecting a theme for the occasion. She chose Neptune as her theme.

According to Antonio Alatorre, composing the Neptuno Alegorico was important since it provided Sor Juana the opportunity to demonstrate her writing abilities. Composing Neptuno Alegorico also helped her in establishing a friendship with the viceroy and his wife Maria Luisa Manrique Lara. Maria Luisa became Sor Juana's friend and protector, encouraging Sor

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[27] Muriel, *Cultura*, 147.
[28] Arroyo, *Razon*, 26.
[29] Paz, *Trampas*, 157.
[30] Muriel, *Cultura*, 147.
[31] Arroyo, *Razon*, 30.

Juana to continue her writing, which Maria Luisa later published for her.[32]

Father Nunez de Miranda opposed Neptuno Alegorico because it was a mundane and inappropriate subject material for a nun. He accused her of rebelling against the "masculine authority of her spiritual guide."[33]

Antonio Alatorre wrote that the Jesuits were socially powerful, but that Father Nunez was the most influential Jesuit in Mexico at that time. Seeing that Sor Juana had become the court's official poet, Nunez intended to redirect her activities toward religious life in the convent.[34]

Sor Juana rejected Father Nunez de Miranda's argument and produced her poetry. She confronted him in a letter.

> I, my dear Father Nunez, will continue to exercise the ability to write poetry; the ability everyone knows I have. It's a pity that God, in giving me this gift, has forgotten to ask your permission to allow me to do so. Tell me, where does it say that what I do is forbidden? Aren't women rational beings also, just as men are? . . .
>
> In the end, I clearly see that we do not understand each other, and the best thing for us to do is to conclude our relationship. . . .
>
> God has given me this inclination, and I did not think it was against his laws, nor against my responsibilities as a nun. I was born with it and I shall die with it.[35]

In 1690, Sor Juana encountered more reprimands when she criticized Father Vieira's sermon. He was a prominent Jesuit orator from Portugal. This angered some of her Jesuit friends, especially her confessor Father Nunez de Miranda. Her one time friend and protector Bishop Manuel Fernandez de Santa Cruz, published the letter in which she criticized Father Vieira's sermon.[36]

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[32] Alatorre, *Sor Juana*, 141.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid., 142.
[35] Aureliano Tapia Mendez, *Autodefensa Espiritual* (Monterrey, N.L., 1981), in Alatorre, *Sor Juana*, 144-46.

Bishop Manuel Fernandez de Santa Cruz wrote her a letter under the pseudonym of Sor Filotea de la Cruz another nun. In the letter he told her to read more books about Christ our Lord "for knowledge should enlighten us and lead us to salvation."[37] This reprimand provoked her to write "La Respuesta a Sor Filotea de la Cruz" (autobiography and Reply to Sor Filotea de la Cruz).

In his book, Octavio Paz explained that it was about this time that Sor Juana lost all political clout from the palace and support from the Bishop. Another important point that Paz makes is that hatred toward women, especially intellectuals like Sor Juana Ines, added to her fallout with her confessor and other Jesuits.[38]

The year 1692 was especially difficult for Sor Juana because several of her friends and protectors died, including the ex-viceroy Conde de Paredes Marques de la Laguna. The social and political conditions in Mexico deteriorated. There were peasant uprisings culminating with the burning of the Cathedral chapter and the Archive. Communications were interrupted, the roads were impassable, and hunger began to take its toll on the people.[39]

Sor Juana's conflicts ended when she gave up her writing, and all her worldly possessions. According to Francisco Zertuche, her extensive library was confiscated by the archbishop Francisco de Aguiar y Seijas.[40] All her books were turned in to him to be sold and the proceeds to be given to the poor.[41] A year after that a plague spread through the convent of St. Jerome, killing several nuns including Sor Juana. She died 17 April 1695.

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[36] Paz, *Trampas*, 526.

[37] Gerard Flynn, *Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz* (New York: Twayne, 1971), 18.

[38] Paz, *Trampas*, 637.

[39] Francisco Zertuche, *Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz y la Compania de Jesus* (Monterrey, N. L., Mexico: Universidad de Nuevo Leon, 1961), 44.

[40] Ibid., 43.

[41] Francisco Garcia Chavez, *Poesias de Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz* (Mexico: Editores Mexicanos Unidos, 1981), 23.

The Americanization of the Immigrant Child in Chicago: Primary Reading Textbooks, 1900-1920

Millicent Drower
Loyola University of Chicago

In the year 1900, Chicago was the second largest city in the country and the sixth largest city in the world. It had a population of over 1,500,000 people 75 percent of whom were European immigrants and their American born children. There were many changes in the early 1900s. The Sanitary and Ship canal made it possible to provide safe drinking water for Chicago's inhabitants. The lakefront was being developed as a cultural and recreational facility in accordance with the City Beautiful movement. However the growth of the city also produced housing and social conditions that were plagued with disease, overcrowding and hunger.[1]

According to Selma Berrol,

> Childhood was not for the children of the immigrants. If he came to the United states before his tenth birthday an

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[1] Lewis W. Hill, *Historic City: The Settlement of Chicago* (Chicago: Departmen of Development and Planning, 1976), 46-47.

> immigrant boy was more likely to spend his time in school; if he came at a later age, he was more likely to go to work. This was true even if his family settled in a state with compulsory education laws because during the nineteenth century and for a good portion of the twentieth these laws were erratically enforced. Girls regardless of age arrival were even less likely to go to school for any length of time.[2]

If immigrant children did not attend school, it did not mean they spent their days in play. Boys were usually employed as unskilled workers or worked in street trades. Girls usually helped their mothers in the routine household tasks or if mothers worked outside the home, they became surrogate mothers to younger children. Even children who went to school had little time for play. Most youngsters, especially boys, often worked after school either in cottage industries within the home or in street trades as newspaper boys, bookblacks, and the like.[3]

As in the past it became the job of the public schools to educate and assimilate these divergent populations into the mainstream and to instill the American ideas and culture. One of Chicago's prominent educators of the time, Ella Flagg Young voiced her concern "for children of immigrants of the tenements and of the street who made up 67 percent of the pupils in Chicago Schools in 1909. . . . The public schools must be for the poor and the rich, native and immigrant, all faiths and races, all meeting on a common ground."[4] One of the tools used by educators to perpetuate cultural uniformity, goals, and visions for the American society was through primary reading textbooks.

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[2] Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner, *American Childhood: A Research Guide and Historical Handbook* (Westport Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985), 348.

[3] Ibid., 349.

[4] Mary J. Herrick, *The Chicago Schools: A Social and Political History* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1971), 115-16.

The Mission of the Primary Reading Textbooks

In the prefaces and introductions of the primary reading textbooks, the authors and publishers clearly stated their objectives. The chief objective of the primary reading textbook was to teach the child to read. The secondary objectives which were stated just as explicitly were to develop the moral character of the child through story and illustration, to idealize the joys and pleasures of childhood, and to assimilate the child into American culture.

The reading textbooks during the first decade of the twentieth century were still rooted in the ideals and values of the late nineteenth century. Harper's Second Reader (1888) stated that the lessons in the reader were those of moral truths: the love of right doing, and an appreciation of the beautiful in nature. "Subjects relating to the history and resources of our country and the achievement of the American people thus aided in cultivating a spirit of patriotism and the love for American institutions."[5] The Jones Reader Book Three (1904) stated:

> The chief value of a school reader lies in the quality of the reading matter which it gives to the pupils. The literature supplied in such books should be sane, pure, wholesome, and stimulating. It should present models of thought, examples of simple but heroic living and in every way prepare the children to strive after what is worthy rather than to drift in the direction in which a chance current of life may lead them."[6]

By the second decade of the twentieth century the reading textbook indicated an awareness that some of the students for whom the reader was designed did not speak English or that the English language was not the child's first language. The

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[5] James Baldwin, *Harper's Educational Series: Harper's Second Reader* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1888), 4.

[6] L. H. Jones, *The Jones Readers By Grades: Book Three* (Boston: Ginn, 1904), 8.

Aldine Reader Book One(1916) addressed this problem. "Through it [the reader] hundreds of thousands of children, non-English as well as English speaking, have learned to read quickly and intelligently."[7]

The Natural Method Readers First book (1914) suggested a method by which the pronunciation of words could be improved. "Children should be encouraged to read aloud at home with good expression and articulation. The expression will be improved by the consciousness of having interested listeners and the articulation, which should be one of the results of the phonic drills, will be improved by practice."[8]

As scholars and scientists were beginning to recognize childhood as an important stage of development so did the reading textbooks. The reader through text and illustration depicted what an ideal childhood should be. The childhood of play, innocence, discovery, and games was an aspiration and not yet a reality for most immigrant children in Chicago. The Howe Primer (1909) stated in the preface the importance of childhood: "This Primer recognizes that a child's vocabulary must follow his natural interests in his pets, toys, games, sports, his playmates, family ties, and his relation with the postman, fireman, farmer, soldier and other familiar representatives of industrial, civic and institutional life."[9]

Rooted in Calvinistic teachings, the American primary reading textbooks were now to be influenced by the scientific movement and a changing society. The authors and publishers were concerned with what was grade appropriate for the child, a growing urban population, and an immigrant population that was religiously and culturally different. All of these factors had to be considered and yet the aim was to perpetuate the principles and tenets of the existing mainstream society. How this was to be achieved is demonstrated in the analysis of the content of the primary reading textbooks.

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[7] Catherine T. Bryce and Frank E. Spaulding, *Aldine Readers: Book One* (New York: Newson, 1916), 4.

[8] Hannah T. McManus and John H. Haaren, *The Natural Method Readers: A First Reader* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1914), IV.

[9] Will D. Howe, Myron T. Pritchard and Elizabeth V. Brown, *The Howe Readers: A Primer* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1901), III.

The Family

The children's literature of the latter half of the nineteenth century depicted mother as ruling the family with a wise and yet firm hand. The American reader during the first two decades of the twentieth century continued to portray mother as a gentle, kind, loving, forgiving, self-sacrificing, and virtuous woman to whom a child owed obedience and devotion. It was through the image of the "sainted mother" that many of the moral and ethical virtues were to be instilled in the child.

The Harper Third Reader (1888) showed the role of the mother in two diverse stories. In one story Lillie and her brother were quarreling. Mother, upon hearing the angry voices of her children, came to find out the source of the problem. Instead of mediating the argument, she gave both her children a short poem about kindness and love to memorize. In one-half hour she returned to the children. "They felt very much ashamed, but she (mother) did not scold them. Her eye and voice were as kind as ever, and she listened quietly to them as they spoke. . . . 'And now Lillie,' said mother, 'you may tell your side of the story first, as you are the lady."[10]

Not only did the mother teach her children that displays of anger were improper behavior and that they must always show love and kindness to one another, she also defined the gender roles of the children. Lillie, as the girl, was to present her story first, and implicit in that request was the idea that women have a gentler nature and should not allow quarrels to develop. The son followed with his statement that only he was to blame. The manly thing to do was to accept all the blame and protect the women.

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[10] James Baldwin, *Harper's Educational Series: Harper's Third Reader* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1888), 27.

In another story, in the same reader there was a glimpse of why motherhood was so revered. The mother would sacrifice anything, including her life, to protect her children. In this story a mother endeavored to save her child who had been abducted by an eagle.

> She climbed up steep rocks where no one had ever dared to go. Her hands were scratched and torn with briers and thorns; her feet were bleeding, being cut by sharp rocks. Yet she did not think of any of these things for her child was in the eagle's nest. . . . 'Truly,' said an old man, who had seen it all, 'Truly, God was with her, to guide her up the steep mountain-side and keep all harm out of her way.[11]

The self sacrifice of mothers and the arousal of guilt and shame were not the only ways mothers were able to instill virtues in their children. Sometimes the mothers in the readers allowed the natural consequence of an action to teach the child a lesson. In one story, Prissy found a doll and returned it to the rightful owner. "Nelly would like to give you the dolly,' said Mrs. Hunt. 'She left her out on the rocks. I hope you will not be such a careless mama as she was."[12] Once again we have seen that mother in the story was a role model for the daughter. Mothers were never careless with their children.

Mothers expected their children to be obedient. The readers often presented the tragic or near tragic consequences of disobedience. An example of the dire results of disobedience appeared in the Jones Third Reader (1904). "I am surely dying, 'thought Little Quiver. 'I wish mother could know how sorry I am that I disobeyed her.' Then everything grew dark about him."[13]

Children were not only to be obedient, but were also expected to help their parents willingly and cheerfully. They were never to frown or express their own personal needs. Children were expected to please their parents and most readers had stories where the children on their own initiative provided the parents with a treat or pleasant surprise. A child was sometimes called upon to sacrifice something very dear for the sake of a parent. In one reader, a young boy killed a pet dove so his sick mother could have the needed broth to make her well.

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[11] Ibid, 44-45.
[12] L. H. Jones, *The Jones First Reader* (Boston: Ginn, 1903), 40.
[13] Ibid., 162.

It was not that the reader neglected fatherhood, but that father took a lesser role. His primary responsibility was to protect and provide for the family. He was shown as a companion for his children taking them camping or sailing. Moral teaching was the province of mother sublime, but father was the ultimate ruler of his household and even mother bowed to his judgment. In one story the child Lulu was missing, both mother and nurse searched for the child but to no avail. Father arrived, "You can be of no use here, 'he said, 'Go in and stay with little Willie. He needs you.' I (mother) obeyed him casting but one glance at his face which was pale and anxious."[14] Thus, the saintly, virtuous mother and the strong, very protective, extremely responsible, hardworking father became role models for boys and girls to follow.

Nature and Science

Much of the content of the readers were based on nature. It was through the love of nature that children were to learn kindness, patience, responsibility, and the love of beauty. The story rarely presented scientific information about nature, but rather the content was more fanciful and poetic. The animals and plants often had human characteristics and traits. The stories taught a moral, inspired respect for life, and developed an appreciation for the beauty of living things and the miracle of growth. Preservation of nature was valued, and the readers taught children to avoid hurting or disturbing plants or animals in their natural environment unless it was for food or some other necessity. This story appeared in a first grade reader. A group of boys built a bird house and placed it in a tree. "How glad the birds will be! No harm can come to them now. The boys will be kind to the birds. They will give them crumbs."[15] In another reader, a bluebird was talking to an iris about a girl. "She never throws pebbles in the water to disturb the minnows, nor breaks the ferns only to let them die, nor troubles us as we work and play as most children do."[16]

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[14] Ellen M. Cyr, *The Children's Third Reader* (Boston: Ginn, 1902), 29.

However, not all stories commended children. Some of the stories chided them for their carelessness and hurtful behavior toward plants and animals. One tale was about elves that ran a hospital for bruised and hurt plants and animals. "In your world children often torment and kill poor birds and worms and flies and pick flowers to throw away, and chase butterflies till their poor wings are broken. All these we care for and our magic makes them live again."[17] Throughout the readers wrong doing was portrayed as producing torment to the spirit. A boy killed a woodchuck and realizing that the family would starve repented by caring for the babies. A girl through carelessness caused the death of a parrot and was forced to remember the incident always. The young reader became imbued with the ideas that all life was valuable, and though humans were stronger they had an obligation to those weaker and more helpless.

Reading textbooks in the nineteenth century often stressed religious teachings and the love of God. As the school population became more diverse and students came from various religious and ethnic backgrounds, schools by necessity became more secular and concerned with the separation of church and state. A gradual change became apparent in the reader. The role of nature became more synonymous with God.

Many stories thanked nature for providing us with the necessities of life. There was a recognition that God and all nature were one. Children read stories about the changing of the seasons and the miracle of growth. In the prefaces and forwards of the readers, it was stated that nature stories were included because they were of interest to the child, but the underlying messages were that God was very much part of the child's world and could be viewed in the world around the child. It would seem that nature became a veneer for nineteenth century Protestantism.

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[15] Jones, *The Jones First Reader*, 40.
[16] Cyr, *The Children's Third Reader*, 187.
[17] Ibid., 187.

The Work Ethic

All through the readers, the value of work was stressed and manifested in many different kinds of stories. Children were shown the pleasure derived by helping their parents. The stories showed children watering plants, doing household chores, and helping with younger children. In a first grade reader, a little girl baked a cake for her father. "He will say, 'Here is my little girl.' I shall say, 'Here is a cake for you.' Then he will eat the cake. He will say, 'How good it is. I am glad you can make cake.' This will make me glad."[18] Work also provided a purpose in a child's life. A mother asked her daughter to sing her sister to sleep. The child didn't want to do this. She wanted to play instead. However, she could not find anyone to play with because everyone was busy. Alice went to her mother and said, "Mother, I came home. I could not find any playmates. No one could play all day. I do not want to play all day. I will sing sister to sleep."[19]

The value of work was not the only virtue taught in the reader; also stressed were the qualities that one must have in order to be a good worker. Hard work and virtue were always rewarded. A good worker was responsible and did not neglect his duty. One such story told about a hunter who while lost in the woods came upon a little shepherd boy. He offered the shepherd a great reward if he would show him the way out of the woods. The boy refused because he couldn't leave his sheep and betray his master. The hunter was really a prince in disguise and adopted the boy as a member of his family.[20]

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[18] Jones, *The Jones First Reader*, 41.

[19] William H. Elson and Lura E. Runkel, *The Elson Readers: Primer* (Chicago: Scott Foresman, 1920), 43.

A good worker was clean and practiced good hygiene. Petro, an immigrant child was a newspaper boy who had been taught cleanliness by one of his patrons: "One day the man at the head of the newsboys said to him, 'Petro how should you like to stay here and be my head boy? You sell your papers so well and are so neat and tidy. I think I shall try you at the stand for a while."[21] Petro did not forget to thank his kind benefactor, thus, this story not only pointed out the value of being clean and neat on the job, but also revealed the stereotyped thinking that people had about immigrants. It also conveyed to its readers the possibility that with help immigrants could become assets to the society.

The important value of honesty appeared repeatedly in various themes and stories. The person was tempted to keep the money that was found, but in the end he returned it to the rightful owner. Thus, he was rewarded not only with riches but also with a light heart.

The books also showed the results of not working. The fable of the "Little Red Hen" was repeated in many of the readers. Its theme of "if you don't work you don't eat" was clearly explained to the young reader. A variation of this story appeared in the *Jones First Reader*. "The girls didn't help gather eggs for the cake. Little Fred did. 'Here is a cake for my boy, who is never too busy to help his mamma."[22]

Even though the United States was becoming increasingly urbanized most of the stories had their origins in rural America. However, the themes showing that hard work was always rewarded, and that success was dependent on personal qualities of integrity, work habits, honesty, and doing your best were all values important to an industrial society. It is interesting to note that the stories did not expect the children (or more accurately, the boys) to become entrepreneurs, managers, or professional men such as doctors, teachers, or lawyers. Perhaps the authors of these readers believed this was an impossible dream for their young readers, who for the most part, were children of the working classes.

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[20] Baldwin, *Harper's Third Reader*, 58.
[21] Jones, *The Jones Readers By Grades: Book Three*, 96.
[22] Jones, *The Jones First Reader*, 95.

Prior to 1905 most readers included heroic stories about American patriots and pioneers, but these readers were more interested in teaching morals and developing ethical character of which love of country was only a part. Patriotism became important about 1905 and reached greater proportions just before and after World War I. The authors of the Elson Readers stated in the preface to the first reader that in addition to the regular stories themselves, this reader also included, "present day stories, rich in ideals of home and country and of helpfulness to others--ideals to which World War has given new meaning that the school reader should perpetuate."[23] Socialization, a sense of community, and the need for Americans to become less regional and more unified were forces that stimulated this new style of patriotism.

For the child, perhaps the most important symbol of the United States was the flag. The flag was usually in evidence in every classroom and was a visible reminder of their country and its ideals of freedom and liberty. Stories and poems about the flag appeared in a first grade reader: "This is our flag. It is the flag we love. It is red, white, and blue. There are stars on our flag."[24] The flag was described in other readers as being brave and pure and true. Children were taught that the flag must be protected and defended.

Idealized stories about Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln appeared in many readers. Stories usually portrayed these great men as being heroic or having strong moral character. The story which follows was unusual because it showed the tenderness and humanity of a great man. A tall man went for a ride. As he was going along a country road, he saw two baby birds that had fallen from their nest. The mother bird was helplessly flying about. The tall man jumped from his horse and returned the birds to their nest. "Tweet-tweet, tweet-tweet!' said the mother bird. She was trying to thank the man. Then the tall man jumped on his horse. He soon caught up with his friends. 'I had to help the bird,' he said. 'I could not have slept tonight if I had not helped her."[25] The tall man was Abraham Lincoln.

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[23] William H. Elson and Lura E. Runkel, *The Elson Readers: Book One* (Chicago, Scott Foresman, 1920), 5.

[24] *The Heath Readers: Book One* (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1907), 60.

Other stories about the Pilgrims and national holidays were scattered throughout most readers. The reading textbooks were to inspire students so that they might become good Americans and develop pride in the country's past accomplishments. In turn, the child was to fulfill the American dream and be faithful to the country's ideals.

Commentary

The ideals of family life and childhood as presented in primary readers were seemingly a contradiction from the reality of life for over two-thirds of the school population of Chicago, but was it really? The immigrants from southern and eastern Europe brought with them religious traditions and cultures that were different from the prevailing society. Although their values may not have been white Angle-Saxon Protestant, they were rooted in the Judaic-Christian ethic. Crowded conditions and poverty did not diminish the value of the family. The role of mother as the instructor of religion and morals and father as the provider and head of the household were as esteemed by these new arrivals as they were by the established milieu.

The value of work and the work ethic was simply reinforced by the reading textbook. Work was not a stranger to new Americans, but what was new was the belief that hard work, diligence, responsibility, and honesty would bring about a change in class status and a better way of life. The dream was that possibilities for success were unlimited. It was this dream that spurred the immigrants and lower class worker.

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[25] Elsen and Runkel, *Elsen Readers: Book One*, 71.

Most new arrivals to this country had already been imbued with the ideas of freedom and economic opportunity. Patriotism and citizenship as taught in the readers only reinforced already establish values and aspirations. This was the land of hope. True, life was not easy and would not be easy, but the future was to be brighter for generations that would follow. According to Henry Parkes:

> The mass migration of Europeans across the Atlantic during the period of American industrial growth was the largest such movement in all history. Yet, although it radically altered the racial composition of the American people so that by 1920 only 40 percent of them were of Anglo-Saxon descent, it had remarkable little effect on their culture and mores. Regarding the United States as a higher civilization, the immigrants were anxious to become Americanized and assimilated as rapidly as possible. . . . This vast process of assimilation by which many millions of individuals learned to repudiate the traditions of the blood and ancestry and to assume for themselves the memories of the Mayflower and the Declaration of Independence was carried through chiefly by the public schools.[26]

An Italian sociologist and economist Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) stated:

> that among animals social behavior is instinctive, but that human beings require a motive for it in their thought. The individual member of human society must often be reconciled to the roles he is called on to play in it, roles that involve, for example, subordination, the performance of unpleasant or fatiguing tasks, the running of physical dangers, the acceptance of burdensome responsibilities, the renunciation of sexual freedom. To some extent the individual does this under compulsion; to some extent he is induced to do so by rewards; but to an important extent also his cooperation is voluntary, and this is only possible because

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[26] Parkes, Henry Bamford, *The American Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1959), 255.

> of the way he perceives himself in relation to his social universe."[27]

The immigrants may have wanted to preserve their own traditions and institutions, but most importantly they also wanted to become Americans and proudly proclaimed their allegiance to this country. They wanted to become part of mainstream America. Society was the teacher, the reading textbook provided the method, and the immigrant was the apt and cooperative student.

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[27] Charles Madge, *Society in the Mind* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), 125.

Rural School Attendance of African-Americans in the Nineteenth Century: A Focus on Cass County, Michigan

Ernestine K. Enomoto
University of Michigan

Introduction

History describing the education of African-Americans in the nineteenth century has focused primarily on developments after the Civil War, concentrating on the creation of segregated schools in the South.[1] Prior to the antebellum era, documentation was sketchy and few schools existed in either the North or the South. Generally schools for African Americans were crowded, inferior in building structures, staffed by less qualified teachers of either race, and restricted in curricula offerings. At the same time, the education of Northern African-Americans was decidedly different from that of Southerners.

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[1] Carter G. Woodson and C. H. Wesley, *The Negro is Our History*, 11th rev. ed. (Washington, D.C.: Associated, 1966); Carter G. Woodson, *A Century of Negro Migration* (1918; repr., New York: Russell and Russell, 1969).

Northerners being fewer in number and "freedmen", rather than slaves, tended to locate in urban areas where skilled labor was sought. Their educational needs were for public education that would include them in common school reform efforts despite their small numbers and "colored skin."[2] In addition, they banded together to make private arrangements for schooling and hired their own teachers. By contrast, the education of Southern African-Americans was not as collectively organized. What little occurred was arranged clandestinely. Accounts of their education were based upon what happened in rural areas, primarily on plantations.

Despite the rapid industrialization in the nineteenth century and consequently an increasing urbanization occurring in the North, much of the country in that region consisted of small rural communities. Among them were communities in which African-Americans had settled and lived together with white Americans. What were the provisions for schooling the children of these rural Northerners? Were there separate schools for them? Who of the African-Americans attended school? How different were they from whites?

One such community was Calvin Township in Cass County. Located in southwestern Michigan, the county was settled by African-Americans, many of whom arrived decades before the Civil War. With its location along the freedom route for fugitive slaves and the support of sympathetic Quakers, this rural community quickly became the home of many African-Americans. Given this rural Northern setting and a substantial population of non-whites, were there differences in the school attendance patterns between African-Americans and Anglo-Americans? Did the level of school attendance change significantly over time? What personal and family factors might have contributed to school attendance? How did these change over time?

This study seeks to address these questions by analyzing a sample of U.S. Census records of Calvin Township, and contrasting school attendance between blacks and whites in the years 1850 and 1880, before and after the Civil War. To set the stage, background is given of the Cass County locale and the rural township of Calvin. This is followed by a section on research methodology, sampling, and analysis used in this quantitative investigation. The findings of the study are presented and concluding remarks suggest future directions for research.

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[2] Woodson and Wesley, *The Negro*, 256.

Background: Cass County

Cass County in southwestern Michigan was selected for several reasons. First, it was a rural farming community with racial diversity among its townships. In addition to the Pottawottomi Indians and white settlers, Cass had a sizeable African American population before the Civil War. "The rural Negro population has always consisted of widely settled individuals and small groups in the various Northern states."[3] By 1850, the African-American population in Cass County (roughly 4 percent) was surpassed only by Wayne County (which included Detroit) in the state of Michigan. But the proportion of African-Americans in Cass far exceeded that of Wayne County.[4]

Second, the population of African-Americans grew rapidly from the antebellum period until the end of the century.[5] As the county was a station for the "underground railroad" serving to transport fugitive slaves from the South to Canada, many passed through on their way to freedom.[6] It is estimated that as many as fifteen thousand fugitive slaves passed through Cass County enroute to Canada.[7] The "railroad" activity and the welcome given by the Quakers made the county a "refuge and secure retreat" for African-Americans; many decided to settle in the area.[8] The increasing population meant an increasing school enrollment and pressures for school improvement.

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[3] E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negroes in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1949), 197.

[4] George K. Hesslink, *Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill,1968), 54; U.S. Census Office, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, reprint 1976), tables 1, 2, 8.

[5] The largest increase noted in census records was between 1850 and 1860 when the African-American population grew from 389 to 1,368, increasing two hundred, 52 percent. In subsequent decades, the increase was 24 percent in 1870 and 9 percent in 1880. U.S. Census 1850-1880.

A third reason for selecting Cass County was its school system. In 1827, Michigan established a common school system throughout the territory with rural communities governing local schools.[9] By 1850, there were 143 one-room schools with each school taught by one teacher.[10] Unlike the urban schools which provided separate facilities for non-whites, this arrangement suggested that Cass schools accommodated the different races in the one-room school. At the same time, there was an indication that some African-Americans might have attended separate schools. At the time of his writings in 1903, Booker T. Washington noted the presence of a colored school in Calvin Center, a residential community of African-Americans. However Matthews and Hesslink suggested that racially mixed schools were present.[11] Examining Cass County school attendance and the difference in patterns between the races might offer some insight into the education of African-Americans in this rural Northern setting.

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[6] The "underground railroad" referred to a clandestine network of homes used by abolitionists to harbor runaway slaves and assist their escape to freedom. The "Illinois line" was the connection from St. Louis, Missouri through Illinois, Indiana, and Michigan to the Canadian border.

[7] Mae R. Schoelzow, *A Brief History of Cass County* (Marcellus, Michigan: Marcellus News, 1935), 59-60.

[8] Hesslink, *Black Neighbors*, 33; L.H.Glover, *A Twentieth Century History of Cass County Michigan* (Chicago, Illinois: Lewis, 1906), 287.

[9] Glover, *Twentieth Century*, 215-16; Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society*, 1780-1860 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 185.

[10] U.S. Census Office, *Seventh Census* 1850 Table VII, 899.

[11] Glover, *Twentieth Century*, 303-04; Alfred Matthews, *History of Cass County Michigan* (Chicago, Illinois: Waterman, Watkins, 1882), 387; Hesslink, *Black Neighbors*, 62.

Calvin Township

The focus of this study was on the township of Calvin within Cass County, Michigan. Together with Porter township, Calvin accounted for two-thirds of the entire African-American population in the county by the Civil War period.[12] Settled by the first African-Americans in 1836, the area known as Calvin Center in the eastern part of the township was populated within the decade by several small groups of "freedmen".[13] Historian Alfred Matthews noted the "great preponderance of the colored people, who far outrank, in number, the white population. Calvin (was) therefore one of the Republican strongholds of the county; and did the colored people desire, they could elect one of their number to represent them and the township on the Board of Supervisors."[14]

Fugitive slaves were particularly encouraged by the aid received from Quaker settlers who actively supported and staffed the underground railroad.[15] William Lawson and Quaker preacher Henry Way pioneered these efforts.[16] "This settlement (Calvin Township) had become attractive to fugitive slaves and freedmen because the Quakers settled there welcomed them on their way to freedom in Canada and in some cases encouraged them to remain among them."[17]

While the majority were fugitive slaves coming from North Carolina, many were freedmen who had voluntarily left the South with the full knowledge of their masters. Such a group was the "Saunders colony" who arrived from West Virginia in 1849 after being freed by their master.[18]

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[12] Glover, *Twentieth Century*, 288.

[13] Reginald Larrie, *Black Experiences in Michigan History* (Lansing, Michigan: Michigan History Division, Michigan Department of State, 1975), 9.

[14] Matthews, *History*, 387.

[15] Hesslink, *Black Neighbors*, 33.

[16] Lawson and his wife were the first African-Americans to settle in Calvin in 1836. Larrie, *Black Experiences*, 9.

[17] Woodson, *A Century*, 28.

[18] Hesslink, *Black Neighbors*, 44.

The relationship between the races seemed to be a cordial one. Hesslink commented that despite the rapid increase in African-Americans during the Civil War period, there was no indication of any racial prejudice in Cass County.[19] The same sentiment was echoed by Booker T. Washington in his observations of Cass at the turn of the century. "There (was) no social mingling but otherwise the relations of the races (were) entirely friendly."[20]

Research Methodology

As noted by Angus and Mirel, the study of school attendance has stimulated vigorous research in understanding the "rise of mass schooling" and the social distribution of schooling.[21] This study focused on the latter, examining the attendance rates between the races in two different periods. The findings were based on an examination of Federal Census data records as primary sources for information on Calvin township in the years 1850 and 1880.

Sample Size and Data Sets

For each of the census years, a sample of cases was taken and data sets were created. For 1850, as the number of African-Americans was small (n=156), all cases identified as either black or mulatto were taken. An equivalent number of cases with race identified as "white" was selected from records listed before or after those identified as "black". The rationale for selecting in this manner was based on the assumption that the census taker surveyed in neighboring geographical areas. Thus, census records for those living in the same communities were consecutively listed. For 1880, a proportion of the African-Americans was taken (n=232) and this reflected an oversampling (more than twice as many as the number who were Caucasian-Americans) (n=108). Again, the selection of white cases was based on proximity to African-Americans' records. There was an attempt made to keep the sample size the same and generally retain the same number of family units for both census years.

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[19] Ibid., 51.

[20] Booker T. Washington wrote about Cass County in an article entitled "Two Generations under Freedom" published in 1903 as cited by Glover, *Twentieth Century*, 294.

[21] David L. Angus and Jeffrey E. Mirel, "From Spellers to Spindles: Work-force Entry by the Children of Textile Workers, 1880-1890," *Social Science History* 9, 2 (1985): 123.

All of the data analyses were run using a statistical package (STATVIEW) providing descriptive and comparative statistics.[22]

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[22] Statview is a statistical package enabling the researcher to perform descriptive statistics and multivariant analysis on small data sets. A complete data dictionary for each year which specifies variables is available upon request.

Table 1

Data Descriptives	1850	1880	Notes
Total number in sample	343	340	
No. of family units	64	70	
No. of Black families	31	47	
No. of White families	33	23	
No. school-aged children	142	134	
% attending school	49%	74%	
Mean family size	6.11	5.85	
Mean real estate value	$699	--	1
Mean family wealth	$676	--	2
Males	169	185	
Females	174	155	
Blacks	156	232	3

Notes:

(1) Mean real estate value in 1850 is based on land value of usually the head of household; no data were taken in this category in the 1880 Census.
(2) Mean family wealth represents the aggregated sum of the real estate value indicated in 1850; no data were taken in this category in the 1880 Census.
(3) Blacks were oversampled in 1880.

Limitations of the Study: The following are caveats to be noted. First, it was planned that census years before and after the Civil War be used. Originally, 1850 and 1870 were designated. However, the data on microfilm could not be read for 1870. An alternative was to examine census year 1880. While this expanded the period of investigation from a twenty-year period to a thirty-year period, this proved useful for two reasons. First, there were major educational reforms enacted, such as free primary schooling and compulsory attendance, which might account for the school attendance findings.[23] Second, consideration could be given to socio-economic changes in the fifteen years following the Civil War.

A second limitation was the reliance on census information. Restricted to census data, the study was limited in scope. Questions about family member age, gender, race, and school attendance could be retrieved but detailed family socio-economic background was not available. Assessment was made solely on the basis of the occupation of the head-of-household and family real estate value at least for 1850. In addition, there was no measure of verification against other records to determine the accuracy of these data.

Third, categories of data were different between the two years studied. For example, the variable, family real estate value, was present in 1850 but not recorded in 1880. Thus, comparisons in family income were only made for 1850. Another variable, identifying the individual's family relationship to the head-of-household, was collected in 1880 but had not been retrieved earlier. This information was useful in more accurately determining the family size. In the 1850 census, family surname was used to identify members of the same family. In some cases, there were individuals with different family names in the same household. These were not counted as members of the same family.

Fourth, school attendance was determined on the basis of census data indicating whether the person named attended school during the previous year.[24] However, length of time or regularity of school attendance among the children could not be determined. A child might have only attended a few months out of an entire year or perhaps only part of the year for one session.

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[23] Legislation during this period included the creation of union graded schools (1859), establishment of high schools, free primary education (1869), compulsory school attendance (1871, 1883, 1885). Daniel Putnam, *The Development of Primary and Secondary Public Education in Michigan, A Historical Sketch* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: George Wahr, 1904), 121-22.

[24] For a discussion of the difference between school attendance and enrollment, see Carl F. Kaestle and Marvis Vinovskis, *Education and Social Change in 19th Century Massachusetts* (New York: Cambridge Press, 1979), 28-40.

There were also discrepancies in information between the data on school attendance and data on occupation. To illustrate, a census taker might have written a note in the occupation column that a child "attends school" but might not have checked the related column, "Attended school during the previous year". For the purpose of this study, data in the school attendance column were used exclusively and data in the occupation column were treated as merely commentary.

Given these limitations in the study, the findings offer a general picture of what occurred in 1850 and 1880. Nonetheless, an examination of school attendance can offer the historian information about the day-to-day history of rural schools in the North. It suggested what factors might have influenced the family's decisions regarding schooling and the changing role of the state in providing education. As Katz wrote, "shifting percentages of school attendance provide important clues into elusive areas such as relationships between social class and parental attitudes; the impact of economic fluctuation and technological advance on family future and behavior; or changes in the length and nature of dependency in different sorts of families over time."[25]

Findings

Analyses were carried out in two steps in terms of school attendance and race. First, for each year, the group attending school was contrasted with those of school-age not attending school. What were the significant factors between these two groups? What changes were noted over the time period? Second, the sample of African-Americans attending school was compared with whites in terms of personal factors (age, gender) and family factors (size and wealth of family). What were the differences between blacks and whites? Were these significant and sustained over time? What conclusions if any could be drawn?

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[25] Michael Katz, "Who Went to School?," *History of Education Quarterly* 12, 3 (Fall 1972): 433.

Who Attended School?

Of the school aged children (between 4 and 19 years) in Calvin Township in the 1850 sample, 49 percent were attending school, a total of 69 out of 142. The sample reflected the state's norm for school enrollment, which was 50 percent at mid-century.[26] By 1880, the percentage of school age children attending was seventy-four percent, a total of 99 out of 134. It was anticipated that the state's norm had also increased with free primary education and the compulsory attendance laws.[27]

Examining the personal and family factors, one finds significant differences between the two groups. Reference is made to Table 2 for contrasts between those attending and not attending school.

Age of Child: In 1850, the mean age of children attending school was statistically lower (9.7 years) than the mean age of those not attending (11.7). Noteably there were more students attending in the younger ages (between 4-14) than the older ages (between 15-19). By 1880, the age difference reversed, the mean age of those attending was roughly half a year more than those not attending. But age as a discriminating factor was no longer significant.

Gender: One might suspect that there was a gender bias toward males attending school more than females. However, there was no evidence that gender differences existed between those attending school and those not in 1850. Also, no differences were noted in 1880.

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[26] By 1850 the state had a highly stable school enrollment rate, roughly fifty percent, meaning that half of all school-aged children were attending school sometime during the year. Kaestle, *Pillars*, 106-7.

[27] See footnote 22.

Table 2

Comparison of School Aged Children Attending and Not Attending				
	Attending	**Not Attending**	**Level/ Significance**	**Notes**
1850	Age 9.9	Age 11.7	**	
	% female 44.6	% female 55.4		1
	% male 52.9	% male 47.1		
	% Black 23.9	% Black 76.1	***	2
	% White 70.9	% White 29.3	***	
	Family Size 7.5	Family Size 6.8	*	
	Wealth $ 852	Wealth $512	**	
1880	Age 10.5	Age 9.9		
	% female 31.6	% female 68.4		1
	% male 28.7	% male 71.4		
	% Black 72.0	% Black 28.0		2
	% White 65.2	% White 34.8		
	Family Size 6.3	Family Size 6.9		

Level of significance: * = $P<.05$, ** = $P<.01$, *** = $P<.001$

Notes:

(1) Cross tabulations were computed to examine differences between gender and school attendance;
(2) Cross tabulations were computed between race and school attendance.

Race: The child's race was a significant factor in discriminating between school attendance groupings. Only 24 percent of the school-age African-American children were attending

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school (only 16 out of 67). This percentage was significantly less than expected. Of white children, there were more than expected (71 percent) in school (53 out of 75) (See Table 2 and 3). Rephrased in terms of those attending school, the racial composition was 77 percent whites, 23 percent blacks. This reversed in the group of school-aged children not attending, in which the racial composition was 70 percent blacks, 30 percent whites (See Table 4).

By 1880, there was no race difference of those attending and not attending (77 percent blacks attending and 23 percent not attending, compared with 67 percent whites attending and 33 percent not) (See Table 3). In terms of racial composition of those attending (70 percent blacks, 30 percent whites), these mirrored percentages for the total school age population. The higher percentage for blacks might be due to the oversampling and would need to be adjusted accordingly (See Table 4).

Table 3

Frequency Table for School-Aged Children by Race

	1850	%	1880	%
Total for School Age	142	100	146	100
Not attending	73	51	35	26
Attending school	69	49	99	74
Total for Blacks	67	100	91	100
Not attending	51	76	21	23
Attending school	16	24	70	77
Total for Whites	75	100	43	100
Not attending	22	29	14	33
Attending school	53	71	29	67

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Table 4

Frequency Table for School-Aged Children by School Attendance Groups

	1850	%	1880	%
Total for School Age	142	100	134	100
Blacks only	67	47	91	68
Whites only	75	53	43	32
Not attending school	73	100	35	100
Blacks only	51	70	21	60
Whites only	22	30	14	40
Attending school	69	100	99	100
Blacks only	16	23	70	70
Whites only	53	77	30	30

Family Size: This is an interesting variable when used to speculate about those attending school. The findings revealed that those attending school were from larger families, 7.5 members in contrast with 6.8. One might speculate that having a large family meant a large enough labor pool on the farm to enable children to attend school.[28] While this difference was significant in 1850, it was no longer found to be so in 1880. The two groups were comparable with those attending having an average family size of 6.3 members and those not attending having 6.9 (See Table 2).

Family Wealth: When the school attendance groups were compared in terms of family wealth, it was not surprising to find

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[28] Based on a study of Hamilton, Ontario in 1851 and 1861, Katz reported wealthy families with more children sent them to school whereas families with fewer children were less likely to do so. Katz, "Who Went to School?," 440-41.

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that those attending school had on average $340 more than those not attending. Poorer families were less likely to send their children to school than richer families. One might anticipate the same discrimination would be visible even thirty years later. However as the data were not available, one can only speculate that this factor remained significant.

Were There Differences By Race?

Comparing the school attending African-Americans with the whites in the two census years revealed some differences but these were minimized thirty years later.

Age of Student: The average age of those attending school was not significantly different between the races. Generally blacks had a higher mean age than did whites, suggesting that they went to school later and perhaps for a shorter time. This was further examined by sub-grouping by age (4-8, 9-14, 15-19). The age range where percentage of those attending was largest fell between 9-14 for blacks and between 4-14 for whites. By 1880, while there were more students attending in all three age groups, there was a sizeable increase (more than 53 percent) in attendance at the older age (between 15-19). Overall for school-age children, the percentage of attendees had increased for blacks and whites with one exception, that of whites grouped between 4-8. This might have resulted because whites had sent children to school as young as 4 years of age. By 1880, school laws had regulated the age at which a child should be sent to school.

Family Size: School attending blacks had a slightly lower family size (6.6 members) compared with whites whose family size averaged 7.8 members. This was a significant difference noted also in children grouped by ages 9-14. This group of older school attending blacks had a much lower family size (6.5 members) compared to whites (8.5 members). While the black family size did not change when the three age groups were compared, family size for whites fluctuated from a low of 7.2 for ages 4-8 to a high of 8.5 for ages 9-14.

As was the case with the first variable, age of student, by 1880 there was no significant difference in family size between the two racial groups. Noteworthy however is that the white family size had decreased and was lower than the blacks in all age groupings.

Family Wealth: This variable provided the most distinct contrast between blacks and whites with significant differences between the races in family wealth. Of those in school, blacks had on average one third the wealth that whites did. One must keep in mind that in 1850, African-Americans were relatively new to Calvin Township. The Saunders colony for example had arrived the year before in 1849. There did not seem to be much difference between the wealth of the total black sample ($330) and that of those attending school ($375). This suggests that wealth did not make a difference in determining whether a black family sent their child to school. For whites, the findings show quite a difference between younger ($897) and older children ($1271), supporting the claim that the wealthy were more able to send their children to secondary schools (including academies and colleges).

Summary and Future Directions

Findings from this preliminary study on school attendance patterns offer some general trends, both in grouping by attendance and by race. First, as anticipated, school attendance for both races increased between the census years. This was not surprising given the increase in schools, compulsory attendance laws, and more established community settlements. However the one exception was noted for younger age whites whose attendance percentage decreased. It was speculated that whites sent their children to school at an earlier age and that this was curtailed with the compulsory school attendance laws in place by 1880. Second, factors associated with school attendance (age, race, family size and wealth) were significant in 1850 but not in 1880. Gender was not a significant factor in either years. Third, between blacks and whites, family size was found to be significant in the earlier census year. However by 1880, this distinction could no longer be made. While family wealth was a distinguishing factor between the races in 1850, it could not be contrasted because census data were not available in 1880.

Given the findings of this preliminary study, it is hoped that more investigation be undertaken. The following recommendations are offered for future directions. First, consideration might be given to extend the current analysis conducted. Family wealth data might be obtained from a supplementary source to contrast the 1850 findings. A variable retrieved but not analyzed was the occupation of head-of-household. This might be used in support of the family wealth variable. Another variable retrieved was the relationship to head-of-household. One might explore whether a child's direct relationship to the head of the household (as a son or daughter rather than a niece or nephew) had a bearing on school attendance. On family size, Angus and Mirel note that there are discrepancies about whether size is a predictor of school attendance.[29] They suggested that pairing family size with birth position would make for a stronger predictor. Information on birth position could be linked with family size as a predictor variable. Alternative ways to group by age might be explored.

A second recommendation is to examine if residential segregation existed by identifying school and residence locations, determining if separate areas existed between blacks and whites, and examining residential patterns affecting school attendance as was done in Bamman's study of spatial considerations.[30]

Finally, to supplement and validate the census data, considerations might be given to obtaining other data sources. These might include school registers, vital statistics (births, deaths), school district and township educational reports, newspapers and manuscripts from the County. It is hoped that this study has generated interest in further investigation in the question of what constituted differences between African-American and Anglo-American school children in rural Northern communities in the nineteenth century.

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[29] Angus and Mirel, "From Spellers", 139.

[30] H. P.Bamman, "Patterns of School Attendance in Toronto, 1844-1878: Some Spatial Considerations," *History of Education Quarterly* 12, 3 (Fall 1972): 381-410.

Catalysts for Change: Parents of the Handicapped, 1930-1960

Janis B. Fine
Loyola University of Chicago

> **In considering who changes society, some have divided the world into three groups. There are those who can tolerate the everyday stresses and strains of life; they say little, and these are the average people. There are those who cannot tolerate the everyday stresses and strains of life; and they shout, and these are our leaders. Then, there are those who cannot tolerate the stresses and strains of life; and they whisper, and these are our victims. Society has generally demanded that families of disabled children whisper.[1]**

Somewhere, even as we speak, a child is being born with a handicap. It may be deafness, which will make the wonder of a Mozart sonata a life-long mystery. It could be blindness, precluding the child from ever knowing the grandeur of a far-off mountain range. Or it could be muscular dystrophy, which will forever deny the child from running through a grassy field or climbing an old oak tree. And somewhere, too, the parent of a handicapped child is being born into an unexpected world of heartache, despair, and shattered dreams.

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[1] Maxwell J. Schleifer, "Let's All Stop Blaming the Parents," *Exceptional Parent* 11, 3 (1981): 16.

The story of the handicapped on the pages of world history is saddening and pathetic. Available documentation reveals that since ancient times there has been a misconception that the handicapped are subhuman contaminants of the human race. They have been regarded as both product and progenitor of evil heredity and social degeneracy. The story of the handicapped not only reveals their particular plight, but also reflects the struggles and conflicts of the parents in their efforts to secure understanding and hope in a too often non-accepting social order.

Though compulsory education in the United States was well in place by the early 1900s, the law mandating free public education for all handicapped children did not come into effect until the mid-1970s.[2] It was indeed the parents who, through joint advocacy effort, brought about federal legislation that turned around the inadequacies of educational provisions for the handicapped. The long march toward this end began in the 1930s.

Yet, what took them so long? Why had the parents not banded together sooner? What had kept them from organizing their efforts decades earlier? Why had they stood idly by while society mishandled, mistreated, and often simply neglected their needy children?

Around the turn of the twentieth century, parents of the handicapped had themselves become victims of prejudicial images. They came to be viewed as causative to social degeneracy. Two concurrent scientific developments became popularized in distorted form: Social Darwinism and Mendelian genetics. Social Darwinism came to view limitations of intelligence as stigmatic and degrading to a complex social order. Mendelian genetics applied the principles of heredity to humans, claiming that mental ability as well as physical characteristics were transmitted to offspring.

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[2] *Education for All Handicapped Children Act* (Public Law 94-142) 1975 (20 U.S.C. 1401).

By 1891, in an effort to identify the causes of idiocy, the following was read at a meeting of the American Association of Superintendents of the State Schools for the Feebleminded:

> The most frequent cause of idiocy is, no doubt, ill-assorted marriages: marriages of persons of the same morbid tendencies. A tendency to consumption furnishes the largest number of cases. Intemperance of parents is another cause. . . . In twenty-five percent of idiocy there is antecedent maternal anxiety and over-tax sufficient to enter as a direct or accessory cause of the infirmity.[3]

Soon the negative eugenics movement based on Social Darwinism was launched. By applying the Darwinian theory to the human race, it would be possible to eliminate the unfit, and man could actively assist nature in promoting the survival of the highest quality of human being.

By 1913 the Eugenics section of the American Breeder's Association, at its annual meeting, appointed a committee of its members to study and report upon "practical methods of eliminating defective germ plasma from the human population.[4] The Committee, meeting in 1914, proposed:

> The following classes must be considered as socially unfit and their supply should, if possible, be eliminated from the human stock if we maintain or raise the level of quality essential to the progress of the nation and our race: the feeble-minded, the pauper class, the criminaloids, epileptics, the insane, the constitutionally weak, those predisposed to specific diseases or the diathetic class, the congenitally deformed, and those having defective sense organs, such as the deafmutes, and the deaf and blind.[5]

The second decade of the 1900s witnessed the emergence of sterilization laws in the United States, as well as a burgeoning of state institutions. The popular consensus of the time was that the state must take control of the defective child away from the parent, who was viewed as causative to the problem, both genetically and environmentally. In "The Burden of Feeble-mindedness," Walter Fernald addressed the Massachusetts Medical Society:

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[3] *Proceedings of the Association of Medical Officers of American Institutions for Idiotic and Feeble-minded Persons* in Frankfort, Kentucky, 1891 (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1895), 221.

[4] Bleecker Van Wagenen, "Surgical Sterilization as a Eugenic Measure," *Journal of Psycho-Asthenics* 18, 4 (1914): 185-86.

[5] *Ibid.*, 187.

> At the proper time the parents should be informed of the conditions of the child, of the necessity for life-long supervision and of the probable need of institution treatment. Sooner or later the parents will probably be willing to allow their child to be cared for in the institution. The parents who are not willing should be allowed the custody of their child, with the understanding that he shall be properly cared and provided for during his life, that he shall not be allowed to get into mischief, and that he shall be prevented from parenthood. Whenever the parents are unwilling or incapable of performing these duties, the law should provide that the child shall be forcibly placed in an institution, or otherwise legally supervised.[6]

Taking control away from the parents was further stressed when Fernald questioned whether parents should even be able to take their children out on parole. "We want to keep a legal hold on them. . . . We either have the choice of doing that or allowing them to be discharged and losing control."[7]

When it seemed parents of the handicapped would unwittingly accept society's limited investment in them, the Progressive Movement's parent education, child study, and federal programs of providing assistance to the disabled all served as an impetus for the parents of the handicapped. It was time for the smoldering outrage of handicapped parents to erupt. It was time to put an end to the rejections, the indictments, the closed doors and closed faces, the guilt, the doubt and the despair. Though myths would die slowly, and prejudicial images would persist, the Progressive Movement had set the stage for the rise of the parents.

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[6] W. E. Fernald, "The Burden of Feeble-mindedness," *Journal of Psycho-Asthenics* 17, 3 (1912): 94.

[7] *Ibid.*, 110.

Following the 1930 White House Conference on Child Health and Protection, Elise H. Martens, the Senior Specialist in the Education of Exceptional Children Office of Education, publicly called for the collective action of the parents:

> Parents hold the key to the situation in determining how much shall be done in realizing the essentials of a program for exceptional children. . . . Parents will have in their hands a great power toward shaping community attitude, promoting the work of the schools, influencing state legislation, and helping to hasten the time when each one of the exceptional children will have both at home and at school that special care which is needed for his own welfare and for society's best interest.[8]

Parent groups for exceptional children began to emerge as early as 1933. A group of five mothers in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, found one another and got together in an "indignation meeting" because their children had been excluded from public school. Out of this protest came the forming of a special class sponsored by the parents themselves to serve excluded children. Elsewhere in Ohio, two years later, a Downs Syndrome child was excluded from school by the local school board. The father, who was a lawyer, took the case to court. It eventually went to the Supreme Court of Ohio where he won his contention that the local school board did not have the right to exclude the child. The publicity the case received rallied other parents around him and another parent association was formed.[9]

Another parent group formed in Ohio in 1938 when three mothers met by accident while shopping. All had school-aged children who had been excluded from public school because of mental handicaps. They decided to see if they could band together, find other parents with the same problem, and request the local school board to give their children a chance in a specially designed training program. They found nine other parents who were willing to admit openly they had retarded children. The twelve parents approached the school board and found them surprisingly receptive. This was something the twelve parents had individually been unable to accomplish.[10]

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[8] Elise H. Martens, *Parents' Problems With Exceptional Children* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932), 59-60.

[9] Dorothy H. Moss, "Parents on the March," *The Journal of the American Welfare Association* 11, 1 (1953): 29.

In 1939 the first parent group with handicapped children in a state school was formed in New York State. A founding member recollected:

> . . . A day to remember, for on this day a small group of parents took the initiative and obligation to eliminate the word "forgotten" and replace it with the word "remembered." We proposed to the director of the school that parents be allowed to participate in meeting the needs of the children and providing their welfare. Approval of this was granted without hesitation. . . . Despite the stigma, the misunderstanding, and the almost insurmountable barriers which had confronted us at every turn, we never, for even one moment, forgot the great cause of our efforts--the lonesome, forgotten children who had so little and needed so much.[11]

Similar stories of parent group formations began to slowly emerge around the nation. Chicago, the center of progressive reform in regular education, also aggressively assumed the leadership role in the provisions of special education. Chicago's abundance of special education programs and involved social agencies created the atmosphere in which parents of handicapped children could readily find each other. And when they did, their common needs and frustrations moved them to assemble. Nationally, one of the barriers to the formations of parent groups had been the feelings of isolation and the tendency to keep the problems hidden as guilty secrets. But in Chicago a myriad of programs put the parents in touch with each other. Problems were exposed, and realities were admitted.

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[10] *Ibid.*, 30.

[11] Saul Fliederbaum, "Effect of Parent Group Participation in State Schools," *American Journal of Mental Deficiency* 56 (1951): 181.

In 1939 the Parents' Association for Spastic Children's Aid was founded. In describing its objectives, the association declared:

> . . . Our helpless children are martyrs to a cruel situation which an indifferent society has done little or nothing to remedy. Because they are affiliated with many disabilities they are unable to take advantage of tax-supported treatment or education provided for those who are simply crippled, blind or deaf. All too frequently, these children are found in institutions for the feeble-minded even though they have normal and, in some cases, superior intellects. Besides assisting in establishing and maintaining homes for dependent spastic children, this association has the general aim of educating the public concerning the problems of spastic children.[12]

In 1946 the Parents' Group of the Chicago Hearing Society was formed, followed the next year by the Mothers of Preschool Blind Children.[13] Beginning in 1948, five Chicago groups of parents of mentally handicapped children formed in various parts of the city. They came in throngs as they sought to develop programs for their children who had been excluded from the public schools as they were found to be uneducable.

Regardless of the handicapping condition for which the parent group was formed, all parent groups developed (1) educational activities which were aimed at increasing the knowledge of the parents themselves, (2) service programs and fund-raising efforts to increase programs and facilities, and (3) strong legislative lobbying efforts.

Through the lobbying efforts of many of these parents, in 1943 the 63rd General Assembly passed legislation in the form of an Enabling Act whereby school districts in Illinois would be reimbursed by the state for the excess cost of educating educably handicapped children up to one hundred dollars per eligible child. Due again to the lobbying efforts of the blind and deaf, in 1945 this act was further amended to include deaf, hard of hearing, blind, and visually impaired children under provisions for the physically handicapped. The amendment in 1945 made all these groups eligible for three hundred dollars maximum aid per child.[14]

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[12] "What is the Parents' Association for Spastic Children's Aid?" (1943), a circular issued by the Association.

[13] *News of the Chicago Hearing Society*, May-June 1946, 1.

On a personal level, the parent groups of all varieties appeared to offer great help to their members in overcoming the feelings of isolation and the sense of frustration associated with parenting a handicapped child. The group approach to facing the inherent problems offered the advantage of reaching numbers of parents simultaneously in a relaxed, supportive atmosphere. Describing the therapeutic values of a parent group for blind children, a mother proclaimed, "This feeling of security which comes from being part of a group cannot be stressed too strongly. Nor can we truly appreciate the release that comes when, for the first time, the mother knows that people will not look at her and her child with a curious expression and does not have to wonder what they will say."[15]

The rise of the Chicago parent groups for handicapped children during the 1940s represented a growing and dynamic movement that was beginning to burgeon in cities and towns across the nation. The decade of the 1950s would witness the coming together of parent groups into national organizations. What had been accomplished individually would multiply a thousand-fold as parent groups coordinated their forces. This act would be a healing one. The sharing of common problems, needs, and experiences would move from the nursing of "wounded parenthood" to concern for the broadened effort of dealing with the problem of handicapped children everywhere.

Parents realized that only by banding together could they bring about the widespread changes in society which were needed. Legislators and other government leaders listened to groups when they would not listen to individuals. Therefore, in order to exercise their newly emerging clout, parents of the handicapped began to unite nationally. The first to emerge, all in 1950, were the National Society for Crippled Children and Adults (NSCCA), the Muscular Dystrophy Association of America (MDAA), and the National Association for Retarded Citizens (NARC).

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[14] Ray Graham, "The Illinois Program of Special Education in Public Schools for the Educable Mentally Handicapped Children," *American Journal of Mental Deficiency* 51, 3 (1947): 461.

[15] Frances E. Marshall. "Group Work with Parents," *The Blind Preschool Child* (New York: American Foundation for the Blind, 1947), 26-27.

NARC's first major publication, a national newspaper entitled *Children Limited* served as a means for communicating with the various groups and interested parents and professionals throughout the country.[16]

The uniting of parents into national organizations caught fire in the early 1950s and spread wildly as parents representing a variety of handicapping conditions became eager to assemble. Even parents of children with very rare diseases found each other and formed groups in the hopes of raising funds to underwrite scientific research. The Dysautonomia Foundation was founded in 1951, and in 1957 Billy Barty organized the Parents of the Little People of America (LPA). Fundraising efforts for the LPA aided vocational training for little people as well as medical and scientific research in causes and possible treatment of dwarfism.[17]

The 1950s witnessed the development of a wide variety of national organizations for parents of handicapped children. Formation of such groups was not always easy. The inherent difficulties were exposed at a meeting of the American Association of Mental Deficiency in 1950 by Edith Stern, an outspoken advocate for handicapped causes in the 1950s and, herself, the mother of a mentally handicapped child. According to Stern, local interest and splinter groups made it difficult to develop a sense of national oneness. Unearthing the more emotional difficulties experienced by parents of all types of handicapped children, Stern revealed:

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[16] W. Hay, "Associations for Mental Retardates," *The Exceptional Parent*, March/April 1974, 24.

[17] "Parents Auxiliary of the Little People of America," *The Exceptional Parent*, March/April 1974, 24.

> We lose out on a great potential for public support. We parents of retarded children have so great a sorrow that it is hard for us to believe that anyone but parents of similar children could possibly realize it to the extent of wanting to help. Then too, we are inhibited by that sense of shame from which all of us are free among ourselves but which requires hard won adjustments before we are free of it among others. We must not, however, overlook the innate goodness and kindness of people who respond when they are shown a need.[18]

Edith Stern felt the time was ripe for the general public to demonstrate that it would indeed respond with goodness and kindness to a shown need: the too often deplorable, heartbreaking conditions of the handicapped. She would be one of the outspoken writers of the 1950s who would bombard the as yet virgin soil of women's magazines with conditions only previously known to those personally involved in the handicapped community.

In a speech presented in May 1950, Stern thanked the editor of *The Woman's Home Companion*, a widely read monthly magazine, for "the vision and humanity in breaking a long, long taboo on the subject" in publishing articles on mental deficiency.[19] During the previous year women had found juxtaposed among gardening tips, recipes, and the latest fashion trends, the pathetically shocking details of the handicapped world. For many readers, exposure to these conditions was a first and torturous view.

In an article entitled "Take Them Off the Human Scrap Heap," Stern had written of her observations in an institution. She told of a condition which the institution had called "restraint." An epileptic boy was living in a straight jacket though doctors said movement should be free during seizures. Elsewhere, she had come across two girls tied "like dogs on leashes," one end of a rope around their waists, another attached to a hook on the wall. Furthermore, the brighter boys and girls were sometimes disciplined by being placed in "untidy wards," as they were called, wards for low-grade children unable to control their toileting needs.[20]

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[18] Edith Stern, "Problems of Organizing Parents' Groups," *American Journal of Mental Deficiency* 56 (1951): 13.

[19] *Ibid.*, 11.

By 1950 most states had abandoned the notions of restricted marriage and sterilization as a primary means of controlling future generations of mentally retarded persons. The increasing number of mentally retarded persons identified, the proliferation of special programs, revised expectancies concerning the stability of IQ scores and heredity, and lack of public and legislative support for these archaic practices rendered such practices generally obsolete. There was also growing opposition to sterilization as a substitute for the adequate supervision of young adult retarded men and women in the community. Due to some yet muddled laws on sterilization, there were exceptions. Once again Stern revealed these to the public in an article in *Woman's Home Companion*:

> How many wrong guesses have been made about the nearly fifty thousand boys, girls, and women who have been sterilized to date? Were they really undesirable parents? Certainly Jack is a tragic example of one mistake. Some years ago Jack was a "mischief maker" and "difficult to handle" in an Oklahoma orphan's home. Without the sanction of any psychological tests, he was shipped to the state institution for the feeble-minded. There, as a purely routine matter, he was sterilized. During World War II Jack enlisted in the army, rose to the rank of master sergeant and became a tank mechanic of considerable ability. After the war he started his own business. Meanwhile, Jack had married a normal young woman who very much wanted a child. Eventually he was compelled to tell her what had been done to him. She got a divorce.[21]

Parents of the handicapped began to flood the media with accounts of their heartbreaking experiences. In 1950 Pearl S. Buck wrote *The Child Who Never Grew*. It was the story of the futile journey she traveled in search of someone who would offer a ray of hope for her severely retarded daughter. The book was published in its entirety in the May 1950 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal*, where it, according to the editor, "evoked the greatest response of any single issue feature so far."[22]

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[20] Edith Stern, "Take Them Off the Human Scrap Heap," *Woman's Home Companion*, August 1948, 32.

[21] Edith Stern, "Should Anybody Be Sterilized?" *Woman's Home Companion*, April 1949, 50.

Two years later, Dale Evans Rogers, country-western performer and wife of Roy Rogers, wrote *Angel Unaware*, a moving story of their daughter Robbin who was born severely handicapped and lived to be only two years old.[23] The Rogers shared their story with the public as they entertained across the country. They drew compassion and sympathy from those whose lives had been spared such tragedy. They spread comfort and strength to those parents whose lives were similarly touched by a handicapped child. Parents of handicapped children began to look inside themselves, something they had never truly allowed themselves to do. Thus began the process of confronting the toll that raising a handicapped child had taken on them, their marriages, and their families. For decades they had fought on behalf of their children for education, legislation, and humane treatment by society. Now it was time to take care of themselves.

Mrs. Max A. Murray, President of the Virginia Association for Retarded Children, spoke for thousands when she addressed what seemed to be the most common problems facing families of the mentally handicapped in her article "Needs of Parents of Mentally Retarded Children." Included were the difficulty in accepting the fact that the child is retarded, the financial drain, the theological conflicts, and the inept and insensitive advice given the parents by the medical profession.[24]

Articles such as Murray's were widely discussed among parents of the handicapped children during the 1950s. Parents became more comfortable owning up to the inevitable set of problems they were encountering. They gave themselves permission to deal openly in an emotionally honest manner with those with whom they were so closely connected--teachers, physicians, and parents of normal children. Eventually those "significant others" began responding in kind. The new-found attitudes began filling the pages of professional journals:

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[22] Pearl S. Buck, *The Child Who Never Grew* (New York: The John Day Company, 1950); "Our Readers Write Us," *Ladies' Home Journal*, August 1950, 8.

[23] Dale Evans Rogers, *Angel Unaware* (New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1953).

[24] Mrs. Max A. Murray, "Needs of Parents of Mentally Retarded Children," *American Journal of Mental Deficiency* 63 (1958-59): 1078.

From a social agency:

> The handicapped child's security, anxiety, or lack of it, will depend largely on the emotional stability of the home. If he is to develop to his full potential and remain in the community, he must be protected from disturbing interpersonal relationships. To achieve this goal it is most urgent that parents too, receive acceptance and understanding, and are helped to maintain a sense of personal integrity.[26]

From a physician:

> We have learned to distinguish between abrupt, brutal frankness, and a sympathetic statement of fact, between a dictatorial, take it or leave it kind of recommendation and the sort of presentation which would appeal to parents as the most constructive and helpful procedure, best suited under the existing circumstances.[26]

From a psychiatrist:

> A doctor becomes a physician in the true sense of the word when he recognizes and respects the parents' right to decide what they want to do in terms of their total situation, including their own ambivalence and conflict.[27]

From a dean of education:

> You, as the classroom teacher, have an important part in helping the parents of your pupils. You are the parents' most

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[25] Michael J. Begab, "A Social Work Approach to the Mentally Retarded and Their Families," *American Journal of Mental Deficiency* 63 (1958-59): 528.

[26] Leo Kanner, M.D., "Parents' Feelings About Retarded Children," *American Journal of Mental Deficiency* 57 (1953): 375.

[27] S. L. Sheimo, M.D., "Problems in Helping Parents of Mentally Defective and Handicapped Children," *American Journal of Mental Deficiency* 56 (1951): 45.

> active partner in the development of their child. Together, you and the parents plan for the child and meet concrete problems in his development. On your shoulders, then, must fall much of the responsibility for helping the parents of your pupils to accept their youngsters with the love and respect which is the right of all children.[28]

Throughout the existence of mankind, the handicapped suffered as victims rather than beneficiaries of society's conditioning factors and attitudes. Yet, beginning with the 1930s, through massive efforts in local and national parent groups, mass media appeal, legislative efforts, and a candid display of need and emotion, the parents brought forth their own Zeitgeist: the era of the handicapped child and his parents had arrived.

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[28] S. R. Laycock. "Helping Parents to Accept Their Exceptional Children," *Exceptional Children* 18 (1951/1952): 129-30.

Max Beberman: University of Illinois Committee on School Mathematics

Mary Margret Grady Nee
Loyola University of Chicago

The University of Illinois Committee on School Mathematics (UICSM) was a vital leader and model in the reform of mathematics education. In this report, the University of Illinois project under the direction of Max Beberman, will be seen as expanding into a well known American mathematics program concerned with the curriculum, the student, and the teacher. Vital to the generation of policies in mathematics education, UICSM projects united the college professors and secondary school teachers in a developing, experimental program. An early leader in mathematics reform, the UICSM's contributions were unique changes in America's secondary mathematics education. Effectuating change itself was one of UICSM's greatest achievements.

Contrary to popular opinion, not all reforms and regeneration of mathematics education began with the extensive funding of research programs through federal provisions. Some began very quietly within university settings as research to promote a better educational experience for the university's own students. One of the first was the University of Illinois Committee on School Mathematics developed in 1952.

The new and creative developments in mathematics education began during the post World War II years as America addressed social, humanitarian, and educational issues such as reform of mathematics education which was examined for existing strengths, fundamental weaknesses, and developmental needs. Critics cited American educational problems as a widespread national crisis that must be addressed. The educators argued about philosophical ideals, goals, and objectives. In the early 1950s, critics such as Bestor, Rafferty and Rickover attacked what they regarded as progressive extremes.

However, both the critics and defenders of the educational system realized that a united effort was vital to improve education for the future. As the issues were faced, the university researcher, the mathematician, the mathematics educator in secondary school, and community members formed the coalition that was greatly needed to reform mathematics education. If the United States' leadership in the scientific community was to be maintained, then it needed to prepare America's students for the future. All projections revealed that this future would require innovative and creative ideas generated from research done by talented and trained minds. The educational atmosphere to develop such creative minds required an expanding subject matter content, new pedagogical concepts, well designed programs, and enthusiastic well prepared teachers.

To better understand the growth of the newly emergent programs of secondary school mathematics, an investigation of one program, UICSM was analyzed. The early work of this committee anticipated other mathematics projects, workshops, and summer institutes. UICSM was a model, with its varied adventures and contributions to mathematics education, for the ones that followed.

The Illinois Committee was established in 1951 at the request of the deans of education and engineering and the head of the mathematics department. A small committee was asked to investigate and recommend means of improving the competency of beginning students in engineering programs. Max Beberman (1925-1971) a teacher in the University High School, a laboratory school at Illinois, was appointed as the director of UICSM. If the colleges desired a mathematics student to be fully capable of sustaining calculus in the freshman year, then secondary school preparation was critical and must be fully examined. Originally funded by the University of Illinois, the UICSM received two three-year grants of nearly a half-million dollars from the Carnegie Corporation.[1]

The core of the UICSM staff remained with the projects for many years. This included Herbert E. Vaughan a mathematician from the Department of Mathematics of the University of Illinois. Gertrude Hendrix, William T. Hale, Eleanor McCoy, and Max Beberman were members of the University High School faculty at Illinois. Another contributor to the textual materials was Bruce E. Meserve, a professor of mathematics at Montclair State Teachers College in New Jersey. Later writings in mathematics established him as a leader in mathematics curriculum.[2]

Max Beberman stressed basic principles in all his work with secondary students. He wanted them to think, to comprehend, and to abstract. His approach to mathematics was via abstract generalizations. Beberman encouraged the student to think, to draw conclusions, and to take short cuts. He expanded abstract notation and concepts using modern mathematics making the College Entrance Examination Board recommendations appear very modest, even traditional by comparison. In a high school mathematics book he wrote with Vaughan, Beberman stated, "We hope you will find that learning mathematics is often a matter of partly understanding an idea, learning about it by using it, understanding it better in the light of ideas you get later and so on."[3]

The very heart of UICSM's purpose was to awaken the teaching community to the abstract ideas, structure, and language of mathematics which was missing from rote, practice material then currently used in secondary mathematics. In the UICSM's program, the structure of mathematics required the student to observe a systematic organization using undefined terms, definitions, axioms, and logical deduction to generate new concepts.

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[1] Max Beberman, "Improving High School Mathematics Teaching," *Educational Leadership* 17, 3 (December 1959): 164.

[2] Max Beberman, *An Emerging Program of Secondary School Mathematics*, English Lectures in Secondary Education, Harvard University (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 1.

[3] Max Beberman and Herbert E. Vaughan, *High School Mathematics* (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1964), Intro.

Beberman said,

> The university of Illinois' project for the improvement of the teaching of secondary school mathematics seeks to bring mathematics into the teaching of mathematics, to encourage the learner to discover as much of the subject as time and circumstances will permit.[4]

As the director, Beberman's view of mathematics permeated the work of UICSM. If the secondary school student was to comprehend mathematics, then it was essential to realize that the subject matter of mathematics consisted of abstraction. These abstractions were not just symbols, but demanding entities which possessed no physical reality. From a few examples of a concept, such as examples of number five, one learned to recognize instances of abstraction of "fiveness." This would lead to a comprehension of the abstract or general view.

To comprehend the lessons and the abstractions of mathematics, the student had to understand the language and symbols of mathematics. Beberman characterized the current mathematics education as an attempt to teach the student valid means of manipulating symbols without any meaningful awareness of the abstractions. It was his hope that the work of UICSM would change this deficiency in mathematics education.

In writing and preparing materials, Beberman placed a great deal of emphasis on abstraction rather than on symbols. Too many textbooks presented mathematics as recipe type of manipulations with clever terms such as; "borrow", "carry", "cancel", or "invert and multiply". Beberman desired mathematical continuity, a flow of logical ideas, within the secondary mathematics education which came from understanding, associating, and deducing. Using the discovery method and UICSM materials containing exercises designed to clarify and to develop the awareness of mathematical abstraction, Beberman subjected new materials to the most demanding test, the actual use in a classroom setting with constant evaluation by students, staff and supervising personnel.[5]

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[4] Beberman, "Improving High School," 162.

Howard F. Fehr, of the Teacher College, Columbia University, saw that effective learning of mathematics required the building of an ever wider and broader foundation of concept. Even the simple idea of division in arithmetic must extend throughout algebra until the concept was extended to the ratio of $\Delta x/\Delta y$ within Calculus. The abstraction of division was but one concept that seemed basic to elementary manipulation, but often was not understood as an abstraction critical for advanced mathematical principles.

In any learning situation, the teacher needed to guide the student's sensory experiences and stress the importance of concept as well as skills. These were all interrelated to the development of problem-solving. There was no fixed magical sequence. Key again to the clarification and utilization of any new curricula or material was the presence and direction of the knowledgeable, pedagogically aware, and enthusiastic mathematics teacher. Fehr's views supported Beberman's ideas for UICSM.[6]

The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics continued to provide members with research information designed to improve mathematics education. The published articles examined motivation, sensory learning, formation of concepts, learning theory, as well as language and drill within mathematics. Kenneth B. Henderson and Robert E. Pingry, mathematics professors at the University of Illinois, Urbana, developed the theory and practical classroom procedure for problem-solving in mathematics. They identified the steps as: (1) having a question to answer the problem to solve, (2) defining a sustained activity to lead to a goal, (3) blocking outside distraction, and (4) thinking how to attain a goal. We can see a parallel approach with Dewey's Complete Act of Thought. Henderson and Pingry stated,

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[5] Ibid., 164-66.

[6] John R. Clark and Howard F. Fehr, "Learning Theory and Improvement of Instruction - A Balanced Program," *The Learning of Mathematics - Its Theory and Practice*, ed. Howard F. Fehr (Washington D.C.: The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 1953), 336-40.

> Mathematicians are well aware of the role played by the concepts and generalizations in the deliberative process in problem-solving. It is these abstractions which make it possible to restructure or reorganize past experience and bring it to bear on the problem at hand. There is no substitute for an understanding of relationships manifested by the possession of concepts and generalizations.[7]

Thus, the work of Beberman's UICSM to develop the student's ability to form abstractions within secondary mathematics education was a concept accepted by other faculty members at the University of Illinois.

Early in his own professional career while teaching at Florida State University, Max Beberman stressed the theoretical description of a literal number as a symbol for an element of a set. For him, a literal number was defined as a variable represented by a letter which symbolized an abstract quantity. If the teacher approached the student with this view of the literal number, then the anticipated result was that the literal number would become a more meaningful concept for the student. From this realistic understanding of the literal number, the student would comprehend not only the nature on the abstraction, but also utilize the symbol of the literal number within equations and scientific formulas.[8]

Gertrude Hendrix, a member of the University High School, a laboratory school for the College of Education at University of Illinois, and a member of UICSM was also a professor at Eastern Illinois State College. She added to the importance of developing a logical concept for students. With this skill, the student would also have an invaluable tool to assist in the solution of indirect proofs. Hendrix saw developmental stages in the understanding of logical concepts with teachers assisting their students through these stages. First the student needed a problem. Then, deductive logical equivalent statements were to be formulated for a better understanding of the problem. In order to structure these statements, the student needed to comprehend tautologies as well as truth tables. Hendrix worked with UICSM to develop a curriculum which stressed logical concepts such as a literal number, and developed exact language using a discovery approach to generate new ideas and enthusiasm from the students.[9]

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[7] Kenneth B. Henderson and Robert E. Pingry, "Problem Solving in Mathematics," *The Learning of Mathematics - Its Theory and Practice*, ed. Howard F. Fehr (Washington, D.C.: The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 1953), 241.

[8] Max Beberman and Bruce E. Meserve, "Concept of a Literal Number," *The Mathematics Teacher* 48, 4 (April 1955): 198-202.

Several number examples led the student to discover a general relationship. An example would be as follows:

Nine is greater than eight.

Eight is greater than five.

This leads to the conclusion that nine is greater than five. Several examples would allow the student to make the following generalization:

If A, B, and C are literal numbers which are elements of the set of Reals, then if A is greater than B and B is greater than C the conclusion is A is greater than C. Although mathematics is a deductive logical system, induction, seeing many examples and drawing conclusions such as the above has a vital role in creativity and the discovery method.

One concern that needed to be addressed was the question of which students were to be identified to participate in mathematics education programs such as UICSM. Howard F. Fehr responded that any mathematics program which was "based on individual excellence, on the opportunity of each individual to excel to his highest capacity has great promise of successfully meeting American democracy ideals."[10] Equality of opportunity for all students demanded that no restriction be applied to students who exhibited interest, talent, and motivation to expand their mathematics education. If smaller schools did not offer a wide selection of mathematics classes or if teacher preparation and knowledge limited an indepth investigation of advanced concepts, the various school districts in the United States needed to reform educational policies and the structure of secondary schools to enhance the opportunities of all students.

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[9] Gertrude Hendrix, "Developing a Logical Concept in Elementary Mathematics," *The Mathematics Teacher* 48, 12 (December 1955): 542-47.

[10] Howard F. Fehr, "The Goal is Mathematics for All," *School Science and Mathematics* 56, 489 (January 1956): 109.

Howard F. Fehr stated: "The experimental program at the University of Illinois will have force in changing college preparatory programs from a traditional to a modern one both in spirit and concept." In addition the UICSM program attempted to increase the number of less able students enrolled in mathematics classes. UICSM's major efforts were to develop textual materials to improve student attitudes towards mathematics and to generate teacher enthusiasm. According to Fehr, "These and other practices are giving us a workable set of criteria for establishment of a program in mathematics education for all." Fehr wanted all students to study mathematics according to their ability and interests, not being forced into any one track.[11]

Fehr wanted each secondary school to provide four years of high school mathematics with various grouping or tracks. Above all, Fehr stressed that a student must understand content in order to advance because mathematics was an organized structure of knowledge which demanded skills and concepts to improve one's understanding. He also considered it vital to know mathematics because so many quantitative situations existed in daily life and within other academic fields. Mathematics was both a way of thinking that described the universe and also an area of knowledge that was intrinsically valuable.[12]

Beberman stated, in his Harvard lecture of 1958, that some seventeen hundred students had participated in UICSM's program. They represented a dozen pilot secondary schools from Illinois, Missouri, and Massachusetts with forty participating teachers. Although some six years into the program, Beberman still considered his classroom courses as being underdeveloped.

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[11] Ibid., 110.
[12] Ibid., 111-20.

He believed that any new curriculum must not be developed within a vacuum, but it must consider the practical needs of the student and the expectations of the traditional courses. However, to really understand mathematics, the student needed to use the discovery method and develop precise language. With precision of language, the student would have the ability to explain his discoveries.

To illustrate the concept of precise language, Beberman discussed the mathematical entity, number, since he believed mathematical instruction was "frought with linguistic difficulties."[13] It was critical that the student know the logical distinction between a number and a numeral. The number is the abstract concept or idea while the numeral is the symbol which characterizes the idea. Aware of the logical distinction, the student would have little difficulty accepting the use of letter in algebraic statements. Perhaps the student would then question what truly was a number.

Basic to the UICSM program was the use of the discovery method. After content was selected, the writers then developed directions for the teacher and lessons for the students to assist in the discovery of principles and rules. This was used in the development of signed numbers. A student found it much easier to identify and use numbers than to know and to verbalize the concept of number. Only with skill and precise language can a student give a clear verbalization to his discoveries. Since verbalization of the discoveries was difficult, UICSM recommended delaying it. Beberman considered this recommendation an important characteristic of UICSM's program.

The outstanding contributions to mathematics education achieved by UICSM under Max Beberman reached far beyond curriculum revisions. Very evident from the textual materials produced, were the structural strengths of this revolutionary attempt to revitalize secondary mathematics education. With emphasis on the discovery approach to the classroom lesson, UICSM wanted students to understand the basic importance of language, logic, and consistency within the whole of mathematics. Through the combined efforts of university and secondary educators who united with mathematicians, scientists, and business people, UICSM discussed, developed, and actuated an experimental approach to secondary mathematics which was tested by pilot schools, revised, rewritten, and retested. As Beberman said, the purpose of UICSM was to improve secondary mathematics education, "to bring mathematics into the teaching of mathematics, and to encourage the learner to discover."[14]

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[13] Beberman, *An Emerging Program*, 13.

Among UICSM's expanded efforts were to: clarify mathematical language, emphasize logical equivalence, develop continuity within mathematics, expand teacher preparation and inservice education, introduce programmed learning, and enrich mathematics education through expanded applications of mathematics. Any one of these contributions was a noteworthy achievement. However, as Diliberto stated, UICSM brought to mathematics education serious investigation. From such investigation change was possible. Change moved from a desirable goal to an actual accomplishment. This contribution lifted the whole of the mathematics community from a sluggish existence. Stagnation in mathematics education need never happen again. Mathematics educators accepted the need to remove, revitalize, and reform. The very fear to change the existing approaches and curriculum of mathematics education was removed with the innovative experimental programs of UICSM.

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[14] Beberman and Vaughan, *High School Mathematics*, 162.

The Evolution of the General Science Course in Secondary Education as a Product of the Progressive Movement

Roger Nosal
Loyola University of Chicago

Introduction

Of all the institutions that endured reform and significant reorientation, American education experienced the most enduring and profound impact of the Progressive Movement. Schools became the laboratories in which educators attempted to redefine and refine educational purposes and methods and create improved and integrated programs for learning. Curricula were modified to reflect a "liberal smattering of subjects and study areas."[1] Educational aims were redirected from the traditional purposes of classical training and essentialist preparation toward educating for the improvement of American society. In a number of disciplines the focus of content and the method of instruction directly reflected the Progressive attitude toward practical social application. In particular, instruction in the unpopular and differentiated science curriculum at the secondary level found renewed emphasis and direction. Although the value of a scientific education was not generally disputed by Progressive educators, questions regarding its collective purpose in the general curriculum and its fragmentary organization into specialized areas of study provoked reform both in the nature and content of the three major science disciplines: chemistry, physics and biology.[2] Along with attempts to reform these subjects separately, progressive educators advocated adoption of a unified course called "General Science," particularly designed for eighth and ninth grades. Although attempts to link scientific contributions to the problems of everyday life were pursued separately in each of the special science disciplines, the Progressive desire for practical, integrated, and social emphasis inspired the introduction of the "General Science" course in secondary education. The evolution of the "General Science" course during the early years of Progressive education, 1890 - 1920, will be addressed in the following remarks.

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[1] Frederic William Farrar, *Essays on Liberal Education* (London: MacMillan, 1967), 146.

Philosophical and Historical Context of Progressive Education

The period preceding Progressivism in America coincided with and bore some relation to the Victorian Era in England. Toward the end of the Victorian Era scientific inquiry and the development of scientific education had become prominent fixtures in American educational curricula. To many historians "Victorian Science" reflected not only the achievement of

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[2] J. E. Kirkwood, "The Case of General Science," *Education* 40 (November 1919): 159; G. M. Ruch, "General Science in the University High School, Eugene, Oregon," *The School Review* 26 (June 1918): 394-95; E. Lewis, "General Science In Iowa High Schools," *The School Review* 24 (June 1916): 427.

Charles Darwin's evolution theory over religious dogma but a notorious allegiance to materialism as progenitor of the Industrial Revolution.[3] The conscience for this Victorian pragmatism toward science was embodied in the philosophy of Herbert Spencer. As the leading promoter of social Darwinism, he believed social progress was subject to processes of evolution that were independent of human intervention. According to Spencer, social evolution operated on scientific principles that humans were incapable of manipulating. However by acquiring a knowledge of science, humans could learn to adapt to the environment they were powerless to change.[4] For this reason, Spencer advocated a curriculum that adhered to scientific principles intended to teach adaptation, or in his words, ensure "survival of the fittest." This rigidly conservative philosophy, which fostered increased commitments to science education in specific scientific disciplines, e.g., physics, chemistry, botany, and physiology, provoked scientific evaluation of philosophy of education and of society as well.

Nowhere did Spencer's philosophy have as profound an ideological impact as in the United States. Conservative industrialists pointed to social Darwinism to justify competitive free enterprise and forestall social reforms that threatened to interfere with their capitalistic operations and opportunities. However by the turn of the century the Progressive movement challenged the repressive adaptational role that Spencer claimed characterized the extent of social will. The Progressives recognized an intuitive purpose behind social evolution, and insisted that it be manifested toward the betterment of society. In their view human reason could affect change in social conditions and not be merely resigned to function for survival or adaptation. The implications for education were significant in redirecting its aim as an instrument for the progress and reform of society. As

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[3] Gordon Wynne Roderick, *Education and Industry in the Nineteenth Century: The English Disease* (New York: Longman, 1978), 6-7.; Charles Austin Beard, ed., *A Century of Progress* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1933), 313.

[4] James T. Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory: Social Democracy and Progressivism in European and American Thought, 1870 -1920* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1986), 21-23.

John Dewey suggested in 1897, "education was the fundamental method of social progress and reform . . . the teacher is engaged not simply in the training of individuals, but in the formation of proper social life".[5]

Although Dewey's reformist perspective contradicted the purpose behind Spencer's educational philosophy, he nevertheless regarded the pragmatic value of science as essential to learning. Establishing unity, integrating social processes, and fostering a sense of community represented the amelioration of the individualistic and fragmented social stratification produced by the materialistic abuses of industrialism and competition. Education was the vehicle for remediating the social by-products of an irresponsible capitalism legitimized by Spencerian philosophy. Dewey envisioned the school as an "embryonic social community active with types of occupation that reflect the life of the larger society, and permeated throughout with the spirit of art, history, and science."[6]

In essence, with a transformation in its philosophy, education was gradually restructured to reflect social needs and modern innovations. However, in spite of social responsibility regarded as imperative to its purpose, American education retained the self-sufficient, rugged individualistic perspective inherent in its cultural tradition and development. In fact, John Dewey recognized the convergence of social consciousness with individual freedom, and his perception of education relied on "both the individualistic and the socialistic ideals. It [education] is duly individual because it recognizes the formation of a certain character as the only genuine basis of right living." Many Progressives, especially those on the fringes of the Progressive Movement, tended to condemn the individualism that spawned competition and differentiated society. Progressive educators during this period recognized the value and practical necessity in promoting some semblance of self-interest. Appropriately, both ideals found their way into pragmatic educational reforms and were particularly indispensable to innovations in secondary school curriculums.[7]

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[5] Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), 100.

[6] Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*, 122-26; Cremin, *Traditions of American Education* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 94.

Public high schools located in cities in northern industrialized states prior to 1890 typically offered a restricted range of subjects divided into two programs labeled Classical and English. The Classical program, derived from the traditional Latin grammar school--frequently considered archaic scholarship intended to prepare a student for intellectual leadership in the church and other professions as well as a preparation for college--lasted three years and offered Greek, Latin, and mathematics in addition to geography, English grammar, and ancient history. The English program, developed by private academies years earlier in an effort to respond to a growing commercial interest and demands for practical utility, generally lasted four years and included literature, philosophy, modern languages, bookkeeping, and those subjects necessary to the preparation for "general business life." Establishment of high schools in southern cities was slower than in the north; high schools in rural areas were scarce and often integrated with elementary schools. Regardless of this curriculum outline, high schools between 1865 and 1890 tend to defy general categorization, in part, because the curricula represented wide diversity influenced by local commercial interests, demands of labor organizations, and specific needs peculiar to given geographical areas. Another reason was the lack of universal agreement about the purpose for education and the importance of unified subject matter for the purpose of practical utility.[8]

A number of factors perpetuated the evolution of the curriculum, not the least of which was the growth of organized knowledge. Although it was particularly significant in the development of specific subjects from traditionally broad disciplines, e.g., physical sciences derived from philosophy, the organization of knowledge tended to realign previously cloudy distinctions between subject areas into distinct and useful parcels of knowledge. This further clarified attitudes toward the role for knowledge not only in terms of its practical usefulness but as a means of self-cultivation. Consequently, such qualified attitudes frequently determined whether or not a student attended school and what was taught in the school. This, of course, is a reflection of the politics as well as the growing popular sentiment toward scientific interest which characterized the period. As Freeman Butts and Lawrence Cremin have keenly observed:

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[7] Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*, 374; Cremin, *Traditions of American Education*, 157; Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*, 375-76.

[8] Edward A. Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), 4-6; R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1953), 123-25 & 275-76; John Patrick Diggins, "Republicanism and Progressivism," *American Quarterly* 37 (Fall 1985): 583.

> Spelling, geography, history, government, constitutional law, and any number of other subjects were demanded as "preparation for citizenship." Furthermore, such areas as natural science, natural history, physical training and drawing . . . were urged as vitally necessary to a "complete" common education--one that would yield a truly "liberal spirit" and "trained character." Generally, such demands for expansion reflected an attempt broadly to educate for citizenship and at the same time to bring the new scientific knowledge to the people.[9]

The demands for a practical or functional curriculum also tended to conflict with the more traditional requirements for college admission. The relationship between colleges and high schools was not clearly established. Prior to 1890, admission to college was principally based on examinations in a narrow range of subjects. Required subjects for college preparation, although frequently vague in focus, were offered by private academies from which most colleges drew their students. "College bound students, however, constituted a minority group in the high schools of 1890," according to Edward Krug. They made up only 14.4 percent of all private and public students in 1889-1890. When considered with respect to the percentage of students that actually graduated in that year, 3.5 percent, the number of students being served by college based curriculums was very small. Indeed, when compared to the estimated population of high school age students in America for 1889-1890, the value of the college oriented curriculum applied to a very select, 0.2 percent.[10]

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[9] Butts and Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture*, 179-84, 213.

The salient features of philosophical and historical relevance preceding Progressive reforms set the stage for unified standards in public education, instilled in the high school the responsibility for exercising and preparing the "social conscience," and sponsored a variety of innovations and reoriented programs. Demands for more functionally oriented courses and requirements in a "core of practical knowledge" began to emerge during the 1890's as the Progressive movement materialized. According to Rexford Tugwell,

> new subjects were introduced so rapidly as to lead to a universal four-year program, to electives, to parallel courses, and to a differentiation among schools themselves: we now [1934] have technical, cultural, commercial, and agricultural high schools.[11]

Progressive Changes in Curriculum

In addition to the historical events that anticipated Progressive reforms and the Progressive philosophical response to laissez-faire social policies, progress in American education was influenced by other factors. Two ideas imported from Germany influenced Progressive tendencies. The first, German idealism, transformed sectarian orthodoxies into a nondenominational Christian outlook reflected in Protestant Evangelicalism associated with Progressivism. As alluded to earlier, this ethical transcendentalism motivated American educators of the late nineteenth century toward adopting a critical and rational idealism for education. As Cremin made clear, the rationalization of Christian spirituality with the scientific world resembled the rationalization of the individual with society. However, like the Spencerian view of the individual and the nature of adaptation and survival, the practical applications in education often ran counter to more moderate social pragmatism manifested in integration and a sense of community.[12]

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[10] Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School*, 8; Edward A. Krug, *The Secondary School Curriculum* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), 30; Carl G. F. Franzen, *Foundations of Secondary Education* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), 76-77, 79.

[11] Rexford G. Tugwell and Leon H. Keyserling, *Redirecting Education* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), 42.

This was most evident in Dewey's disdain for the dualistic approach to education, particularly in high school education, in which practical utilitarian training in the form of manual and vocational programs--advocated by vocational reformers like Calvin Woodward--was pitted against the pursuit of academic subjects. As previously mentioned, Dewey advocated an integrated approach rather than the divided, individualistic approaches frequently forwarded by the dualists. Nevertheless dualism in less fragmented form found support from William T. Harris and others who supported essentialism in education and sought to find utility in the necessity of education. This transitional approach to education facilitated the introduction of Progressive innovations in practical science and the proposals endorsed by influential groups like the Committee of Ten.[13]

The second German influence centered on discipline and professionalism. The German Research Model had inspired American educators with the need to professionalize teachers and teaching in order to transform education into a disciplined system of social reform. What had become organized in the German Research Model at the middle of the nineteenth century was clearly an outward manifestation of a scientific people. As

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[12] Kloppenberg, *Uncertain Victory*, 20-21; Butts and Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture*, 328-30; Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*, 14-19.

[13] Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School*, 293-94; Butts and Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture*, 330; Cremin, *The Transformation of the School*, 16-20; Edward A. Krug, ed., *Charles W. Eliot and Popular Education* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1961), 13-14.

Norman Lockyer, the editor of *Nature*, observed in 1870; "It is this great truth that the Germans, above all other nations, if not alone among nations, have thoroughly realized and applied" science and the scientific method. The German educational system, its laboratories, and scientific achievements were recognized as superior to any other nation in the world. American educators admired the efficient and organized scientific community established by the Germans in order to take advantage of material resources and utilize technology effectively. In their effort to improve science education, physical science classes were occasionally modelled on German scientific methods.[14]

Apart from these influences on ideas, what actually occurred in the schools did not immediately reflect the intention of the innovations. During the 1890's, integration of disciplines, introduction of new methods, and redirection of the curriculum were recommended by committees organized to determine appropriate reform. However, the lingering controversy about the purpose for curriculum changes continued to hamper these efforts. One of the more controversial considerations had to do with the "uniformity of prescribed programs" in secondary education.[15]

The National Education Association (NEA) in 1892 appointed a committee to organize conferences for the purpose of evaluating the curriculum in secondary schools. This committee came to be known as the Committee of Ten and included college presidents and educators from around the country, the most outspoken member being Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard College. The question of uniformity was not formally the purpose for appointing the Committee of Ten but was clearly behind the intentions for its creation. It arose in response to demands for uniformity of college admission requirements.

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[14] George Haines, *Essays on German Influence Upon English Education and Science, 1850-1919* (New London: Connecticut College, 1969), 53; Lord Sydenham, "Education, Science and Leadership", *Science* 48 (November 1918): 479; W. S. Franklin and Barry McNutt, "Education After the War", *Science* 44 (December 1916), 842; Butts and Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture*, 448.

[15] Krug, *Charles W. Eliot and Popular Education*, 8.

Because the percentage of high school students attending college was a small fraction of the total high school population, high school administrators found it difficult to justify programs geared toward college preparation. Although they recognized the difficulty of their recommendation, the members of the Committee of Ten did not believe that subjects in the high school should be treated differently for students planning to attend college or some other school relative to those students who were not. An excerpt from their report states their rationale.[16]

> Secondary schools of the United States taken as a whole, do not exist for the purpose of preparing boys and girls for colleges. Only an insignificant percentage of the graduates of these schools go to college or scientific schools. Their main function is to prepare for the duties of life that small proportion of all the children in the country--a proportion small in number, but very important to the welfare of the nation--who show themselves able to profit by an education prolonged to the eighteenth year, and whose parents are able to support them while they remain so long at school. . . . The preparation of a few pupils for college or scientific school should in the ordinary secondary school be incidental, and not the principal object.[17]

The Committee stipulated, however, that standards in the designs of curricula and implementation of coherent subject matter would ultimately provide some uniformity. Furthermore, they suggested the reorganization of subjects in the curriculum to reflect some semblance of unity that might serve as a standard.

> A college might say--We will accept for admission any groups of studies taken from the secondary school programme, provided that the sum of the studies in each of the four years amounts to the sum of sixteen, or eighteen, or twenty periods a week--as may be thought best--and provided, further than in each year at least four of the subjects

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[16] Ibid., 86-87; Butts and Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture*, 390; Krug, *Charles W. Eliot and Popular Education*, 8; Krug, *The Secondary School Curriculum*, 134.

[17] Krug, *Charles W. Eliot and Popular Education*, 96-97.

> presented shall have been pursued at least three periods a week, and that at least three of the subjects shall have been pursued three years or more. For the purposes of this reckoning, natural history, geography, meteorology and astronomy might be grouped together as one subject. Every youth who entered college would have spent four years in studying a few subjects thoroughly; and, on the theory that all the subjects are to be considered equivalent in educational rank for purposes of admission to college, it would make no difference what subjects he had chosen from the programme--he would have had four years of strong and effective mental training.[18]

In essence, the members of the Committee of Ten were advocating a tracking system that would accomplish several important functions. The curriculum was grouped into tracks within which subjects were chosen. These patterns included Classical and Latin-Scientific both of which required Latin, Modern Languages, and English. Since two of the tracks did not require Latin, the committee repudiated the need for classics as a college requirement. Although the committee did not present uniform criteria, they also did not endorse the distinction between college preparatory and non-college preparatory programs fostered by the earlier division of high schools into Classical and English departments. This was a new way of looking at the high school and led to a number of innovations not the least of which was the consolidation of subjects and the expansion of programs. While it opened the door to new methods for teaching and organizing content, the committee's recommendation validated the value of the high school. As Krug pointed out, "Preparation for college as regarded by the Committee of Ten, was something no different from a valid definition of a good high school education in and of its own right."[19]

Additional committees were organized to evaluate the progress of specific programs, e.g., the Committee on College

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[18] Ibid., 98.

[19] Ibid., 90-93; Krug, *The Secondary School Curriculum*, 136; Franzen, *Foundations of Secondary Education*, 92-95; Krug, *The Secondary School Curriculum*, 136.

-Entrance Requirements, the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, CRSE,Committee on Economy of Time in Education,etc., and in 1897, the final report by one of these, the CRSE, recommended the following program in secondary education:

The major categories of study presented were:

English
Foreign Languages and Literature--including Greek
History, Civics, Economics
Mathematics--algebra, geometry, trigonometry
Sciences--physical geography, biology, physics and
    chemistry[20]

The program offered secondary schooling regardless of the pupil's destination and was designed for preparing the student for life. In addition, the report provided policy recommendations that included a series of constants or core courses required for all students with the remainder to be filled by freely chosen electives. The recommendations included:

Foreign Languages and Literature	4 years
Mathematics	2 years
English	2 years
History	1 year
Science	1 year[21]

This simplified the curriculum considerably by instituting a modicum of standardization and also eliminated the need to evaluate parallel courses of study for college entrance requirements. What this meant for the science curriculum was quite compelling, since the relationship between science education and preparation for life was not entirely defined.

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[20] Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School*, 141.
[21] Ibid., 142.

Science Curriculum and the General Science Course

The achievements born of scientific inquiry from the time of the Enlightenment to the start of the twentieth century altered the nature of human existence and ushered in an infinite variety of questions about natural phenomena. In fact, it was and is the question of how not so much why that really makes science a unique field of study. It is in descriptions, as Rexford Tugwell and Leon Keyserling suggest, that science becomes so enlightening.

> A student for instance, when asked why a stone falls is apt to reply, "Because of the law of gravity." Careful analysis will, however, compel him to admit that the law of gravity is nothing but a generalized description of how things fall, and that, therefore, he is saying that a description of how things fall makes a stone fall.[22]

As significant an impact as science had on the development of humanity, its relative importance as a subject worth learning, either for its method or for the knowledge of its content, was not entirely appreciated. Not until 1854 when Herbert Spencer proclaimed that the knowledge of most worth was science, did the subject receive much educational respect. Spencer expressed confidence and optimism in the power of science, and he saw in its method the means for practical and useful application toward any human endeavor. John Dewey was also impressed by the scientific method, but he saw in it the power for solving society's problems and used it as a process oriented method to integrate all forms of knowledge. This was an often repeated theme of Dewey's that seemed most cogent in its treatment in *Democracy and Education*.

> With respect then, to both the humanistic and naturalistic studies, education should take its departure from this close interdependence. It should aim not at keeping science as a

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[22] Tugwell and Keyserling, *Redirecting Education*, 202-03.

> study of nature apart from literature as a record of human interest, but at cross-fertilizing both the natural sciences and the various human disciplines such as history, literature, economics and politics. . . . A large part of the comparative ineffectiveness of the teaching of the sciences, for those who never become scientific specialists, is the result of a separation which is unavoidable when one begins with technically organized subject matter. . . . Too often the pupil comes out with a smattering which is too superficial to be scientific and too technical to be applicable to ordinary affairs.[23]

To a large extent Dewey was concerned with preparing pupils to think. Science was not merely useful in its specialized command of the processes operating in nature, but in its method of discerning, describing, and observing all that connected humans to the world. In this respect the scientific method was a valuable tool for social studies as well.

Not surprisingly, those who valued a scientific education sought to train students in the application of the scientific method.[24] It was precisely this type of training, the acquisition of skills in observing, describing, recording, and inferring, that Charles Eliot intended for the science curriculum in secondary education. As Krug indicated, Eliot believed

> The ability of the adult to get information depended on his training. Proper training could not easily be had outside the school. It was critically necessary for pupils not bound for college to get all the training they could while they had the chance.[25]

Training the mind to reason analytically or disciplining the mind through proper stimulus of "mental functions" was considered a worthy objective of science courses. Although certainly effective in the specific sciences, developing mental discipline by training in the scientific method was seen as a prominent function of the general science course as well.[26]

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[23] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: MacMillan, 1926), 334-35.

[24] W. H. Brock, *H. E. Armstrong and the Teaching of Science, 1880-1930* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 16-27.

[25] Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School*, 204.

What value the General Science course would serve in the high school was a matter of opinion during the early part of the twentieth century and remains a matter for speculation today. Nevertheless, the general science course, although evident as far back as 1900, "when an example of it was reported in practice at the high school of Lincoln, Nebraska," evolved into a popular and permanent fixture in 1920s America. In principle it developed out of a need to provide, in the words of W. H. Brock, "a common core of factual information which covered the laws and phenomena of everyday life and familiar experience, and which formed an essential part of everyone's knowledge." Philosophically, the course was really meant to be flexible, to adapt to the changes in society and reflect the interaction of nature with society. A course in general science was also supposed to establish and foster correlative relationships between science and the other disciplines in order to emphasize continuity in the nature of scientific discovery.[27]

In some high schools in the early 1900's, a physical geography course, the predecessor to general science, served as an introduction to science methods intended for college preparation, while in others "general science" was a regarded as having "relatively little value in preparing for collegiate work." There were those who regarded general science as necessary for students who did not plan to attend college. They saw the value of scientific principles and knowledge at the secondary level as indispensable to living. In a practical sense, demand for the general science course realigned its function as both a survey of topics relevant to every student's complete education and an introductory course in the science sequence. However, this was not realized until after 1920.[28]

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[26] Ibid., 207; Brock, *H. E. Armstrong and the Teaching of Science*, 209; Otis W. Caldwell, "General Science or Special Science", *The School Review* 23 (February 1915): 135.

[27] Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School*, 372; Brock, *H. E. Armstrong and the Teaching of Science*, 5.

[28] Frank K. Foster, "Science in the Accredited High School in Washington",

Prior to 1920 interest in general education in science, and for that matter, science in general education, was waning. The enrollment in high school science courses between 1900 and 1915 dropped by 20 percent. This was substantial in all of the science courses offered but particularly devastating in physical geography, the precursor to general science. In its attempt to standardize subject matter, the NEA's Committee of Ten recommended the reorganization of many discrete, special science courses into a more comprehensive "general" course which they named Physical Geography. Physical geography was an extension of elementary general science that combined the subjects of geography, geology, and meteorology and was intended for first year high school students as an intermediate treatment of scientific methods of observation, description and inference. However, these courses were neither popular with students nor successful in their preparation because they were regarded as superficial. Their failure was also attributed to a lack of adaptability on the part of teachers with respect to materials and methods. In fact, all of the science courses suffered a crisis in popularity that can be attributed in large measure to their lack of practicality, description, and relation to common people.[29]

In response to this slump in enrollments, "along with attempts to reform chemistry, biology, and physics as separate subjects" efforts were made to create a practical and descriptive science course.[30] In 1920, the NEA's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (CRSE) through its committee on science under the chairmanship of Otis W.

The School Review 30 (June 1922): 427; I. Bernard Cohen and Fletcher G. Watson, *General Education in Science* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 141-42.

[29] Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, *Science in General Education* (New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1938), 10; Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School*, 368-69; H. Seymour Fowler, *Secondary School Science Teaching Practices* (New York: The Center for Applied Research in Education, 1964), 3; Earl H. McGrath, ed., *Science in General Education* (Dubuque, William C. Brown, 1948), 382; Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, *Science in General Education*, 10; Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School*, 369-70.

[30] Ibid., 372-75.

Caldwell, director of the Lincoln School at Columbia, sought to demonstrate that science education contributed to six of the Seven Cardinal Principles of education which had been presented two years earlier.[31] The Seven Cardinal Principles identified the aims for secondary education and included:

1. health
2. command of fundamental processes
3. worthy home membership
4. vocational efficiency
5. civic participation
6. worthy use of leisure time
7. ethical character.[32]

With the exception of command of fundamental processes, science found a place and a purpose in secondary education. Furthermore, the commission's report indicated that science provided pupils with "informal values" which were characterized as a "large body of facts and principles of significance in the home, school, and community."[33] Because of its primary purpose, general science was relegated to seventh and eighth grades and the sequence for the high school science curriculum began with biology, followed by chemistry, physics, and electives. Interestingly enough, as Krug has observed,

> It is remarkable how this recommendation corresponded to the science sequence developed in the high schools during the late 1950s. Schools on the 8-4 plan were advised to place general science in the ninth grade, biology in the tenth, and to offer the same range of electives for the two upper years.[34]

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[31] Butts and Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture*, 592; Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School*, 374; Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, *Science in General Education*, 11.

[32] Butts and Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture*, 592.

[33] Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School*, 374.

[34] Ibid., 374.

Prior to the recommendation that the general science course be placed at the "junior high school" level, a number of schools since 1910, had reported problems in both methodology and organization with their respective general science programs. From a survey of Iowa High Schools in 1916 it was startlingly clear that everything from a lack of consistent and effective teaching methods to a proliferation of widely divergent textbooks and a conspicuous lack of laboratory or field exercises had seriously undermined the value of general science courses.[35] It was concluded that administrators and science teachers had not reached consensus about the value of general science in Iowa high schools.[36] In the state of Washington, a 1922 report on science in accredited high schools indicated that the most popular elective science course was the general science course in spite of offerings in biology, botany, chemistry, physics, physiology, and zoology. The reason for this was attributed to the more practical and descriptive content and the more relevant application to "the material world" than was offered in the special sciences.[37] From a 1918 study of general science in the University High School in Eugene, Oregon, given at the eighth grade level, the most effective approach involved "developing a proper pedagogical method of instruction . . . [in which] the laboratory approach to science study and the inductive method" were coordinated with "problem method instruction."[38]

It was readily apparent that for the general science course to survive, the methods of instruction and its content organization were of the utmost importance. Regardless of its placement in either the "junior high school" or senior high school level, the course required special attention. It was not lack of interest on the part of students that caused problems for the course, but rather lack of direction, conviction, and methodology. On the contrary, interest in science among the general public, and from students in particular, was extremely high and the range extremely wide.[39] Unfortunately for educators, this interest did not necessarily translate to better science education.

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[35] Lewis, "General Science in Iowa High Schools," 426-35.
[36] Ibid., 434.
[37] Foster, "Science in the Accredited High School in Washington," 425-30.
[38] Ruch, "General Science in the University High School," 393-400.

One of the most significant influences that hampered science teachers and administrators in their efforts to design and implement curriculum changes in the sciences was the steady and rapid growth in the student population during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Meeting the needs of "all the people" was not made any easier when school enrollments increased by 30-40 percent between 1900-1930.[40] The difficulty was compounded by the fact that the increases were accompanied by a

> lowering of the socio-economic status of the general level of secondary school students, a lowering of the average academic intelligence, and a shift from predominance of students destined for upper middle class professions to those going into lower middle class vocations and occupations requiring little or no specific academic training.[41]

In response, the general science course had to be tailored to the levels of the student in order to be of any value, and the values of the course had to have some relevance to the student to be taken seriously. In this way the general science course represented a convenient compromise between the advanced technical nature of the special sciences which were clearly intended for preparation for higher education and the expressed responsibility to provide a competent and practical science education for all.

Consequently the general science course became a kind of medley of miscellaneous values and topics oriented toward those subjects in science which were deemed most valuable to the student. Taking a cue from the 1920 bulletin issued by the

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[39] Francis Day Curtis, *Some Values Derived From Extensive Reading of General Science* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1924), 111-12.

[40] Commission on Secondary School Curriculum, *Science in General Education*, 10.

[41] Ibid., 11.

United States Bureau of Education as recommended by the CRSE, teachers and administrators designed the aims of general science curriculums to resemble the values emphasized in the report. Values that appealed to the interests, habits, and abilities of students; provided methods for solving problems; stimulated direct and purposeful activity; fostered command of facts and principles useful in homes, school, and community; and contributed to the development of cultural and aesthetic activities.[42] The general science course emerged as both the representative of scientific values and the watershed between the serious study of science and the socially appreciative aspect of scientific phenomena.

Although subtle differences between general science and the special sciences arose in the methods employed to teach them and in the organization of their respective subject matter, in the beginning they were virtually identical to one another. Naturally, general science courses initially resembled a composite derived largely from "blocks of content from specialized science subjects" and typical units included "astronomy, biology, chemistry, geology, health meteorology, and physics."[43] The advent of the junior high school movement during this period not only helped establish general science as a significant course in the science sequence, but it fostered the integration between methods of observation and exploration with the theoretical nature of the special sciences. Most importantly the general science course incorporated the social manifestations of science and linked general scientific descriptions to more specific bits of specialized subject matter. In Wilford Aiken's narrative about a later study undertaken to evaluate secondary education he stated that

> certain facts of physics and chemistry and important principles of biology are used in the work going on, but the center of organization is something other than the internal logic of any subject. Teachers and students are driving at something more important to them than learning the content of physics,

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[42] Fowler, *Secondary School Science Teaching Practices*, 4.
[43] Ibid., 10.

> chemistry or biology. . . . It may be that they are investigating the effect of certain vitamins on growth, or how and why the city keeps its water supply pure, or the nature and effect of certain kinds of artificial lighting.[44]

The topics reflected the problems of society and how science helped to overcome them. In this way the student was introduced not only to scientific principles but to their purpose for, as well as their relationship to, the rest of humanity. Furthermore topics such as these offered a continuity between the discrete subdivisions of science; how discoveries in "chemistry have biological, geological and astronomical implications that cannot be overlooked if science is to have significance."[45]

There were other methods that helped shape the content and teaching of the general science course and they reflected many of the innovations used elsewhere in the science curriculum and the school. [For instance, the "project method" proposed by William Heard Kilpatrick, which was often coordinated with laboratory or field study, became an important method in later years especially when the general science course focussed on "earth science."[46] Not surprisingly, practically all of the innovations in the general science course were associated with direct experience. Observation of student conducted experiments, field and nature study, construction of apparatus to perform measurements on or better observe natural phenomena, analysis of the air, water, food and earth, these were the innovations that made the most difference in enriching students and fulfilling the objectives and aims of the course. The value of these methods was inherent in the student-centered approach toward direct discovery and direct experience as opposed to the vicarious methods of lecture and recitation which unfortunately, were all too common because they posed few demands on the teacher's time.[47] By offering students the opportunity to participate in the process that defined science, namely the actual performance of tests and experiments, and interaction with natural phenomena, students were engaging in the] types of activities that, Progressive educators believed, linked the subject of science to society. This, of course, was all important to the Progressive mentality toward education and its manifestation in later years with the introduction of several other general science composite courses: introduction to physical science, earth science, environmental science, world science, science and the community.[48]

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[44] Wilford M. Aiken, *The Story of the Eight-Year Study* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942), 50.

[45] Ibid., 145.

[46] J. Wayne Wrightstone, *Appraisal of Experimental High School Practices* (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1936), 64.

[47] Harrington Wells, *Secondary Science Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill,

General science matured into what the Progressives believed science education ought to represent. Although the tendency for change and flexibility in curricula and methods has not always been forthcoming or effectively administered, the science curriculum, secondary schools, and the entire educational system constantly seems to be on the verge of reform. In this respect, adaptation and reevaluation instigate various forms of education that enhance the progress of society and its students. Although they did not completely do away with specialized and independent fields of knowledge, Progressive educators managed to uphold a place for the general course that at the most opened a new world for some and at the least provided an educational opportunity for many. The Progressives accomplished "social progress" with the introduction of general science. In referring to the Progressive Era, Edward Krug recognized the mutual dependence between science education and society when he noted, "Progress was a magic word . . . and schools must have their share in it."[49]

1952), 211; Herbert G. Lull and H. B. Wilson, *The Redirection of High School Instruction* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1921), 126-29; Sterling Fishman, Andreas M. Kazamias, and Herbert M. Kliebard, eds., *Teacher, Student and Society* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974), 39-52.

[48] R. W. Burnett, *Teaching Science in the Secondary School* (New York: Rinehart, 1957), 43-47; Nelson L. Bossing, *Progressive Methods of Teaching in Secondary Schools* (Boston: Houghton Miflin, 1935), 122-31.

[49] Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School*, 16.

The Honors Program on Trial: Swarthmore College in the late 1920s

Akira Tachikawa
International Christian University
Tokyo, Japan

In his now classical history of the American College and University, Frederick Rudolph has characterized the honors program as a revolt "against the impersonalization, the machine-like quality of the university-oriented education." Rudolph has further added that "the honors idea spoke for the recognition and encouragement of talent and for the return of intimacy and human considerations, even the return of the student, to the teaching-learning experience."[1] Now, if the honors program was largely introduced, as he has asserted, "in revolt against the impersonalization," why were there found, as we will see later, not a few alienated honors students, to say nothing of a great majority of ordinary students in the midst of the program? Why were there complaints, even among honors students, about professors' discrimination against ordinary students? Again, if the honors idea "spoke for . . . the return of intimacy and human considerations," why did President Frank Aydelotte, the major spokesman, consistently deny traditional collegiate and secondary school education, where "intimacy and human considerations" must have been predominant? Furthermore, if the program had been a revolt against the university-oriented education, why didn't Aydelotte flatly reject the German method of instruction? For he clearly stated that the error lay, not in that method itself, but rather in the fact that America had applied that method to undergraduates, when it was in fact effective for advanced students.

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[1] Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Vintage Press, 1962) 452-58.

In the current paper, the author tries to give a slightly different perspective to the history of the honors program in the United States, by focusing upon the changed status of the program at Swarthmore under Frank Aydelotte. The author will argue that a major purpose of the Swarthmore plan was Aydelotte's ambitious goal to bring a small liberal arts college back to the mainstream of higher education in 20th century America. In other words, the efforts were not so much an attempt to revive a good-old collegiate education, as a competition with research universities of the period such as Chicago, Michigan, Harvard, and Cornell.

A few major points included in Aydelotte's inaugural address in 1921 may serve to illustrate the argument. Having observed a serious confusion in American liberal education, Aydelotte proposed a few basic solutions. One of these referred to "a more limited program of studies and a more thorough standard of attainment in each," a direction of substantial specialization, rather than dispersion, in liberal arts education. He proposed that, by selecting academically talented students, Swarthmore could give them training at an academical level "roughly equal to that of current M.A.", a proposal for graduate level studies for undergraduates! Somewhat surprisingly, Aydelotte argued that because the honors program could save professors from much of the drudgery of teaching, it would reserve "more time for their study and research." He amplified the point by saying that "the provision of books and laboratories for this work is as necessary as a part of our educational expenditure as are the materials for purely under-graduate instruction."[2]

These points throw light on one of the roles of the honors work, which has been relatively ignored. As it started at Swarthmore, the system was in part intended to promote a liberal arts college into a more research-oriented institution. For a small college like Swarthmore, concentration on a limited number of programs for selected students was indispensable for establishing a high academic level, especially among its faculty. In other words, contrary to Rudolph's interpretation, the honors work and honors students were not simply ends, but also were means, means for advanced research activities in the settings of a small college.

Given this framework, we would better understand, the author believes, a few questions attending Swarthmore's honors program stated at the outset. But the task here is to trace the early history of the program, keeping the framework in mind. On introducing the new program, where did Aydelotte locate the basic defects of American higher education in the first quarter of the twentieth century? He incisively summarized the defects in just one phrase: namely the academic lock step. Aydelotte recognized a wide divergence among college students' abilities. However, American colleges and universities of the period remained strikingly indifferent to this fact, and they consistently adopted the principle of standardization, while a phenomenal error lay, not in that method itself, but rather in the fact that America had applied that method to undergraduates, when it was in fact effective for advanced students.

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In contrast at Oxford, where Aydelotte had studied as a Rhodes scholar, they divided students into those academically talented and those who were not, and gave the former considerable freedom to study independently. Moreover, an ambitious Oxonian student tried to finish first in Honors class. The Honors work which Aydelotte introduced into Swarthmore in 1922 represented a radical transfer of the Oxonian system in which honors programs were offered in complete lieu of the course work for the third and fourth years in college.

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[2] Frank Aydelotte, *Breaking the Academic Lock Step* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), 14, 11.

The Swarthmore programs started with 50 junior participants, some 2 percent of the entire student body. The number steadily increased from year to year, and finally some 40 percent of the class participated in Honors work. In place of some 50 hours of course work, the participants received from four to six hours of training in small seminar settings. Typically, two faculty members and five or six students organized a group and discussed the papers weekly prepared by the students on the subjects of the program.[3]

A few visitors to Swarthmore during the 1920s almost idealized the program from educational points of view. Aydelotte, however, had a severe view of the program's status. According to him, ordinary students who needed constant stimulation and help from course work, did not fit into an honors program. On the other hand, ability grouping was far from satisfactory for exceptionally bright students. They needed a distinctly different approach which assumed independence and inspiration, qualities required of mature scholars. Aydelotte had seen a deep and wide divergence of ability among students, which was even qualitative. On one occasion he has stated the following to Swarthmore students: "You are not better educated than another man because you know one hundred things while he knows fifty, but rather because your knowledge of one fact or one book, or one language, or one subject, differs from his in quality--in breadth, in accuracy, in reasonableness, or in imagination." Thus, by introducing the Honors work and by setting its academic goals high, Swarthmore made itself potentially vulnerable to criticisms, criticisms with regard to its academic standards and with regard to its severe requirements on honors students.[4]

Its high academic goals precipitated a crisis in the spring of 1926. This year Swarthmore for the first time invited a British scholar as an external examiner, Professor Helen Darbishire of Oxford who was then in Wellesley College. Having examined twelve honors candidates in English literature, the Oxford professor selected only five for honors, passed six others and even failed one. Her criticisms covered the major aspects of the Honors work in English literature. With regards to students' papers, Darbishire pointed to three fundamental defects: First, "ignorance underlying cocksure statement." Or students' "insufficient knowledge of the works read." Furthermore, their ignorance applied to other aspects such as the English language, literary history, and literary form, i.e. metre and style: second, failure to "argue a point clearly." Without grasping the question, "students started off an issue that interested them and rambled round it." Darbishire here pointed out the lack of training in writing upon thorough analysis: third, the Oxford professor referred to the "frequent violation of what might be called the decorum of the examination by personal statement, excuse, or explanation." She flatly outlawed some interpolations as ill-afforded to waste, and pronounced that "The style in which the papers were written was in some cases slangy and careless to the point of illiteracy." Following these criticisms, Darbishire proposed a few necessary improvements. First, she urged that a few main texts be prescribed for perusal by honors students, enabling them to "proceed independently to a further study." Then, she singled out Bradley's *Making of English* as the basic reference to insure the "necessary modicum of knowledge about the English language." Finally, Darbishire advised that Swarthmore offer "good concentrated courses of lectures," which would serve as "models to the students in method and style.[5]

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[3] Ibid., 15, 22; Robert C. Brooks, *Reading for Honors at Swarthmore* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1927), 117; Burton R. Clark, *The Distinctive College; Antioch, Reed & Swarthmore* (Chicago: Aldine, 1970), 118.

[4] Brooks, *Reading for Honors*, 136; Aydelotte, *Breaking the Academic Lock Step*, 129; Frank Aydelotte, The Educational Program of Swarthmore College (Swarthmore: Swarthmore College, N.D.), 9.

Thus, throughout her attacks and recommendations, focus was set upon the deficiencies in training rather than upon insufficient scholarship on the part of Swarthmore staff: the

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[5] MS, Helen Darbishire, "English Honours. Swarthmore College," May 1926. Swarthmoreana Collection, Swarthmore College, Pa.; It should be kept in mind that American academic standards had been constantly subjected to criticism at Oxford. See Frank Aydelotte, *Oxford Stamp and Other Essays* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1917), 55.

Oxford professor pointed to the lack of adequate education, rather than of academic research, in Swarthmore for the successful prosecution of honors programs. This emphasis upon education marked a striking contrast to Aydelotte's inaugural address in which he advocated the introduction of the honors program in view of the promotion of research in a small college. And all the attacks and recommendations came from the very Oxford at which Aydelotte believed he had obtained his basic ideas for reform.

From the time when the Oxford professor delivered the heavy blow, Swarthmore students began to raise open questions about the honors work. One of these appeared in March 1927 when a student charged the program for not affording the alleged freedom to students. The sheer amount of assigned reading, among other things, left an honors student "little opportunity for doing any work on his own responsibility." There would ensue a grave consequence of isolation in the world where everything was "too disconnected," diluting the sense of community "which will have the pursuit of knowledge as its chief interest." This student proposed, the author believes quite rightly, that Swarthmore devote the first two years to the studies of Greek civilization and of nineteenth century English, a much more "educational" plan of Meiklejohn. In the following year, another critical student exposed the honors work in "real life" which was only for "those chosen few who are willing to give themselves entirely to intellectual pursuits." Then, the faculty would regard ordinary classes as "backward groups" and had these "in the back of their heads to eliminate." All this sharply contrasted with the Swarthmore of the old, he held, that represented "happy surroundings where young men and women grew up together on natural terms of friendship." Another serious opposition arose in regard to an attempt to expand the number of honors students. Thus, a critical student held that fifteen percent of undergraduates taking honors at Swarthmore was too high, and that the program should admit only those with "a real desire for intellectual pursuits." Again, the critic pointed out that those admitted to the program should not care for "the approbation of their fellow students," indicating that the honors work would bring about all kinds of hostility on campus, even between the faculty and honors students! Fully aware of such conflicts, still another opponent asserted that thenceforth at Swarthmore three distinct boards should admit students independently; the honors professors board, the special experts board, and the athletics board, a plan to separate the college into three entities. Even a student who was generally favorable to the program admonished the administration against its expansion on the basis of students' reluctance to be discriminated against because of their honors status. Despite a lot of external appraisals, the honors work at Swarthmore thus confronted by the late 1920s a "violent and fanatical" opposition from students. Moreover, the criticisms pointed to the lack of educational strategies on the part of the college which would inevitably produce deep and un-educational splits in the college community.[6]

In 1926, Aydelotte conducted a survey of the first five years of honors work. Some twenty honors program graduates responded, based on which Robert C. Brooks, Aydelotte's major colleague, made an analysis. Although two graduates were rather negative toward their honors experiences, Brooks found "an overwhelming majority of the graduates to be strongly in favor of the new plan." As the graduates pointed out, held Brooks, the first of the program's strengths lay in the equal and intimate relationship of the faculty and students, a point lending support to Rudolph's statement. Second, the program helped these students acquire habits of independent study and research, thereby even producing a student who "couldn't stop studying."[7] In his judgment, therefore, the honors work proved a great success in its breadth of training and in the encouragement of critical thinking.

To the current author, Brooks' conclusion seems to have been too optimistic. Despite Aydelotte's expectations, the answers from some twenty graduates were largely less than enthusiastic. Many were apparently confused because of the uncertainty of the effects of the program upon them at such an early stage. Among meager answers upon its influences, two individuals flatly stated that extra-curricular activities and managerships of athletic teams, rather than the honors work, helped their later business career. This was a pronouncement that the program had failed in its intended educational goals. Then a female graduate pointed to the physical and nervous breakdowns observed almost universally among the honors students. Then, one of the above indicted professors who, judging non-honors classes in light of below par, were doing "great injustice to the students and college! And there were quite a few who did it." Students' oppositions in *The Portfolio* as well as these responses from graduates were serious, the author believes, because they share something in common with Darbishire's criticisms.[8]

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[6] Anon., "An Experiment in Education," *The Portfolio* 3, 1 (March 1927): 26-28; Anon., "The Pioneer," *The Portfolio* 4, 1 (March 1928): 30-32; Anon., "Reading or Loafing for Honors," *The Portfolio* 4, 1: 34; Anon., "In Re Local Teleology," *The Portfolio* 4, 1: 36; Anon., (No title), *The Portfolio* 4, 1: 39.

[7] Brooks, *Reading for Honors*, 101, 108.

Although given from rather different perspectives, these criticisms ultimately pointed to the educational deficiencies and sometimes positive neglect in the program which was allegedly very educational. Judging from the Swarthmore president's inaugural address, these deficiencies and neglect reflected in part what the college tried to do in the 1920s: to compete with the larger universities in the area of academic research by affording its faculty more time and opportunities for independent work.

Some ten years later in a speech which partly caused the resignation of President Aydelotte, the President of the Alumni Association expressed his fear that "the purely academic functions of Swarthmore are crowding out those vital activities that have to do with the development of ruggedness, courage, determination and better human understanding." He further added that the fear was driving "a wedge between Swarthmore and a large part of her alumni body." When they started the program in the early 1920s, the Swarthmore administration set as their end-in-view to enroll all students in the honors program. To relieve the faculty from drudgery of teaching, this certainly was a necessary condition. However, even the elitist College could at its peak register slightly more than 40 percent of its students in the program. Throughout Aydelotte' presidency, the honors students remained the minority on campus. Confronting students' reluctance fully to comply with the plans of a research-oriented college, Aydelotte's honors work at Swarthmore had already faced a serious obstacle in the latter half of the 1920s.[9]

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[8] Elizabeth Sharples to Frank Aydelotte, n.d.; Roger Palmer to Frank Aydelotte, 19 November 1926, Swarthmoreana Collection, Swarthmore College, Pa.; Lucille J. Buchanan to Frank Aydelotte, 26 September 1926. Swarthmoreana Collection, Swarthmore College, Pa.; Sharples to Aydelotte.

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[9] Quoted in Everett L. Hunt, *The Revolt of the College Intellectual* (New York: Human Relations Aids, 1963), 55-56; Clark, *The Distinctive College*, 118.

Miles E. Cary: Democratic Reconstructionist at McKinley High School, Honolulu, Hawaii
1921-1948

Shirley JoAnn Williams
College of St. Francis

When unfamiliar names surface in the chronicles of time, the historian functions as a reverse prophet, re-examining past details to redefine an otherwise familiar story. Miles Elwood Cary and McKinley High School are such unfamiliar names to be reborn in educational history, the social contexts of which make their stories significant. In the post annexation era, McKinley High School in Honolulu, Hawaii was an urban public high school whose multicultural student body reflected the ethnic composition of the Hawaiian territory. Changing territorial needs, a diverse public school population, and economic and political arguments about possible Hawaiian statehood made the islands an interesting focal point for education.

The political climate of the United States in the early twentieth century had created a need for a new type of educational system--one which assigned a central role to an educated citizenry. As progressive politics attempted to ward off the danger of a strong central government, it created the need for a democracy in which people participated fully in its processes. Such a political philosophy required a new progressive theory of education, for an educational system designed to mold the student to the established system could not liberate the child for participation in a rapidly changing society. Vitalized curriculum provided interaction between students and their environment, and became a driving force of the progressive movement. "Laboratory schools" provided rich experiences to develop the connectedness of the complex phenomena which faced children daily. To develop character and the processes for cooperation in community life, students experienced the activities which provided an understanding society connected to the individual's fundamental needs.

Miles Cary was one of many mainland educators who served as godparents to American educational ideals in the rapidly changing territory of Hawaii. While the democratic function of government passed largely unnoticed in most schools, McKinley High School became a crucible for democracy--an achievement made possible through Cary's commitment to progressive education and the laboratory school concept. Instead of a traditional curriculum of learning "the right" answers to problems laid down before them, students at McKinley High School emphasized finding problems, understanding them, and becoming actively involved in their solutions. Fixed indoctrination, was replaced with a curriculum organized around a vital center of experiences provided to stimulate inquiry for social ends.

Miles E. Cary was born on 1 November 1894 in the small town of Orting, Washington. Cary described himself as an athlete and a bookworm, with a particular interest in history, math, and historical novels. In spite of high school aspirations to be a lawyer or an engineer, he turned to education while at the University of Washington. "I'll never regret it [he said] . . . education is the most thrilling work a person can be engaged in today."[1] At the time of his graduation from the University of Washington in 1917, placement agencies in the Pacific Northwest were heavily recruiting for teachers needed in the United States Territory of Hawaii. In 1921, Miles and his wife, the former Edith Brackett, decided to visit the islands. Intrigued by the new progressive movement in Hawaii coupled with the problems of a fast growing culturally diverse educational system, Miles and Edith Cary accepted the challenge of a new culture and a new home. Hawaii provided them an opportunity to implement developing principles which had gained recognition in Washington, into a school system ripe for the seeds of educational change.

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[1] *Daily Pinion*, Honolulu: McKinley High School, 17 October 1940.

In September 1921, Miles E. Cary made his debut at McKinley High School as a history teacher and coach of the junior football, track, and basketball teams. In 1922, he served as advisor for the newly formed school newspaper, The *Pinion*. After a one-year principalship at Maui High School, Cary returned to McKinley. A 1924 headline of the Honolulu Advertiser read: "McKinley High Starts Year As One of the Best Equipped In The World," and described buildings to be as well equipped as the best educational institutions on the mainland. However, the newspaper foreshadowed the most vital change, a new principal, Miles E. Cary.[2]

Cary's administrative concerns were first directed at the implementation of a new course of study resulting from a Federal Commission report of 1920. He recognized a need, however, to reform curriculum beyond that suggested by the territorial governing agency. In 1925, Cary addressed the Hawaii Education Association regarding uniformity of certain routine elements of the instruction and education of the child. He concluded with the following statement: "The centralized school system of Hawaii lends itself to a program providing a reasonable degree of uniformity among the high schools. Such uniformity should in no way interfere with the initiative and freedom of individual teachers and schools."[3]

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[2] "McKinley High Starts Year As One Of The Best Equipped in the World," *Honolulu Advertiser*, 2 September 1924, 1.

[3] Hawaii Education Association, *Proceedings of Sixth Annual Convention* (Honolulu, Oahu, Territory of Hawaii, 29-31 December 1925), 26.

Cary demonstrated early his intent for democratic schooling and a path to curriculum reform in which the teachers and students of McKinley High School demonstrated a new spirit of energy in its implementation.

Social unrest became a growing force in the United States, while the totalitarian movements of the 1930's and 1940's blocked the development of free civilizations in part of Europe and Asia. Freedom and democracy in American education were being challenged. America's depression created a famine amidst plenty. It was within this context that George S. Counts developed his educational approach to "build a new social order." Counts' concern that school was a social and cultural enterprise encouraged economic, social, and political reform.

Democratic reconstructionists viewed the schools as instruments to change and improve society--not merely reflect it. They believed the school's curriculum should educate youth to criticize society's wrongdoings and develop social action to correct and reconstruct them. Disagreement occurred, however, as to whether or not the school's teaching profession and administrative leadership should be a direct constructive force in the determination of the social order through defined educational goals or a more indirect approach. Some experimentalists were convinced that no one should predetermine a new social order and denied that one could be perceived and defined in advance.[4] The advocates of indirect action rejected the idea of class struggle as an enduring feature of the social order. Instead, they saw the school as a site to discover conflicts in our cultural heritage, reinterpret the meaning of democracy, and "to become an energizing center for study and activity for the entire community."[5] Nevertheless, both the direct reconstructionist beliefs of Counts and the more indirect approach of Miles E. Cary placed schools in the middle of reform movement controversy.

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[4] John P. Wynne, *Theories of Education* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1963), 460.

[5] Miles E. Cary, "Integration and High School Curriculum," (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1937), 230.

Miles Cary realized that a significant factor complicating the Hawaiian educational system was the emphasis on traditional aims and objectives by community leaders. Three distinct attitudes toward education had crystallized.[6] The first was that expanding educational opportunities should be compatible with Hawaii's basic industries, and education for nonhaoles (nonwhites) should serve citizenship and contribute to the economy.[7] A second group felt that education should be curtailed, "for education would destroy an economy based on the utilization of masses of ignorant workers."[8] The third position had as its principal advocate, Miles E. Cary, who "urged education to liberate talent and creativity, with the hope of someday transforming the social structure of Hawaii."[9] Cary quoted George S. Counts' view of traditional education in his plan to vitalize McKinley's curriculum:

> . . . The traditional program, in so far as it was ever adapted to the achievement of any genuine educational purpose, was designed to provide a narrow academic education for the children of a small, privileged social class or for the exceptional children of less favored parentage. . . .[10]

Curriculum Revision

Miles Cary worked to vitalize the curriculum of McKinley High School. His plan, developed in his Master's Thesis at the University of Hawaii in 1930, utilized the "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education" and the National Education Association's research bulletin entitled "Vitalizing the Curriculum". Cary criticized both, however, for their lack of "suggestions looking toward a broader concept of method, or possible regroupings, or integrations of subject matter."[11] Realizing the traditional tendency of the suggested reorganization, Cary turned to the writings of John Dewey, William H. Kilpatrick, Boyd H. Bode, and Harold Rugg. As Miles Cary looked to the experience-based, child-centered, experimental learning of the progressives, he urged that the curriculum must make full provisions for the improvement of society.[12] Cary's democratic movement involved McKinley High School students in the heart of community problems--problems which assisted curriculum development, provided school and community experiences, and placed emphasis on social and cultural aspects to organize the school as an embryonic society. By studying conflict from a student perspective, focusing on the contradictions between democracy and authoritarianism in Hawaii, and studying the impact of education on the economy, McKinley played a key role in transforming the vision of Hawaii's labor force. McKinley High School's student body largely descended from the plantation work force. Since economically deprived cultures tend to think in patterns oriented toward change, while economically affluent cultures think in patterns which at least subconsciously preserve the status quo, McKinley High School provided a center for change--a public school that planted seeds of educational liberalism which could one day destroy Hawaii's oligarchy.[13]

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[6] Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), 279.

[7] *Haole* is an Hawaiian term which originally referred to any foreigner, but became the term for a white person, particularly one with power.

[8] Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono*, 279.

[9] Ibid.

[10] George S. Counts, "The Senior High School Curriculum," (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1937), 230.

The sugar planters who ruled Hawaii were confronted with a situation far more complex than that created by the Southerners in the United States, for the multiethnic population of Hawaii probably had no parallel elsewhere on the earth. Hawaii's students drank deeply of the educational and democratic idealism offered by dedicated teachers who provided an opportunity for students to criticize the social system and make decisions about the conditions under which they lived. The worst nightmare of powerful plantation managers was coming true: "Public education beyond the fourth grade is not only a waste, it is a menace. We spend to educate them and they will destroy us.[14]

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[11] Miles E. Cary, "A Vitalized Curriculum for McKinley High School," (Master's Thesis, University of Hawaii, 1930), 162.

[12] Cary, "A Vitalized Curriculum," 129.

[13] John E. Walsh, *Intercultural Education in the Community of Man* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1930), 162.

Cary could have appealed to agricultural and vocational interests and received less criticism and greater support from plantation owners and haole wealth. Instead, he followed his conscience and promoted education as a "deliberate, careful, persistent search for the meaning of democracy."[15] McKinley High School students stressed open-minded thinking and attitudes--attitudes reflected in curriculum change through student government, communication, and a core curriculum utilizing community-based problem solving. Miles E. Cary believed in human potential and often referred to the educator's complex job in developing human relations. Cary's strength was not in theory--it was in process. Concerned about participatory democracy, he saw communication as a process for human empowerment. [16] According to Cary, "the traditional high school tended to direct young people into the preferred jobs of the community. The new high school will help young people to discover the wider social meanings and values that may be experienced by those who engage in the common occupations of the community."[17]

> Our students approach the study of school, local, national, and international problems on the basis of certain inchoate assumptions concerning democracy, human nature, economics, and related matters. It is the office of reflective thinking to bring these assumptions out into the open, to study them, and to reconstruct them in light of facts and principles of the social sciences and of present-day realities.

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[14] Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono*, 263.

[15] *Black and Gold* (Honolulu: McKinley High School, I 1941), 16.

[16] Robert H. Beck, private interview with author, American Educational Studies Association Convention, Chicago, Illinois, 26 October 1989. Beck and Cary were colleagues in the Education Department at the University of Minnesota from 1948-1951.

[17] Frederick E. Bolton and Miles E. Cary, "Going to School in Hawaii," *Nations Schools* 8 (October 1931): 48.

> Conflicts, inconsistencies, and issues might well be used as organizing centers of study. Careful records should be kept relative to what young people believe and why. If these records were cumulative the school would, in time, be able to report on what is possible in the way of stimulating young people to enter upon the task of building, each for himself, a criticized and more unified philosophy of life.[18]

Miles Cary's vision for curriculum change was most keenly reflected in a poem he wrote:

> But in my present work I saw the possibility
> Of creating a different sort of symphony--
> An excellent school
> In which boys and girls and teachers
> Might work together
> In a beautiful community.
> The activities of this school
> Would be of such a nature
> That their influence would be felt
> In every home and section
> Of the larger community
> Running through this symphony,
> Like a mystic golden thread.[19]

Cary believed every curricular procedure in secondary education should be scientifically scrutinized to promise wholesome child activity and social utility.[20] Education's aim lay in its method--not the devices by which prescribed subject matter is covered, but "the way in which young people live and work together."[21] According to Cary, such method is "purposeful, constructive activity carried on with thoughtfulness and in an atmosphere of democracy.[22]

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[18] Miles E. Cary, "The Core Studies and Community Activities," *Educational Method* 18 (March 1939): 274-75.

[19] This poem was found in some personal papers by Edith Cary's niece, Eleanor Milholland and given to the author in March 1990. These are referred to as Milholland papers.

[20] Cary, "A Vitalized Curriculum," 154.

[21] E. V. Sayers, "Some Beliefs Underlying the Activity Program," *Hawaii Educational Review* 18, 5: 115, quoted in Miles E. Cary, "A Vitalized

Miles Cary also addressed the role of the teacher as citizen and the socializing power of the school." . . . [T]he teacher as a responsible citizen. . . . ought to be informed in the field of ideas . . . [And] discuss these ideas with his neighbors. . . . [P]eople outside the school have a right to look to teachers for help and guidance in dealing with the many complex problems that society has so suddenly been forced to consider."[23] When learning is vitalized in terms of its relevance to life itself, vitalized curriculum reflects the social significance about which John Dewey wrote:

> We must conceive of learning in its social significance, as the methods by which society keeps itself going, as agencies for bringing home to the child some of the primal necessities of community life, and as ways in which these needs have been met by the growing insight and ingenuity of man; in short, as instrumentalities through which the school itself shall be made a genuine form of active community life, instead of a place set apart in which to learn lessons.[24]

Student Government

The first step toward McKinley's laboratory school operation occurred as a change from the traditional student council to the formation of a more far-reaching student government organization in a growing student population. The student government was reorganized to include the entire student body governed through an executive council and a representative assembly. The executive council consisted of three elected

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Curriculum," 155.

[22] Cary, "A Vitalized Curriculum," 155.

[23] Hawaii Education Association, *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Convention* (Honolulu, Oahu, Territory Hawaii April 2, 3, 1947), 20.

[24] John Dewey, *The School and Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1915), 14.

student body officers, the class presidents and their respective faculty advisers, the principal, the student body government adviser, the treasurer appointed by the principal, and the editor of The *Pinion*. The representative assembly was comprised of members of an executive council, sixty-seven homeroom representatives and a representative from each of over seventy recognized clubs or organizations. The student body government activities were incorporated into the regular school program as a laboratory for deliberate training for citizenship with the intention that each homeroom become a local unit of the student government. The establishment of a school deputy and court system allowed for increased student responsibility in controlling the school.

Miles Cary believed that students should be addressed as "citizens" whenever possible to form the connection between their responsibilities in the school to those in the community. Thus, the citizenship laboratory was the organ which linked the school to the community.

Communication

One of the key means to developing the necessary skills for democratic thinking at McKinley High School was communication, especially through the student forum and the school newspaper. Both vehicles were utilized to help students build awareness of real life issues and clarify their own thoughts regarding them. The student forum was an open discussion of problems of the school, community, and territory. In 1925, the student newspaper became a daily publication. As the official organ of an active student government, The *Daily Pinion*, became a vital communication link between the community and the school. Replacing the older debate method of group discussion, the forum provided wider participation in a challenge for study and discussion. The unique place of the school newspaper at McKinley High School was described as a model. "While it naturally plays up athletics and other adolescent activities and has occasional youthful jokes, the tone is distinctly serious and evidences a highly commendable spirit of fine citizenry."[25]

> Students would be helped to develop proficiency especially in those forms of communication that are particularly helpful in promoting cooperative enterprises. This would include extemporaneous speaking, the forum, reporting research, parliamentary discussion, planning and executing committee and group studies, and serving as representatives of local groups in deliberate bodies.[26]

Miles E. Cary wrote almost daily to students regarding a variety of issues. The *Daily Pinion* was the key to discovering the life and philosophy of Miles E. Cary. Even more than that, it reflected the pulse of a high school student body, teachers, and an entire community. It revealed the history of people seeking recognition and being transformed. The *Daily Pinion* documented the problems and the definition of citizenship that the United States failed to legitimize in its chronology of history.

Miles Cary's belief in free and open discussion impacted his students.[27] The *Daily Pinion* became a vital communication link to the Hawaiian community. Oren E. Long, a superintendent of Public Instruction who became the Territorial Secretary of Hawaii, expressed this in a letter to Cary:

> I do not wish to take any chance on missing my copies of "THE DAILY PINION". I hope you will hand this note to the proper official with the request that The *Pinion* be addressed to me as Secretary of Hawaii. My office will be in Iolani Palace.

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[25] Bolton and Cary, "Going to School in Hawaii," 46.

[26] Miles E. Cary, "Educating for Democratic Living," *Hawaii Educational Review* 26 (June 1938): 314.

[27] Richard H. Kosaki, telephone interview with author, 18 July 1989. Dr. Richard H. Kosaki was friends with Miles E. Cary from 1940 until his death. A student at McKinley High School, he was a senior when Pearl Harbor was bombed. Later he received his Ph.D. in Minnesota while Cary was there; Kosaki's wife, the former Mildred Doi, was graduate assistant under Cary and in 1951 she took over teaching his classes when Cary went to New York from Minnesota. Kosaki has been instrumental in forming a McKinley Foundation as a means for McKinley graduates to rekindle the McKinley spirit through private donations and service.

> Reading The *Pinion* is one of the habits I do not wish to give up.[28]

Core Curriculum

Cary's concern for a vitalized education evolved into a new, reorganized core curriculum. School policy under democratic conditions empowered students to develop a meaningful curriculum. Cary strongly believed that "in a democracy the educational outcomes for which the school should strive would be obviously quite different than those sought in an autocracy, or oligarchy."[29]

> It is assumed that the central purpose of the public schools in an American community--and Hawaii is American--is that of preparing its children and youth for intelligent, effective participation in the affairs of the community. . . . this means helping children to improve their communication skills, to think critically concerning the problems of the day, to develop social sensitivity, to choose wisely and prepare themselves for a vocation, to grow in sensitivity to beauty, to develop wholesome personalities, and to learn how to cooperate to promote common interests.[30]

September 1931 marked the date in which the school commissioners gave approval for a trial of the core studies program. Developed through the assistance of parents, neighbors, teachers, and students, the core curriculum helped to identify critical problems of local, national, and international significance. Young people began to sense some of the connections of their problems with the concerns of people throughout the world.

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[28] *Daily Pinion*, 29 October 1946, 1.

[29] Cary, "A Vitalized Curriculum," 165.

[30] Miles E. Cary, "Education in Hawaii", Progressive Education 24 (April 1947): 218.

In addition to the study of genuine problems, McKinley's young people had the opportunity to sense the deeper meanings of democracy through participation in the management of the school.[31] Instead of academic problems and subject matter, the core studies were based upon the out-of-school activities and pupil needs which encouraged study of vital problems faced in the real out-of-school world. The school was open from 7:30 in the morning until 9 o'clock at night. The teachers worked in shifts and pupils attended at the hours that were most advantageous in relation to their outside work.[32] The procedure for problem solving was largely a directed study plan. Core studies rooms were equipped with tables around which groups developed working plans. Discussion and written expression were utilized in connection with the development of the problem. Students worked singly or in groups, with the teachers actively assisting students. Each problem was brought to a close with reports, questions, and general discussion. In addition, students assumed responsibility for carrying out classroom organization and management. They cared for books, took attendance, kept certain types of records, and maintained and improved the classroom environment. Mrs. Beth K. Gantt, head of the Core Studies teacher group in 1932 analyzed the students' progress as co-workers in the task of education.

> Since this reorganization had promised to arouse the pupils to active citizenship, we were faced with need for doing something to make good this promise. The question of making the pupils genuinely concerned about their real problems and of so organizing them that they were in a position to do something about it, was a vital one.[33]

According to Cary, "We learn to do a thing by actually doing it, just so we learn to be worthy citizens by carrying out activities in citizenship." Citizenship was the highest expected outcome of school life, and the entire school organization contributed to the development of citizenship attitudes through activities which offered opportunity for participation in cooperative enterprises and in the clarification of social attitudes. It was such relevant, problem-based education and the degree of responsible citizenship which fostered and formed a strong base for democratic schooling. "Without a doubt there is as complete democracy in the student group [core group] of McKinley High School as there is in any high school in the world." Democratic citizenship had become the most valuable achievement of school life.[34]

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[31] Miles E. Cary, "Intergroup and Interracial Education", *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary-School Principals* 32 (March 1948): 43.

[32] Bolton and Cary, "Going to School in Hawaii," 47-48.

[33] Miles E. Cary, "Purposeful Activities in the McKinley Senior High School, Honolulu, *Education* 53 (Boston: The Palmer Company, 1933): 266.

Only two years after the implementation of the Core Studies, McKinley High School was receiving national attention. If McKinley was a model for democratic process, it was because it was becoming a laboratory school for citizenship. Miles Cary's belief that "the real test of education is what people are encouraged to do in their own community to improve the quality of living" was leaving its mark.[35] A core curriculum and citizenship laboratory, designed to have students participate in examining the real problems confronting them and to create effective solutions of critical community problems, resulted in one of the most important experiments in secondary education of its time.

In Cary's view, students' ability to make decisions regarding community needs developed the moral responsibility, commitment, and educational and ethical practices on which democracy is founded. McKinley High School students and teachers were empowered to evaluate the quality of their own work. Cary believed that students' school work should satisfy their needs, not limit their productivity or learning. Intrinsic motivation guided their civic actions.

> . . . McKinley's (and Hawaii's) young people are keenly proud of the fact that they are Americans; and, too, they want

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[34] Bolton and Cary, "Going to School in Hawaii," 43-44.

[35] Miles E. Cary, "The Ethical Culture Schools: A Unique Type of Independent School," Unpublished manuscript 19 December 1952, 2. Archives, New York Ethical Culture/Fieldston Schools, New York City, 1.

> Americans on the mainland to see and accept them as Americans. Furthermore, through their parents and neighbors and a "core curriculum" developed in terms of critical problems of local, national, and international significance, these young people have come to sense some of the connections of their problems with the concerns of peoples throughout the world. Besides the study of genuine problems, McKinley's young people have had the opportunity to sense the deeper meanings of democracy through participation in the management of the school. In this connection, it needs only to be mentioned here that the continuing attitudes of mainland Americans toward the people of Hawaii will have much influence in shaping the attitudes and dispositions of the future citizens of that Territory.[36]

When students learn thoughtfully and can analyze the results of the work before them, rather than on the results of standardized test scores, the whole child learns to deal with actual situations in the whole community. Human development and learning, which integrate thought and action, furnish the best basis for educating the whole child. According to Cary:

> Since we claim to prize independent thinking, teachers would be careful to avoid giving the answers to questions. Stress would be laid on encouraging each pupil to work out his own philosophy of life. But here, again, the teachers would not be entirely neutral because the base lines for all thinking would be our democratic ideals.[37]

Miles E. Cary developed a community at McKinley High School which, in some respects at least, might serve as a model for the reform and restructuring of school systems today. His non-authoritarian leadership empowered the entire school community. Cary disagreed with the claim that:

> . . . curriculum makers should lay out all subject matter in advance. On the contrary, pupils should be encouraged to pursue a great variety of interests, there should be all sorts of constructive undertaking within the school and reaching into all aspects of the larger community. Also, we would

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[36] Cary, "Intergroup and Interracial Education," 43.
[37] Cary, "Educating for Democratic Living," 295.

> desire that due consideration be given to improving such skills as reading, writing, speaking, and number. But as an organizing or integrating center of the whole program there would be a continuous effort to clarify thinking regarding the meaning of democracy.[38]

In William H. Kilpatrick's analysis, Progressive Education builds the foundation for democratic reconstruction of a social order, dealing educationally in a social situation.[39] It was Cary's ability to achieve this that caused social historian Lawrence Fuchs to credit Cary's efforts for a progressive curriculum as the stimulus that encouraged McKinley High School students to dream and bridge the gap between reality and their vision of success. According to Fuchs, "McKinley was the leading school and Cary the most significant educator in Hawaii during the 1920's and '30's," and "the battle of McKinley High School had been fought and won for democracy."[40]

In order for young people to conduct their organizations in ways similar to how their parents conduct the adult organizations of the community, the school needs to provide the opportunity for discussion of live issues. "The kind of social life which prevails in our high schools today is a prophecy of the social life of the community of the next generation."[41] Miles Elwood Cary and McKinley High School represent the American democratic scheme of values. They experience a practical and dynamic way of life--a means to develop the present condition in such a way that the community is renewed, re-defined, and reconstructed.

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[38] Ibid., 294.

[39] William H. Kilpatrick, "Why Progressive Education", *Hawaii Educational Review* 24 (October 1935), 35.

[40] Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono*, 297.

[41] Paul W. Terry, "Civic-Moral Training Through Extra-Curricular Activities," *Washington Education Journal* 1 (February 1922): 178.

Information for Contributors:

The Midwest History of Education Society meets annually in late October or early November. Since the society's inception these meetings have been hosted by Loyola University at its Watertower Campus. Membership in the Society is open to anyone interested in the history of education.

The Vice-President announces calls for papers in late spring. Any paper presented at the annual meeting may be considered for publication in the journal.

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The Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society is devoted to the reflective examination of educational issues and problems from the perspective of diverse disciplines. The Journal strives to encourage communication among scholars of varied disciplines, nationalities, and cultures and it treats the most comprehensive issues and problems confronting education throughout the world. The editors solicit essays, reports of research studies, analyses and critiques that synthesize diverse points of view and encourage interdisciplinary dialogue.

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Meta-Tyrannical Machines: Curricular Ideology as a Factor in Creating Tyrannical Machines

Barry Arbreton
University of Michigan

> *Adequate support and encouragement, unfortunately, is not being given to teachers and administrators who believe in rigorous intellectual discipline. In particular it is not forthcoming to the extent that it should be from the teacher-training institutions and the educational associations that ought to be the backbone of the profession. . . . One of the gravest charges that can be made against the professional educationists is that they have undermined public confidence in the schools by setting forth purposes for education so trivial as to forfeit the respect of thoughtful men, and by deliberately divorcing the schools from the disciplines of science and scholarship, which citizens trust and value.*
>
> Arthur Bestor[1]

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[1] Arthur Bestor, *The Restoration of Learning: A Program for Redeeming the Unfulfilled Promise of American Education* (New York: Knopf, 1955).

> *Time and again, reformers have pointed out the failings of American education. They have cited its unsuccessful practices repeatedly-and quite often futilely. Even when reformers have built consensus on a matter—that we do not train our teachers properly, for example—practice has frequently changed only at the margins. How is it that we can so often see where we are going wrong and yet be unable to change direction? Indeed, how is it that we get off track in the first place? . . . As James described it, ways of doing things that are well justified in the beginning tend, when established widely, to become tyrannical machines.*
>
> Lynne Cheney[2]

In her recent publication, *Tyrannical Machines: A Report on Educational Practices Gone Wrong and Our Best Hopes for Setting Them Right*, Lynne Cheney asserts that we need to focus our attention on the reasons behind what she, and others, have called the failures of the American educational system. In doing so, Cheney uses William James' classic tyrannical machine metaphor to describe educational inertia in terms of the bureaucracy which accompanies institutionalizing on a large scale. However, I was disappointed that Cheney did not focus the metaphor on the process of calling for reforms as well. In this light, I found her work to be revealing as much for what it assumes, as for what it states explicitly.[3]

A close examination of Cheney's argument and supporting documentation reveals an important factor in the creation and maintenance of tyrannical machines which neither Cheney nor James have acknowledged—the reformer's curricular ideology. In this paper I argue that Cheney's curricular ideology is consistent with a dominant line of reform literature written in the past 40 years. This dominant curricular reform ideology is best summed up by what Schiro has called the Scholar Academic Ideology.

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[2] Lynne Cheney, *Tyrannical Machines: A Report on Educational Practices Gone Wrong and Our Best Hopes for Setting them Right* (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Humanities, 1990).

[3] Ibid.; *William James: Writings* (1902-1910), (New York: Library of America, 1987).

> Curriculum developers working within the Scholar Academic Ideology view curriculum creation from the perspective of the academic disciplines . . . An academic discipline is viewed as a hierarchical community of people in search for truth within one part of the universe of knowledge. The hierarchical communities consist of inquirers into the truth (scholars at the top of the hierarchy), teachers of the truth (who disseminate the truth that is discovered by the scholars) and learners of the truth (students whose job it is to learn the truth so that they may become proficient members of the discipline).[4]

In short a Scholar Academic (SA) reformer or teacher would be one who is concerned with maintaining and advancing a core of knowledge which they believe well educated men and women must possess. SA reformers favor rigorous intellectual training and national standardized assessments of this corpus of important knowledge.

In this paper I would like to argue that William James' tyrannical machines metaphor is an apt description of both the mainstream of American teacher education institutions, as well as Cheney's inability to break through the assumptions her curricular ideology imposes on her reform choices and recommendations. Further, I propose that a curricular reformer working with the assumptions and beliefs of a Scholar Academic is bound to produce reforms which quickly become tyrannical machines. In an attempt to better understand the problems within the general reform of teacher education and Cheney's curricular reform within a SA Ideology in particular, my analysis will focus on three closely related arguments:

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[4] Michael Schiro, *Curriculum for Better Schools: The Great Ideological Debate* (New Jersey: Educational Technology Publications, 1978): 10.

1) Prompted by Cheney's use of William James' Tyrannical Machines metaphor, I have tried to examine the causes and assumptions of Tyrannical Machines. When an innovation works well in its original setting it often becomes the target of an attempt to duplicate or disseminate the ideas and practices which make it successful to a more general population. In this process, the innovation invariably becomes rigidified and less effective. The end result is what William James calls a tyrannical machine—a roadblock to future innovations and individual initiative. It is often these machines that reformers are attempting to fix. (More on tyrannical machines later.) I suggest that, given our current assumptions about knowledge and its inevitable growth, educational reformers do us a disservice by viewing reform as containing a possibility for a final solution to problems.

2) Most reformers fail to explicitly state that the natural progression of any educational institution (including innovations within that system) will need to be changed in the future, no matter how well that institution functions in the present, and that this is not to be feared. In fact, the very language used in SA reform literature perpetuates the view that prior solutions have failed. In part this is due to the partisan nature of calling to reform an existing system, but I would like to argue that this is also due to the assumptions which SA reformers take for granted about the process of calling for reform. In general, Scholar Academics view knowledge from a classical, Logical Positivist, perspective. In particular, each of the pieces reviewed implicitly accept Hume's conception of causation: each reform piece reviewed assumes that the educational system is closed and can be manipulated and understood in terms of predictable laws and outcomes.[5] In an attempt to become more scientific, SA educational researchers, reformers, and theorists too often have accepted what is essentially an experimental design

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[5] Ernest House, "Realism in Research," *Educational Researcher*, August, 1991.

intended for physical sciences and mis-applied it to social situations. As a result call for reform literature seems to repeat itself, primarily because reforming as a process that doesn't have a fixed solution has not been strongly advocated.

3) In the process of outlining the assumptions used in call for reform literature I also touch on the importance of what is commonly referred to as diversity in the schools. In the past twenty-five years or so we have witnessed the emergence and the empowerment of a variety of different cultural perspectives as reasonable voices outside of the traditional academic circle. As the proportion of minority students rises in the school system, that school system's aims come under greater scrutiny. While examples provided in the four calls for reform identified below suggest a paradoxical state of education which is both in a shambles and encompasses schools and educational providers which ARE working, I argue that this paradox stems in great part from the different perspectives and purposes that the educational system is now called upon to serve.[6] I suggest that both types of example point to the fact that it may be this stated need for a national vision, a nation whose students all achieve the same things at the same time, which is the problem rather than the practices and programs found around the nation. Why, I ask, are curriculum reformers working within a Scholar Academic Ideology afraid of not having a shared vision for America?

I will approach these arguments from a variety of angles by analyzing four calls for reform that have been widely recognized as influential. These calls for reform were chosen as representative of the developing ideology which Cheney seems to be positing. The first two, *The Restoration of Learning*, by Arthur Bestor and *The Education of American Teachers*, by James Bryant Conant,[7] are central to Cheney's arguments and are referenced in her work.[8] The next, *A Nation At Risk*, from the National Commission on Excellence in Education, although not referenced by Cheney, seems to me to be an integral part of her approach to the problems as outlined by the first two.[9] In addition a review of *Tyrannical Machines*, by Lynne Cheney is also included.

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[6] National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation At Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform,* (Washington DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1983); Rudolph Flesch, *Why Johnny Can't Read—and What You Can Do About It* (New York: Harper, 1955); Lisbeth Schorr, *Within Our Reach* (New York: Anchor press, 1988); Lynne Cheney, *Tyrannical Machines.*

I begin with a brief overview of each call for reform individually, discussing first the call's over arching educational goals and projected reform agenda and then move to the call's arguments surrounding teacher education specifically. In particular this review is meant to show the similarities and historical flow of these calls both in terms of specific content, issues, and form of argument used. Next, I discuss these calls for reform in relation to each of the three arguments outlined above. I then concentrate on pulling these four examples together as indicative of a curricular ideology under which Cheney operates and which I feel holds her back from proposing a reform which stands a better chance of not becoming a tyrannical machine. I close the paper with a critique of the reform debate in general and an examination of my evolving conceptions of knowledge, education, teacher preparation, and curriculum.

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[7] James Bryant Conant, *The Education of American Teachers* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1963).

[8] Arthur Bestor, *The Restoration of Learning: A Program for Redeeming the Unfulfilled Promise of American Education* (New York: Knopf, 1955).

[9] *A Nation at Risk*.

Arthur Bestor: The Restoration of Learning

This popular book was written in 1955 and targeted those Americans involved in academia or in the learned professions. Bestor's main thesis throughout the book is simple: Schools should be primarily an agency for academic training. *The Restoration of Learning is* an expansion of *Educational Wastelands*, Arthur Bestor's vehement attack on progressive education and John Dewey published two years earlier in 1953.[10] Throughout his book Bestor describes (although one might argue he perpetuates) the strong rivalry between the "educationists" and the academic scholars and scientists—the former clearly being the bad-guys and almost always blamed for the ills of the educational system in America. While educationists of the time (1955) were pushing for life adjustment courses, Bestor, a history professor, "remained faithful to the concept of the school as a place of thorough and disciplined intellectual training."[11]

In a few places Bestor softens his stance to admit that scholars and scientists need to take some of the blame for "allowing" the educationists to gain control. But, he then goes on to state that the educationists, these "anti-intellectualists are in a position to ruin our schools" because they have the political clout and organization of the bureaucracy behind them.[12]

> Already [the educationists] have lost the faith of the public because their curricula are not intellectually rigorous . . . [because they set] forth purposes for education so trivial as to forfeit the respect of thoughtful men, and by deliberately divorc-

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[10] Arthur Bestor, *Educational Wastelands: The Retreat from Learning in our Public Schools*, (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1953).
[11] Conant, The Education of American Teachers, 3.
[12] Ibid., 255-60.

> ing the schools from the disciplines of science and scholarship, which the citizens trust and value.[13]

It is at this point that Bestor begins his criticism of teacher education, (or teacher training, as he calls it) and the focus of his criticism is quite similar:

> Whatever else a teacher may need, he [or she] must possess ready command of a variety of intellectual skills and a fund of accurate knowledge . . . if his undergraduate program is directed by vocationally minded advisors—by professors of pedagogy for example—the liberal and liberating components of his education are almost certain to be neglected.[14]

What Bestor has done is to set up yet another good guy/bad guy dichotomy; the good courses are traditional academic disciplines, and the bad courses are the methods or pedagogy courses. In Bestor's view an academic course of study provides prospective teachers with the ability to learn how to learn and training in rigorous intellectual disciplines which are of proven merit and scientific standing. In contrast, the methods courses are viewed only as places to learn lesser valued vocational tricks and attitudes. Bestor claims that nothing of value can be learned from professors of pedagogy that cannot be learned better through practice teaching![15] In a system reformed by Bestor, therefore, the role of professors of pedagogy would be limited to what Bestor might call vocational advice. Bestor wishes to bring the training of teachers under the supervision of Liberal Arts professors, with higher academic standards and more scientific administration of certification and supervision of secondary student teachers in particular.

As one might expect in a piece written by one person, this call for reform has a single and distinct voice. In many ways Bestor's views and approaches to educational reform are prime examples of what Schiro has called the Scholar Academic ideology.[16] Traditional scholarship and the scientific method are seen as the source of knowledge. All learning should be placed in its hierarchical relation to established knowledge and systematically built upon. By exercising reason more rigorously the student becomes better at reasoning. The tone of this call for reform, therefore, is one of smug superiority. Bestor makes no pretense of objectivity or impartiality—in many instances he openly berates and denigrates those he refers to as "educationists." Being a scholar himself, he is sure of the merit of his arguments and produces copious examples of correspondence to support his position.

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[13] Ibid., 4.
[14] Ibid., 243.
[15] Ibid., 264-68.
[16] Schiro, Curriculum for Better Schools.

James Bryant Conant: The Education of American Teachers

This call for reform is the only one reviewed which deals specifically with teacher education and, in fact, starts with the authors views on teacher education. J. B. Conant, former president of Harvard, Ambassador to Germany, and noted chemist and educational scholar, initially presents himself as a former holder of Bestor's views. Conant began his teaching career as a chemistry professor, accepting the party line held by academicians without even thinking about it: liberal arts equals good worthwhile instruction for teachers and education courses and professors are useless. However, where Bestor's call for reform was highly partisan, Conant's call for reform is the culmination of both his highly regarded tenure as president of Harvard and, later, a thorough investigation of teacher education institutions in 1962-1963. As a result, Conant found himself in a position to thoroughly review both sides of the ideological debate which Bestor so clearly described. Conant states plainly that "it is generally the case that academic professors who advance these arguments [that methods courses are worthless, etc.] know far too little about education courses and, unfortunately, what some professors of education have written about education can be labeled anti-intellectual."[17] Conant later clarifies this by asserting that he does not subscribe to "devil" theories of argument [what seems to be a clear reference to the best selling books of Arthur Bestor a decade earlier]—that they are too simplistic and essentially irresponsible.[18]

> The problem with teacher education, then, in Conant's view, is that of a power struggle between professors . . . The programs in many institutions seem to have been developed not by careful consideration of a group but by a process that might be called academic logrolling. In any event, one finds a complete lack of agreement on what constitutes a satisfactory general education program for future teachers . . . when one examines the education courses one finds almost as much confusion as in general education.[19]

In a sense, Conant has found a continuation of Bestor's argument still present—the debate over the relative importance of content and academics over methods and pedagogy. But he has not dismissed educationists as the sole culprits. He claims that neither side should be criticized to the exclusion of the other. Conant asserts the importance of methods courses when linked to a field placement/practical teaching experience: "The art of teaching can best be developed by practice under suitable conditions."[20]

Conant believes that no single curriculum has proven superior to any other in the field of teacher education. He, therefore, places the following recommendation at the top of his specific recommendations for teacher education: Universities should take it as their responsibility to guarantee that their graduates are fit to teach—both academically and including practice teaching. This approach should be an all-university effort with professors of pedagogy and academic professors having equal input and responsibility for program construction and teaching. In this way Conant hopes to introduce what he refers to as a free market system into the reform of teacher education institutions.[21] In other words, teacher education providers should compete against each other by improving their programs of study in order to attract the best students and faculty.

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[17] Bestor, The Restoration of Learning, 7.
[18] Ibid., 15.
[19] Ibid., 208.
[20] Ibid., 13, 113.

In the end, Conant still advocates "either a program of concentration [which is] sequential, so that completion of the most advanced work ensures a grasp of what has preceded it, or it should be tested comprehensively and be capable of being tested."[22] The assumption here still being that there is a body of knowledge which is essential for teachers to know. Thus Conant is continuing Bestor's call for academic accountability but he has added a bold caveat; he claims that as the best method to train teachers has not been scientifically established it should become our aim to find it via the competition generated by empowering different (academic minded) alternatives to teacher education and then to institute it. Conant, therefore, can also be placed in the Scholar Academic camp. However, while his conclusions do not differ radically from Bestor's call for reform, the tone of Conant's piece is much more compelling to me. This is due to the fact that, all in all, Conant's presentation is less of a singular voice than Bestor's. Conant's call for reform is an attempt to consider more viewpoints than one—an important distinction.

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[21] Ibid., 68.
[22] Ibid., 104.

A Nation At Risk

An often cited publication, prepared by the Commission for Excellence in Education, and chaired by David Pierpoint Gardner, *A Nation at Risk* is geared for the general reader. It is presented in a carefully designed, albeit broad, format with little in the way of specific recommendations. This, it seems to me, is a direct result of this call for reform being written by committee, as opposed to the two singly authored pieces which have come before it. It is not coincidental that by this time inclusion of non-majority viewpoints and concerns were big national issues. We will examine the empowerment of diverse perspectives, and hence committee voices, later.

A Nation at Risk claims that "the educational foundations of our society are presently [1983] being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity." *A Nation at Risk* then goes on to assert that "knowledge, learning, information, and skilled intelligence are the new raw materials of international commerce." Many have cited this and other passages as indications of the importance of economic considerations to the authors of this publication. In effect, this publication was aimed at linking poor national and international economic performance to the decline in education and the lack of more rigorous academic expectations to problems with articulation into the work force.[23]

In this call for reform, an attempt was made to include many scholarly, scientific, and learned societies in the reformulation of a national plan of action. The goal was to strengthen the resolve of the public and the economic base of the country as a whole. This position is closely akin to what Schiro has called a Social Efficiency model of curricular ideology: A model which assumes teachers are best qualified and trained to help students find their place in society and to provide those students with the information and skills needed to efficiently enter the work force. By framing this call for reform in terms of economic success, A Nation at Risk hits at the heart of the average citizen by claiming that "what is behind this emerging national sense of frustration can be described as both a dimming of personal expectations and the fear of losing a shared vision for America."[24]

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[23] A Nation At Risk, 5-7; Joel Spring, "Education and the Sony War," Phi Delta Kappan April, 1984.

As for teacher education, *A Nation at Risk* calls for reform based on the fact "that not enough of the academically able students are being attracted to teaching. That teacher preparation programs need substantial improvement . . . [and that] the teacher preparation curriculum is weighted heavily with courses in 'educational methods' at the expense of courses in subjects to be taught."[25] Because of the brevity and general nature of this report, *A Nation at Risk* doesn't single out bad guys as clearly as Bestor (then again who could?) nor does it provide the specific recommendations which Conant does in an effort to move reform forward. This call for reform is clearly an attempt to "inform" and involve the public by linking education to jobs and standard of living in the United States. It has been argued that *A Nation at Risk* does not do a good job of substantiating this link between economic competition and the demise of educational standards, but by asserting that it is so they are able to achieve a rhetorical victory in focusing the argument on education for the work place rather than education for any other purpose.[26] While this commission continues to support the Scholar Academic assumptions about knowledge and the place of rigorous academic instruction in teacher education, *A Nation at*

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[24] *Schiro, Curriculum for Better Schools*, 85-160; *A Nation At Risk*, 11-12.
[25] Ibid., 22.
[26] Spring, "Education and the Sony War."

Risk does so by reframing the issue in a more popularly interesting format.

In effect this call for reform is advocating many of the same reforms of the two previous calls for reforms (more academic rigor, less emphasis on methods and education courses, a possibility that alternative certification programs will be useful in key areas of need, i.e., science and math) but has framed the issue as one of economic necessity—competition not to find the best methods for instructing teachers, but competition to achieve on standardized tests in an effort to prove our international standing.

Lynne Cheney: Tyrannical Machines

Lynne Cheney begins her call for reform by resurrecting William James' tyrannical machines metaphor. A Tyrannical Machine is a system begun well with an innovation or a laudable idea that became bogged down with the spread of that idea or practice. Tyrannical Machines exist because in the process of diffusing innovation much of the flexibility of an innovation is lost and authority of the given innovation (or text of that innovation) is overemphasized.[27] Cheney summarizes,

> Practices that began by filling needs become detached from their original purposes, even counter productive. Having been adopted on a large scale, however, these practices take on a power of their own . . . tyrannical machines dominate American education and have contributed to its failures.[28]

The clearest failure which Cheney identifies for teacher education is that teachers need to study more academic material in a disciplined way and avoid methods courses which are a "waste of time;" the same problem identified by Bestor in 1953. In addition, Cheney asserts that "attempting to make a little material go a long way educators parse the subject matter finely so that it can be presented in different ways on different but none-the-less repetitious lists," that, in turn, pushes academically talented teachers and prospective teachers away from the study and practice of education.[29] And although Cheney, cites problems with tests used in American education, academically talented students seem to be defined as those who buy into the Scholar Academic ideology and achieve well on national assessments of achievement. Although Cheney does not discuss the additional academic content teachers are lacking, she does list examples of content she feels is needed by all college graduates: "To most college seniors, Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice,* Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment,* and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s 'Letter from Birmingham Jail' were clearly unfamiliar."[30] By citing specific content which American students need to know Cheney's reform ideas can be seen to favor a core-curricula.

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[27] E. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations, Third Edition* (New York: The Free Press, 1983).

[28] Cheney, *Tyrannical Machines*, 1.

Cheney is therefore placed in the awkward position of holding to a vision of education which strives to set a "substantial, coherent curriculum [which] is central to the teaching mission" at the core of our nation's priorities, but which also warns against instituting any one program as king for fear that it might turn out to become a tyrannical machine.[31] She therefore proposes that "the most effective course for dealing with tyrannical machines is to provide alternative systems and to ensure that people can choose— and choose wisely—among them."[32] Cheney provides a number of examples of alternative educational activities (coincidentally funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities) and certification programs to show possible solutions to the nation's problems. Unfortunately Cheney does not explicate her next step.

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[29] Ibid., 6-7.
[30] Ibid., 2.
[31] Ibid., 32.
[32] Ibid., 50.

We are left with a host of important questions: What might be the cause of poor methods courses being taught in teacher education? Why is information about teaching parsed so finely and what effect does this have on calls for reform? What is to be learned from the examples of programs Cheney has cited which work? Cheney fails to show how an exemplar can help others to institute similar programs without having the new programs become tyrannical machines themselves. Is it possible to reconcile alternative programs to best teach teachers and also strive for specific content which must be included in each of those diverse programs? Isn't advocating the equivalent of a Scholar Academic ideology opposed to the idea of alternative models of education? These questions are best answered by stepping back from Tyrannical Machines and examining Cheney's definition of education more closely. Cheney draws heavily on James' conceptions of education.

> As William James described it, 'the purpose of education is to cultivate judgement. We learn what types of activity have stood the test of time; we acquire standards of the excellent and the durable,' we learn what James called a 'critical sense' . . . . Ultimately, education aims at cultivating the wisdom that democracy requires: wisdom to make sound political judgements about who shall lead and make laws, and wisdom to make sound personal judgements about how to live a life and know the purpose of ones days.[33]

Let us focus next on what seems to be a problematic point for Cheney—the assumptions of a Scholar Academic ideology.

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[33] Ibid., 52.

Scholar Academic Assumptions

In *The Saber Tooth Curriculum* Pediwell argues quite persuasively that in an attempt to be more scientific, Bestor's key argument, educators have tried to adapt what is essentially a scientific model onto a social system.[34] The assumption clearly was that investigating and learning about education can be equated with the methods of operation found in the physical science disciplines, which leads to an answer of our first question—why are methods courses way they are? One reason might be that in an attempt to be more scientific, to gain academic respectability, educators have moved too far away from the social nature of teaching and concentrated on smaller and smaller pieces of instructional problems. Educational researchers routinely study classroom problems by removing students from the classroom to study—an effort to control extraneous variables and to be more scientific. It is ironic that Bestor's claim that education was not scientific enough may have propelled education in a direction which is too scientific. Many have argued that a social system cannot be studied in the same way as physical sciences.[35] As we have seen, each call for reform reviewed primarily views education, a fundamentally social activity, as a part of a predictable world, one in which general laws adequately describe actions and events. This being the case, they do not see the contradictions inherent in using an experimental method to find the best approach to educating teachers.

Unfortunately, as Gage has recently summarized the state of educational research, "the search for scientifically grounded ways to understand and improve teaching has led nowhere."[36] Relating this to our investigation, House has taken Gage's claim to mean that

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[34] Abner Pediwell, *The Sabre-Tooth Curriculum* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1953).

[35] R. Bhaskar, A *Realist Theory of Science* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1978); N. Gage, "The Paradigm Wars and Their Aftermath: A 'Historical' sketch of Research on Teaching Practice," *Educational Researcher*, 1989, 18-7.

[36] Gage, "The Paradigm Wars."

> the assumptions of uniformity of nature, essential to Humean/regularity theory and the standard view [of knowledge and science] does not hold at the level of events, and it does not hold for educational programs and their effects . . . The standard view conceives of educational programs and their effects as existing in a closed system, like the components of a television set, when in fact the system is open to any number of influences, in spite of attempts to close it off by experimental design or, more likely quasi-experimental design and statistical controls. (The necessity of isolating the system from outside influences is seen from the fact that even a closed system like a television set will not produce the same results underwater.)[37]

In other words, the process in which a tyrannical machine is made, that is taking an innovation or exemplary educational program and trying to generalize it, hinges on the fact that generalizing or moving it from its site of origin assumes a predictable stable environment. It is instructive to note that many innovations which are created for broad dissemination are specifically structured for teacher proof instruction which will hinder individual adaptation. Rather than give up their view of knowledge and instruction both Scholar Academic and Social Efficiency ideologies of curricular design sacrifice teacher initiative and lead directly to bureaucratization and tyrannical machines. Not only have these curriculum designers been unable to challenge their assumptions about knowledge, they are also unable to give up their authority and trust teachers to join in the intellectual dialogue. As a direct consequence, these program transfers rarely work, as the system is nowhere near being closed! Consequently, teachers are blamed for poor instruction and education is seen as being in a constant state of crisis. All of which points to the fact that calling for a national shared vision and working to manipulate the given system to produce these goals leads directly to tyrannical machines. To break this pattern we must look at the calls for reform and their hidden support of this machine building.

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[37] House, "Realism in Research," 7-8.

Call for Reform as a Tyrannical Machine

I'd like to look at the process of calling for a reform, and examine why seeing past reforms as failures perpetuates a negative view of education. If, in the process of identifying the underlying structures of what we observe, we can expect someday to go into ever more detailed layers of explanation it seems reasonable to assume that *information and 'new' knowledge claims will continue to be produced.*[38] This, it seems to me, is an important assumption to make explicit.

We, as educators, are in the process of helping others to identify knowledge as a continuing intellectual dialogue which evolves and has been informed and shaped by past debates; to understand their relation to the intellectual dialogue; and to help these people join in and contribute to that dialogue. This being the case, it seems reasonable to assume that some of what we do will advance the intellectual dialogue; in the process of teaching and learning we add knowledge claims to the dialogue.

As we have seen, knowledge claims and experiments dealing with physical states and interactions are more easily controlled than social interactions. *Complex problems dealing with social issues and investigated or carried out in a social context admit of a variety of different approaches to finding solutions.* Where do these different approaches come from? Would a homogeneous society be more or less likely to question the accepted approaches to learning? While the opinion of the members in a homogeneous society may be widely different, it is likely that problems are analyzed and interpreted in much the same manner by all of its members.[39]

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[38] Bhaskar, *A Realist Theory of Science.*

In a society that is less homogeneous the diversity of perspectives and approaches to the same problem should vary to a greater degree.

Based on the ability of the diverse members of a society to voice their perspectives it seems likely that *as a widened range of perspectives are empowered, a greater variety of perspectives are presented and produce 'new' knowledge claims which also enter into the intellectual dialogue*. If the entire group were the same it would be less likely that alternatives would be viewed as necessary. It should also be more likely that the educational system would tend toward a more closed (therefore predictable) and experimentation friendly system. The significance of this statement can be seen in the gradual change in content of single authors (Bestor and Conant) to committee calls for reform (*A Nation at Risk*, and *Tyrannical Machines*). Committee reports, by their very nature, need to speak for the majority of the group, which means they tend to be more broad and less specific in their recommendations. This is clearly the case with the four calls for reform reviewed. It should also be noted that whereas for Conant choice was seen as a means to find the single best path for educating teachers, it could be seen an attempt to break out of a single path model for Cheney.

Fortunately, we have seen an expansion of opportunity for nonmajority perspectives to join in the intellectual dialogue. Certainly this is more true for the two calls for reform published after 1980 than those published before 1965. This means that as *new sources for solutions to these complex problems are opened up with the widening circle of empowered perspectives, new knowledge claims and different (often more complex) problems arise to*

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[39] Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983).

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begin the process all over again. In other words, we can't ever get it right. Reform is a never ending process.

Why then do reformers point with such disdain at the "failings" of past reforms or educational practices? By calling for reform and assuming that it is possible to get it right, these reformers are emphasizing the negative features of the system rather than the positive. Also, by striving for a national core-curriculum SA reformers are moving away from the expansion of knowledge available and toward the control of knowledge they feel is most important. Each call for reform reviewed has tenaciously held on to this belief—that some knowledge claims are simply more important than others.

Do We Really Share the Same Vision?

At this point it might be wise to step back from the individual calls for reform to examine the possibility that change is inevitable—that tyrannical machines are a function of this process but perhaps only when a shared vision or national curriculum is their projected usefulness. Those reformers working within the Scholar Academic and the Social Efficiency traditions, have historically taken for granted that a national curriculum is a good thing. In addition, they have assumed that this statement is self evident.

> *What lies behind this emerging national sense of frustration can be described as both a dimming of personal expectations and the fear of losing a shared vision for America.*[40]

However, we have seen that when a competition to find The Right Answer, and then to create a national curriculum around it, is the driving force behind innovation it should surprise no one when that innovation also becomes a tyrannical machine. In other words, the nation may be better served if we don't try to force each innovation to perform outside of its original site of success, to share the same core-curricula, nor to continue to operate when **the needs of that site are clearly in need of revision** or change.[41] **Does this mean we should advocate change as** our guiding principle? Would such a principle also end up becoming a tyrannical machine, forcing educational providers to change when programs are meeting the needs of their students, and site of instruction? Bestor addresses this issue of change directly:

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[40] A Nation At Risk, 11-12.

> As the problems of civilization alter—or more accurately, as the methods available for solving them alter and advance and become more powerful—the course of study must inevitably change . . . however . . . change is [too often] exalted into a supreme virtue, on the tacit assumption that schools can keep abreast of the times only by engaging in a frenetic quest for novelty. No idea more disruptive of education can possibly be imagined.[42]

Making education and educational research more scientific was seen as the path to respectability and also the path to understanding why teacher preparation was so ineffective. While we have seen a trend away from Bestor's claim that there is one best and right way to know and to learn (the Scholar Academic model) and closer to a view which admits of a variety of effective strategies (Conant) we have nonetheless moved in the direction of choice (Cheney) because it might provide us with programs which, if not generalizable, might at least serve as the foundation of a national curriculum (*A Nation at Risk*). Whether consciously or not, these Scholar Academic and Social Efficiency calls for reform generally incorporate the scientific method, and it's attendant assumptions, as the best hope for finding the best instructional methods. In other words Cheney is pushing for change, but not a change in the corpus of essential knowledge needed to be an educated adult or teacher.

The problem with a get it right approach seems to be the assumption that an enterprise as complex as education CAN ever have a fixed solution. By viewing change in a broader perspective is it possible to exalt in the past and in the challenge of adapting a system to accommodate a wider range of perspectives? In other words, is it possible for us to admit to the difficulties of finding a shared vision of education and move closer to empowering parallel visions?

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[41] Schorr, Within Our Reach.
[42] Bestor, The Restoration of Learning, 40.

While the reform literature reviewed here is not fully representative of the flow of the reform debate, they represent high water marks which preserve the important elements of the call for reform debate over time. Knowledge, at the beginning of our call for reform time line was seen as external to the student and in need of being given to them. For teachers this meant that there was a need to store more knowledge than their students could. It was also seen as hierarchical, with integration capable only at the highest level. Therefore, while Bestor admits that vocational skills are best learned by doing he denies that any student, including prospective teachers, can learn to integrate two separate fields of study unless they are advanced students in each discipline to be integrated. Since Bestor did not see the education of teachers as an intellectual discipline it made little sense to assume that methods courses were anything but vocational.

Over time this extreme stance has been softened somewhat. While at no time have these calls for reform lost respect for the academic training needed for teachers this view has shifted towards a view which at least accepts teacher education placements as more than vocational in nature—though most methods courses are viewed with suspicion. Conant seems to be the most sympathetic—and not incidentally he also is the reformer who spent the greatest amount of time with teachers and teacher educators. In the end, however, the only component of teacher education which all four calls for reform have identified as invaluable is the student teaching placement and a linked methods course to help integrate theory and practice. That theory and practice were ever separated in the first place can be seen as influenced by the Scholar Academic push to view education and educational research more scientifically.

By the time we reach Cheney's call for reform, teacher educators and the conservative structure of education (which might be labeled in total as a tyrannical machine—see Holt, *Escape From Childhood*) are beginning to admit alternatives and educational choices which might lead to better teacher preparation.[43] However, these choices are seen as alternative paths to the right answer, or at least as needing to share in the academic rigor and core of knowledge ascribed to scientific disciplines. In other words we should experiment with the process of teacher education but only if those experiments include certain content which we feel is important. Unfortunately, our analysis above indicates that the very process of calling for reform is currently played out in such a way as to resemble a tyrannical machine.

This line of reasoning shows the strong possibility that reform will always be needed—it also points out a serious flaw in the Scholar Academic and Social Efficiency assumptions that there is a "right" answer to reforming educational practice—either because this denies the widened circle of empowered perspectives or because it denies the possibility that our views on what is needed will evolve over time and that new knowledge claims make this evolution inevitable.

Concluding Remarks

Where does this leave us? It seems unlikely to me that there has ever been a shared vision of our nation's educational needs—other than a broad general feeling that education is important. In

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[43] John Holt, Escape From Childhood, (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1974).

particular, teacher education has never been directed by a national vision, nor I argue should it ever be. At times in our past various groups have made policy and directed various segments of the educational establishment. In general, a traditional, and some would say conservative Scholar Academic, view of education, knowledge claims, and instructional goals has held sway. The four calls for reform presented here are usually grouped in this traditional camp. However, as with all organizations which are semi-democratic, politics has made it difficult to institute a required national curricula for teachers.

By examining tyrannical machines more closely I have attempted to show why entering the debate over what is wrong and how we should fix it has proven less than helpful. Operating under what Schiro called a Scholar Academic Ideology (which can be loosely termed a positivist approach), these four reformers make the mistake of assuming that the educational system they are calling to reform is a stable and generally closed system.[44] They further assume that the changes they suggest will have the effects they ascribe to them (for example, either by seeing them work in a smaller setting, or from experimental data which suggests that learners process information in a given way). By denigrating past reform efforts as failures they fail to see that the entire system in which the reform has played itself out has changed. In one sense, the reform has failed: it did not produce the desired and expected results of the curriculum designers. In another, more important sense, the reform hasn't failed, it has succeeded: by highlighting new, deeper structures of the problems facing us we are able to better meet the needs of an ever widening range of students and teachers. By enabling a diverse group of perspectives to enter the dialogue we are both more aware of the limitations which a positivist approach places on education and on our views of which knowledge is of value.

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[44] Schiro, *Curriculum for Better Schools.*

I am not saying that we cannot strive for victories and improvement along the course of development, nor that we should not revel in these victories and the positive approaches which solve current problems. What I am pushing for is an explicit acknowledgement that these victories and solutions are plateaus which will become valleys as we accumulate more knowledge claims and empower more perspectives to join in the intellectual dialogue. And that as these plateaus become valleys we ought not to blame the process which took us to the plateau for the gradual loss of high ground. . . . instead we should thank them for the progress to date, recognize the need to move yet higher, and work to positively build each new plateau.

The Life and Educational Career of Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, 1645-1700

Norma Salazar Davis
Chicago State University

Introduction

Hispanic figures and sources have been largely ignored in the history of American education, partly due to popular notions about Hispanics. It is time for a new lens through which to look at the past. By presenting the life of Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, I hope to fill one of many gaps in the historical record and generate friendly, constructive dialogue among historians so that in the future they might offer a sense of pride and inclusion to Hispanics.

The seventeenth century was a time of ferment in the development of education and culture in New Spain. An important figure in that development was Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, mathematician, historian, astronomer, cartographer, explorer, professor, sometimes poet—a "baroque scholar" and "Mexican Savant" according to historian Irving A. Leonard.

Family

Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora was born in Mexico City on 15 August 1645. His father, Carlos de Sigüenza Benito, was born in Madrid. He tutored Prince Baltasar Carlos. At the end of his teaching assignment, he went to New Spain. He arrived at the port of Vera Cruz on 24 June 1640.[1]

Two years later, Don Carlos de Sigüenza Benito married Doña Dionisia Suárez de Figueroa y Góngora. Doña Dionisia was born in Seville, Spain. She came from an aristocratic family whose relatives included a well-known writer, Cristobal Suárez de Figueroa, and Don Luis de Góngora, a poet. Carlos de Sigüenza was proud of his family lineage. He specifically attached Góngora to his name to identify with the poet Don Luis de Góngora.[2]

Carlos Sigüenza was the second born of nine siblings and the first male. He and his family lived on the street of La Estampa de Jesús María where a convent by the same name was located. The proximity of the convent to the Sigüenza home may have influenced his sister María Lugarda de Jesús to join the convent.[3]

Francisco Rojas agrees that there was a special connection between the convent of Jesús María and Sigüenza's family life: his mother, Doña Dionisia, was buried in the convent; his sister Mother María Lugarda de Jesús entered its cloister; and much later, in the year 1684, Don Carlos Sigüenza wrote *Paraiso Occidental* (*West-*

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[1] E. J. Burrus, S. J., "Sigüenza y Góngora's Efforts for Readmission into the Jesuit Order," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 33, 3 (1953): 391; Francisco Pérez Salazar, *Biografía de Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora* (México: Antigua Imprenta de Murguía, 1928), 12. All translations from Spanish to English in the paper are mine.

[2] José Rojas Garcidueñas, *Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, Erudito Barroco* (México: Ediciones Xochitl, 1945), 14.

[3] Pérez Salazar, *Biografía de don Carlos*, 11, 13.

ern Paradise) which narrated the founding and history of the convent. Rojas firmly states:

> This old neighborhood framed a great part of the life of Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora: his birth and infancy in the [street] 'Estampa de Jesús María,' his visits to church and the convent which were frequent, and lastly, very close by, there [was] the Hospital del Amor de Dios, later San Carlos Royal Academy, now School of Plastic Arts, where Don Carlos lived many years and died at the end of the seventeenth century.[4]

Formation

Carlos Sigüenza's first schooling began at home under his father's tutelage. Carlos was barely fifteen when he entered the Novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Tepotzotlán on 17 May 1660. He took his initial vows on 15 August 1662. In keeping with standard Jesuit practice, he studied the humanities and some theology.[5]

The Jesuit Order proved to be too severe for the impetuous young Carlos Sigüenza—or rather his inclinations may have been too impetuous for the discipline of the Society. On 3 August 1667 he was expelled for frequent "nocturnal escapades." On that day he left both the Society and the College of the Holy Spirit where he had been a novice and then teacher. Filled with remorse, he requested reinstatement several times throughout his life, but unyielding superiors consistently denied his pleas.[6]

According to Ernest J. Burrus, S. J., the lack of documents available to explain the circumstances surrounding Sigüenza's leaving the order has created conjecture among historians. One early account held that Carlos had been dismissed, but later historians rejected this view saying that his father had him leave. "Most historians [have] followed Andrés Cavo's opinion that Sigüenza left at the insistence of his father," wrote E. J. Burrus. Irving Leonard's careful 1929 biography of Sigüenza agrees with Andrés Cavo's conjecture.[7]

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[4] Rojas Garcidueñas, *Don Carlos de Sigüenza*, 16.

[5] Ibid., 19.

[6] Burrus, "Sigüenza y Góngora's Efforts," 387; Irving Leonard, *Baroque Times in Old México* (Ann Arbor, MI: 1966), 195.

This remained the standard interpretation for several years. In the early 1940s, however, correspondence from the Jesuit General, Juan Paulo Oliva, "shed some light on this important detail concerning the life of Don Carlos."

According to historian Edmundo O'Gorman, the first letter (dated 15 August 1668) confirms that Carlos had been a novice at the Colegio del Espiritu Santo in Puebla and that he was dismissed for disorderly conduct.[8] E. J. Burrus pointed out that Carlos could not have been a novice when he was dismissed. If he had been, there would have been no reason for a dispensation. "At the time of his expulsion he was a teacher in the Colegio Espiritu Santo in Puebla," he wrote. The college did not list any students, only teachers. Sigüenza was in the period of formation and getting ready for the priesthood. Burrus says that this would explain why Sigüenza was referred to as an "estudiante" (student) in the letter. He had studied philosophy at San Pedro and San Pablo in Mexico City and, according to Burrus, he would have returned there to study theology if he had not been dismissed from the order.[9]

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[7] Burrus, "Sigüenza y Góngora's Efforts," 387; Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la Iglesia en México* (México: El Paso, 1928), 1: 277-78; Andrés Cavo, *Historia de México* (México, 1949), 374, quoted in Burrus, "Sigüenza y Góngora's Efforts," 387-88; Leonard, *Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, A Mexican Savant of the Seventeenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California, 1929), quoted in Edmundo O'Gorman, "Datos sobre D. Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación* 15, 4 (1944): 596.

[8] O'Gorman, "Datos sobre D. Carlos," 596.

[9] Burrus, "Sigüenza y Góngora's Efforts," 391.

The second letter (30 March 1671) alludes to the fact that Carlos asked to be reinstated and the denial of his request due to the "ugliness" of the cause of his expulsion. The third letter dated (8 April 1671) is along the same lines as the previous two. By the time of the fourth letter (31 December 1677), the situation had changed. O'Gorman tells us that the Jesuit General Juan Paulo Oliva had become more flexible than before and that he was probably impressed with Sigûenza's intellectual accomplishments: "He tells me that he is an individual with natural talents, he is thirty years old, a professor at the University, and that he can serve religion well, and that he is extremely contrite and ingenuous."[10]

The Jesuit General removed the expulsion, but left the final decision about reinstatement up to the Padre Provincial. This official apparently refused. Sigûenza was not reinstated at this time despite his repeated efforts for readmission.[11]

Career

Unable to resume his studies in the Jesuit seminary, Sigûenza returned to Mexico City to study theology and mathematics on his own. He obviously succeeded. His affinity for mathematics and related sciences made him the leading mathematician of his time in Mexico.[12]

In 1672 there was a vacancy for the chair of mathematics and astrology at the university. Sigûenza applied, competing with José Salmerón de Castro who held a degree from the university. Sigûenza argued that even though he lacked the proper accreditation, he was better qualified than his opponent who had just recently begun studying this field. Sigüenza claimed, on the other hand, to be an expert on the subject. As proof he reminded university authorities of the two almanacs he had developed, one in 1671 and the other in 1672.[13]

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[10] O'Gorman, "Datos sobre D. Carlos," 609.
[11] Ibid., 596.
[12] Leonard, *Baroque Times*, 197; Pérez Salazar, *Biografía de Don Carlos*, 24.

Sigüenza won his argument and was allowed to compete for the chair of mathematics and astrology. The competition for selecting faculty members followed a system called *oposiciones* (disputation). The candidate publicly chose a printed source on the subject matter and within twenty-four hours was responsible for giving a lecture on a topic chosen randomly from within the printed material.[14]

After somewhat pompously demonstrating his erudition, Sigüenza was awarded the chair. The university chronicle recorded that:

> On 21 July of this year, the chair [of mathematics] was voted on by degree-holders of the faculties in theology, canons, law, and medicine. . . . José Salmerón de Castro had fourteen votes; Don Carlos de Sigüenza, seventy-four; and Juan de Saucedo, seven. Don Carlos de Sigüenza was awarded the chair of astrology and mathematics, with an excess of sixty votes. He was told to take possession [of the chair] with a salary of 100 pesos, which he accepted 20 July of this year.[15]

Sigüenza's reputation as a university professor left something to be desired. He often had lengthy absences, leaving substitutes to deliver his lectures. Sometimes he just failed to show up for lectures.[16]

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[13] Leonard, *Baroque Times*, 197; Rojas Garcidueñas, *Don Carlos de Sigüenza*, 30.
[14] Leonard, *Baroque Times*, 197.
[15] Cristobal Bernardo de la Plaza y Jaen, *Crónica de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de México*, versión paleográfica de Nicolás Rangel 2 (México: Talleres Gráficos del Museo Nacional, 1931): 95, quoted in Rojas Garcidueñas, *Don Carlos de Sigüenza*, 33.
[16] Leonard, *Baroque Times*, 198.

Numerous competing activities caused him to neglect his classroom duties. Most of his colleagues belonged to religious orders and were therefore assured of their basic needs. Carlos, on the other hand, needed to support himself as well as his parents, brothers, sisters, and a number of other relatives. For this reason, he held various other offices, which later brought him titles. These included Chief Cosmographer of the Realm, Chaplain of the Hospital del Amor de Dios (which offered room and board), General Examiner of Gunners, University Accountant, Corrector of the Inquisition, and numerous payed commissions from viceroys. While these activities competed for his time at the university, he never neglected his research in the areas of archeology, history, mathematics, and applied sciences.

Sigüenza considered his appointment at the Hospital del Amor de Dios the most remunerative because it provided him with room and board. His sponsor and protector Archbishop Francisco Aguiar de Seijas appointed him Chaplain after the archbishop assumed office in 1682. Archbishop Aguiar also authorized him to say mass as a lay priest, and this helped him to increase his earnings through fees.[17]

José Rojas says that for reasons that remain unknown, Sigüenza and the archbishop developed a special friendship. In the archbishop, Sigüenza found not only encouragement and support, but also sincere appreciation.[18]

This doesn't mean that these two strong personalities never clashed. There is an incident recorded in Father Robles diary that demonstrates both Sigüenza's blunt disposition and Archbishop Aguiar's authoritarian personality. Robles' entry is dated 11 October 1692, and it narrates the argument as follows:

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Rojas Garcidueñas, *Don Carlos de Sigüenza*, 82.

> 1692-Fight.-Saturday 11, being D. Carlos de Sigüenza clergyman and priest, with Señor Archbishop discussing a few things, Don Carlos told Señor Archbishop to watch his words when he spoke to him, at which time his Illustrious[ness] used one of his crutches on him, broke his glasses spilling blood all over D. Carlos.[19]

They were definitely two strong willed people. Despite their differences, they appeared to have developed a close friendship. According to Leonard: "Indeed the veneration of Don Carlos for his assailant increased until, in his mind, the prelate almost acquired the halo of a saint."[20] Apparently Aguiar, who died a short time before Sigüenza, left his mitre to Don Carlos. In his own will, Sigüenza expressed that he had the archbishop's hat in his possession and that people had been cured just by touching it. Sigüenza requested that the archbishop's hat be kept in the oratory of Saint Phelipe Neri.[21]

Sigüenza wrote extensively. His biggest regret was that he was able to publish only twelve of his works. Among his writing is *La Libra Astronómica y Filosófica* (*Astronomical and Philosophical Libra*). He wrote it in response to Father Kino's criticism of a manifest in which Sigüenza was combating the presumption that comets were signs of bad omens. A comet had appeared in November 1680, causing grave alarm among the population in Mexico City.[22]

Sigüenza's most important historical account was *Infortunios de Alonso Ramírez* (*Misfortunes of Alonso Ramírez*). Ramírez, a native of Puerto Rico, had died at the hands of English pirates in the Philipines. Literary historian Carlos González has described Sigüenza as the best Mexican prose writer in the seventeenth century. González further stated that Sigüenza's best historical writings, are probably the ones he left unedited.[23]

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[19] Antonio de Robles, *Diario de Sucesos Notables, 1665-1703*, ed. Antonio Castro Leal 2 (México: Ed. Porrúa, 1972): 173.

[20] Leonard, *Baroque Times*, 199.

[21] Pérez Salazar, *Biografías de Don Carlos*, 190.

[22] Carlos González Peña, *Historia de la Literatura Mexicana: Desde los orígines hasta nuestros días* (México: Porrúa, 1990), 98. Libra refers to the sign of the zodiac by that name.

Carlos was a great collector of Mexican documents. He left about twenty-eight volumes of manuscripts to the College of Maximo de San Pedro and San Pablo. During the revolt of 8 June 1692, he didn't hesitate to risk his life saving manuscripts and paintings from the burning palace.[24]

This incident is recorded in the minutes of the town council of 16 June 1692. Subsequent meetings—26 June and 11 July—alluded to the revolt, requesting that Sigüenza return the files:

> The present secretary reported that they had seen the Priest Don Carlos Sigüenza and asked him to return the books he saved from the archive the night of the fire. . . . He agreed to return them but expressed that he was hurt because the city had not thanked him and at the same time wanted to let us know that he had incurred expenses transporting them to his house.[25]

He retired as a professor in 1694 and spent his last years gravely ill, writing historical accounts. He suffered from kidney stones. He died 22 August 1700. He left his library, rich in historical documents and scientific instruments, to the Society of Jesus. He donated his body to science hoping that the doctors would find a cure, at a time when "disection was still counted a desecration." He bequeathed a mission of dedicated inquiry to future generations of historians. He may have received deathbed reinstatement into the Jesuit order, but this is not certain. Perhaps this ambivalent note should remain to characterize a complex man who was simultaneously scientific and traditional.[26]

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Actas de Cabildo, 1692-1693 vol. 371A, Tumulto y Incendio del Día 8 de Junio de 1692, domingo a las seis de la tarde, Archivo Histórico del Ex-Ayuntamiento de la Ciudad de México.

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[26] Ibid., 213; Pérez Salazar, *Biografías de don Carlos*, 80; Leonard, *Baroque Times*, 214.

Socrates on the Assembly Line: The Ford Foundation's Mass Marketing of Liberal Adult Education

Paul J. Edelson
State University of New York/Stony Brook

Background

In the ten years of its existence (1951-1961) the Ford Foundation's Fund for Adult Education (FAE) expended over $47 million dollars on behalf of adult and continuing education, and dwarfing the $8.5 million spent by the Carnegie Corporation during the period 1924-1958.[1] In fact, it is a significantly large proportion of the $76 million of the total adult education support spent by foundations in the "modern era" referred to by Knowles in 1962.[2]

The Ford Foundation, by virtue of its enormous wealth, estimated at $417 million in 1951, had the power and, concomitantly, the prestige as America's largest philanthropy to do what it wanted in the area of adult education.[3] Through the FAE it supported the fledgling Adult Education Association of the USA (AEA/USA), also founded in 1951, and its publication *Adult Leadership* as a way of forging coherence in what it perceived as a chaotic, directionless field.[4] It supported the National Association of Public School Adult Educators (NAPSAE) in their efforts to persuade state departments of education to elevate adult education to a level comparable to elementary and secondary education.[5]

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[1] Malcolm Knowles, *A History of the Adult Education Movement in the United States* (Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing, 1977), 95.
[2] Ibid., 97.

In areas where it did not identify or acknowledge organizations willing to carry on the work it deemed necessary, the FAE created its own unique institutions. These were the circumstances surrounding the beginnings of the Test Cities Project, the Test Centers, and the Experimental Discussion Project, all pioneering efforts to firmly establish liberal adult education on a nationwide basis in post World War II America.

In the case of the Test Cities Project, the FAE created, with local citizen participation, adult education councils in twelve medium-size American cities ranging in population from 60,000 (York, PA) to 450,000 (Kansas City, MO). It funded the councils which were expected to implement and administer, and if possible create, liberal adult education programs, the major area of emphasis for the FAE.[6] These councils were not intended to be simply coordinating bodies bringing together a panoply of other adult providers.

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[3] Francis X. Sutton, "The Ford Foundation: The Early Years," *Daedalus* 116, 4 (1987): 52.

[4] Franklin A. Lindsay, "Memo to Dyke Brown," 17 March 1954, Ford Foundation Archives (FFA), McPeak Office Files, Box 6, Folder 175. See also FAE, *The Challenge of Lifetime Learning* (Pasadena, CA, [1954]), 25.

[5] Paul J. Edelson, "The Saturation Project and NAPSAE's Changing Strategies for Adult Education," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education, Montreal, Quebec, 15-18 October 1991.

[6] FAE, "Statement of Purposes and Principles," June 1952, FFA, FAE Administrative Office Files, Box 11, Folder 34.

The Ford Foundation and the FAE wished to go a step further than the local councils funded by the Carnegie Corporation (and sometimes referred to as "Carnegie Councils") through the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE) which were viewed as "elusive and volatile."[7]

Liberal Adult Education in the Post-War Period

By continuing liberal education the FAE meant more than the great classics of Western civilization that constituted the backbone of the Great Books program (also generously supported through major grants to the Great Books Foundation). The FAE defined liberal education broadly so that it might assist adults to intelligently participate as "mature, wise, and responsible citizens" in a free society.[8] Liberal arts and a liberal approach to education were thus fused with curricula on economics, government, and world events to promote individual development and citizenship that would strengthen both democracy and American society. Continuing liberal education was perceived as the most significant form of education, beginning where formal schooling left off and lasting a lifetime.[9] This took place within the context of an exceedingly confusing post War world.

America had finally come out of a wrenching depression, endured a long and costly war, and emerged triumphant in an uneasy peace, but was now beset by nuclear armed enemies that had recently been allies. Democracy/capitalism was now pitted against totalitarianism/socialism in a Cold War where once again the survival of the West was perceived to be at risk.

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[7] Knowles, *A History of Adult Education Movement*, 178.

[8] FAE, *Ten Year Report of the Fund for Adult Education* (n.p. [1962]), 12.

[9] Ford Foundation, *Report of the Study for the Ford Foundation on Policy and Program* (Detroit: 1949), 40-41.

Additionally, the memory of the depression as a painful period of uncertainty and doubt was still vivid to most adults leading to a quite palpable fear that it might happen again. Prosperity and the "American high" were not yet an established fact.[10]

The Foundation's Agenda

A priority of the Ford Foundation was thus to strengthen democracy worldwide, but particularly in the United States. A major leitmotif in the Foundation's first major report, "Report of the Study for the Ford Foundation on Policy and Program" was to bring about a world order where we, as a nation, could be safe and prosperous, resisting totalitarianism and the tide of Communism "mounting" in Asia in Europe.[11]

The meaning of democracy was to be found in practice, the Report maintained, in daily application, not in a set of "rigid rules."[12] America would prevail, not through war which was too costly and destructive, but by virtue of the example we could set for the rest of the world.

The Report, noting tendencies towards public apathy and skepticism, called for community demonstration projects to enhance confidence in civic life. The example of innovations in public health policy following successful demonstration projects was offered as a model for what the applied social sciences might also accomplish in the urban arena, thus creating the idea for Test Cities that would be elaborated in subsequent passages of the document.

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[10] See William L. O'Neill, *American High: The Years of Confidence, 1945-1960* (New York: The Free Press, 1986).

[11] Ford Foundation, "Report of the Study," 26. This study is also called the Gaither Report after Rowan Gaither who chaired the committee that produced it. He would later become President of the Ford Foundation following the resignation of Paul Hoffman.

[12] Ibid., 21.

"Such experiments," the Report continued, "while sometimes difficult and expensive, are often catalytic in effect, producing widespread emulation. The Foundation may find it necessary to support such demonstration projects."[13] In order to combat public apathy, for example, it was suggested that a community might run a "community workshop" in which "scientists or educators act as social engineers, in communities of manageable size, to stimulate an interest in public affairs."[14] After this intervention the extent to which apathy was reduced could be measured and the experiment, perhaps modified, could then be tried in other communities to similar effect.

In this manner both a "raison d'etre" as well as a format was established for the Test Cities Project, the Ford Foundation's first major experiment in urban redesign.

The Test Cities Experiment

In 1951 when Paul G. Hoffman former President of the Studebaker Corporation and Director of the Marshall Plan was made President of the Ford Foundation (1951-1953) his first senior level appointment was of Robert Maynard Hutchins to Associate Director (1951-1954). Hutchins, for many the "enfant terrible" of American higher education, had been President and then Chancellor at the University of Chicago since 1929.[15] Probably best known by the general public for canceling the school's varsity intercollegiate football program, he introduced many other controversial changes at Chicago including eliminating compulsory class attendance, awarding bachelor's degrees to students who elsewhere would be considered sophomores, and abolishing more than three hundred courses.[16] Railing against both the vocationalism, materialism, and pragmatism rife in American higher education Hutchins championed a return to a more traditional and scholastic form of education.

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[13] Ibid., 68.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Sutton, 55.

Before coming to Chicago he had held a number of positions at Yale, including Dean of the Law School, and had met Mortimer Adler, then a philosopher at Columbia. Through his association with Adler, Hutchins was introduced to a theory of education based upon the classics of Western civilization, the "Great Books" which he was to make the core curriculum of the College at the University of Chicago.[17]

At the Ford Foundation, where Hutchins was instrumental in creating both the Fund for the Advancement of Education and the Fund for Adult Education (the former to address formal, traditional education) he was freed from the restraints of an often recalcitrant and hostile faculty (as well as alumni) who resisted his educational innovations.

In his book *The Conflict in Education in a Democratic Society* (1953) Hutchins made the case for adult liberal education as a way to improve society through the intellectual development of citizens. Though he did not see education as an "engine" for social reform in the mechanistic way it was portrayed in the Gaither Report, he nonetheless viewed it as essential in order to reach an "unlimited republic of learning," an ideal, but attainable social condition. Test Cities were a way of making focused educational materials addressing political issues close to Hutchins, especially on fundamental issues of personal freedom and social responsibilities.[18]

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[16] Thomas C. Reeves, *Freedom and the Foundation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 11.

[17] See Harry S. Ashmore, *Unseasonable Truths: The Life of Robert Maynard Hutchins* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1989) and Edward Shils, "Robert Maynard Hutchins," *The American Scholar* 59 (Spring, 1990): 211-35.

C. Scott Fletcher was made President of the FAE and had the direct responsibility for developing the Test Cities Project. He had been associated previously with both Hoffman and Hutchins, respectively, through former positions he held as Vice-President for Sales with the Studebaker Corporation and as President of Britannica Films. Fletcher was known as a salesman "par excellence" who had the ability to motivate others to achieve difficult goals.[19] He also had community level experience as Director of the Field Development Division of the Committee for Economic Development for which he organized many discussion groups during the period 1942-44.[20]

In the Test Cities, programs were to be organized in small groups to facilitate face-to-face discussion, another expression of the anti-establishment bias of Hutchins and Adler who believed that liberal studies materials could be accessed directly without the intervention of professional academics in traditional classroom situations. This method had been tried with success in the Great Books discussion programs Hutchins and Adler had started at the University of Chicago.

Two fundamental problems with the widespread discussion groups perceived initially by the FAE when it began to implement Test Cities were the "inadequate" liberal adult education study materials for adults and the need to train skillful lay discussion leaders.[21] It was essential to surmount these hurdles in order to make it possible for the adult education Test City councils to be more than coordinating or advisory bodies.

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[18] Robert M. Hutchins, *The Conflict in Education in a Free Society* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953); Ibid., 53; Ibid., 76.

[19] Robert J. Blakely, former Vice President for the FAE, reported that Fletcher had once brought elephants and other circus animals to a Studebaker dealers sales convention in order to get them "fired up" about selling. Interview by author, Chicago, IL, 18 October 1991.

[20] See Robert J. Blakely, "Cyril Scott Fletcher" in *International Biography of Adult Education* (Derby, England: Saxon Printing, 1985), 173.

Some courses and discussion programs were developed specifically for the Test Cities market by other FAE grant recipients including the Great Books Foundation, the American Foundation for Continuing Education, the American Library Association, and the American Foreign Policy Association. The Fund's own Experimental Discussion Project, which contracted directly with individual writers to produce the study discussion programs was also a source of programs.

The Test Cities councils were also encouraged to create and then offer their own programs including workshops for discussion leaders. It was intended that each council would be operated autonomously by its board, though coordinated by the FAE, and would find a way to become financially viable during the three year term of the grant (1951-1954).

The overall purpose of the Test Cities Program was to see if and how liberal continuing education could become integral to the life of a community. Central to the experiment was whether the programs could continue to exist once Ford funding was withdrawn. To gradually wean the councils away from foundation support the grants were tapered each succeeding year. It was anticipated that this would provide sufficient incentive for them to raise a larger proportion of their own income from program fees.[22]

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[21] Ralph W. Tyler, "Impressions of the Present Program of the Fund for Adult Education," 6 October 1952, FFA, FAE Administrative Office Files, Box 12, Folder 110.

[22] Robert J. Blakely, with the benefit of hindsight, suggested that it might have made more sense to increase rather than decrease funding allocations each year as a way of helping the programs quickly expand and reach the "take-off" stage required for budgetary self-sufficiency. Instead, by decreasing the allocations the FAE compelled the Councils to devote more time to fund-raising than program development, impeding enlargement of the program base. Interview with author, Chicago, IL, 19 October 1991.

The inability of most of the community education councils to survive as "independent" entities without foundation support was a major disappointment and "finding" of the Test Cities Project.

A number of the councils were taken over by area colleges and continued to function under those auspices. The FAE quickly realized as the Test Cities succumbed to insolvency that higher education institutions furnished the most felicitous operational base for liberal adult education. They had the physical plant, administrative personnel, and in many cases a history of community involvement and experience in dealing with adults through evening and extension divisions. Most importantly, the Foundation recognized that these established institutions had the "prestige and authority to command the respect of adults seriously concerned about continuing liberal education".[23]

In recognition of the importance of higher education's potential contribution to liberal continuing education the Fund supported a proposal from the Association of University Evening Colleges (AUEC) to create a Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults and thereby stimulated innovation in liberal studies course development.[24]

"Test" and "Demonstration" Centers

The FAE also moved beyond Test Cities with a new concept for university based Test Centers for further experimentation in developing and marketing liberal adult education programs.[25] A total of eight centers were created at American higher education institutions. There were three additional centers- at the Pasadena Liberal Arts Center and at the University of British Columbia; the University of Utah was to use the materials on a statewide basis. These were to be coordinated by the FAE in a manner similar to Test Cities, but this time the grants were tapered over a four year period. Once again, it was hoped that fees derived from course registrations would make up the difference between actual costs to the campuses and the FAE funds. At the end of the four year period the fund anticipated that the colleges would assume full responsibility for the programs including any deficits. The Test Centers experiment ran from 1955-1959.

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[23] FAE, *Ten Year Report*, 45.

[24] John Whipple, "Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults: A History," March 1967, George Arents Research Library at Syracuse University (GARLSU), Paul Sheats Collection, Box 11, Folder: Organization Records CSLEA- History.

[25] *FAE, Ten Year Report.*

A major difference between Test Cities and Test Centers was the extensive involvement of a high powered Madison Ave. marketing firm, B. L. Mazel, Inc., to centrally direct promotional advertising. Mazel developed a promotion handbook to be used by all Test Center directors, produced promotional brochures (150,000 in 1957), planned and conducted direct mail tests to determine the effectiveness of varying types of mailing lists, conducted local workshops on advertising, prepared newspaper ads to be used by the Centers, and aided them in conducting their individual promotion campaigns.[26]

Both the Test Cities and Test Centers projects represented a relentless and purposeful drive by the FAE to determine and identify the correct combination of product (adult liberal education), packaging (study-discussion groups), and promotion (modern advertising) at the right price (tuition) for the correct market (middle class adults). In the Test Centers the nature of the audience became more clear—a high proportion with some college experience, drawn from middle or higher income brackets, with professional and managerial occupations, a slightly greater majority of females, families that were "well-settled" in their communities, and people active in civic and professional affairs.[27]

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[26] FAE, "Excerpts from Docket for Board of Directors Meeting," 29 October 1957, FFA, FAE Administrative Office Files, Box 11, Folder 94.

The delivery of the commodity/service was to be under the control of an appropriate dealership—now presumed to be colleges and universities after the failure of the Test Cities Project to create viable independent adult education councils.

The genius of American organization and production that led to the creation of large-scale modern American industry documented by Chandler was now being applied to adult education.[28] The FAE, much like large manufacturing concerns, successfully integrated the mass production of study materials from its grantees and the Experimental Discussion Program with mass distribution through the Test Centers, and after 1959 through other outlets. This "vertical integration" lent itself to mass advertising techniques which had been originally designed to broadly market other consumer goods.

Fletcher, the former Studebaker salesman, brought together the dynamics of modern business and the ideal of lifelong learning.[29] The success of this approach was evident to the Fund which proudly proclaimed that Test Centers study-discussion programs had enrolled ten thousand people in 1957-58.[30] In using this yardstick for success, the FAE had completely abandoned the language of social reform and experimentation used in the Gaither report to describe the goals of what became the Test Cities Project.

Despite the fact that the FAE gave grants to the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., the National Association of Public School Adult Educators, the Center for the Study of Liberal Education of Adults, and the National Education Association it sought very limited advice from them on its own direct involvement in adult education through Test Cities and Test Centers. Instead, former automobile executives, newspapermen, lawyers, Madison Avenue ad-men, and foundation operatives, who were all more "bottom-line" oriented, and traditional academics who lacked a frame of reference for continuing education finally succeeded in creating through the Test Centers an educational product in an attractive program format, which the American adult consumer would buy. Socrates had been moved from the Academy in Athens to a Detroit-like assembly line and was churning out liberal adult education courses. Evidently these were compatible with the educational demands of a fast paced society which had insufficient time for the attenuated discursive approach to adult education found in the "Dialogues."

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[27] FAE, *Ten Year Report*, 51.

[28] Alfred D. Chandler, *The Visible Hand. The managerial revolution in American business*. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1977).

[29] Blakely, Interview with author, 172-74.

[30] FAE, *Ten Year Report*, 34.

Concurrent with Test Centers, the FAE experimented with Demonstration Centers which were direct grants to some colleges to expand their nascent adult education programs. This "final phase" of its effort to advance liberal education was launched in 1956 when the lessons from Test Centers were already becoming evident.[31] Sixteen universities were involved in this project and received grants. These were followed in 1960 and 1961 by long-term grants to selected colleges which were encouraged to make adult liberal education a permanent part of their continuing education programs.

Since the emphasis was now on program viability and the experiment was more decentralized, and under local control, than in either Test Cities or Test Centers, the schools could veer away from study-discussion formats to larger lecture classes that could be more financially remunerative.

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[31] Ibid., 52.

Adult Education and the Marketplace

Through this progression the FAE firmly established the principle that non-credit liberal adult education could and, therefore, should pay for itself thereby locating it as a tuition supported educational product in American higher education. American university extension had been marching down this road for some time. A study by Morton, that had been financed by the FAE, recorded that over a twenty-one year period (1930-1951) there had been a tendency for university extension programs to become self-supporting to a higher degree than other university programs.[32]

Morton viewed this trend as a "problem area".[33]

He preferred a development for general university extension similar to that of agricultural extension in which foundation support had led to government support once the value of these programs had been demonstrated to the public.

This principle of having to pay its own way is the single most distinguishing feature of American continuing education today. The success of the model has driven out all serious alternatives to the extent that with the limited exceptions of grant supported programs for the disadvantaged and other targeted groups including veterans, adult education is the most blatantly market driven segment of all American education.

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[32] John R. Morton, *University Extension in the United States* (Birmingham, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1953).

[33] Ibid., 104.

The FAE triumphed in this approach by sacrificing the most salient feature of liberal adult education as conceived of initially by Hutchins and Adler who envisioned peer led, small-size discussion groups as the embodiment of true adult learning. This was to be the driving force behind the Test Cities which would galvanize civic spirit and community cohesion in those communities where they were located.

Conversely, the larger number of discussion groups in Test Centers and the huge lecture classes that were ultimately popularized through the Demonstration Centers allowed for greater economies of scale, and consequently higher revenues, than were possible in smaller classes. This approach was much more attractive to university administrators, including those directly involved in adult education, who were searching for a rationale to support and increase support for continuing education.[34]

The story of the FAE and its iterations of adult liberal education is thus important to those who wish to understand the present-day fixations and priorities of mainstream American continuing education, particularly that which is university based. In addition, the elevated and exalted place of higher education in the entire pantheon of American education makes the higher education model attractive to continuing education providers in most other sectors such as in public schools and non-profit organizations.

The need to fill large classes has led to the popularization of adult liberal education as a form of broad based intellectual entertainment, a resurrection in spirit of the traveling Commercial Chautauqua Circuit which brought "entertainment and culture" to rural America, but now as an established part of university and, in some cases, public school continuing education.[35] Moreover, a type of adult education Gresham's Law can now be identified in which fee supported programs that generate greater revenue ultimately drive out those which generate less.

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[34] Whipple, "Center for the Study of Liberal Education."
[35] Knowles, *History of Adult Education Movement*, 38.

Looking back, one may wish that had the Ford experiment in its original format of the Test Cities succeeded in improving community life in ways that could be convincingly documented it could have paved the way for increased government support of liberal adult education diminishing its reliance upon fees.[36] But the Test Cities Project foundered on the shoals of vagueness and could never demonstrate tangible outcomes as palpably as agricultural extension. The FAE simply could not prove, by the yardsticks it selected, that liberal adult education made for a better life. Instead there was a "drift" or migration in the experiment until a measure for success was identified that could be met. For Scott Fletcher and the FAE, a series of test marketing experiments in adult education were conducted until the right combination of factors was found. A model that had proved itself in the mass production and distribution of consumer goods was superimposed onto another, commodity-adult education.

Postscript

The Fund's obsession with securing economic viability for liberal adult education led it to lose sight of what might actually be accomplished in community continuing education. Ironically, at a later period in the Ford Foundation's history, the Foundation resurrected the principle of urban demonstration projects, that was intrinsic to Test Cities, in the Gray Areas Project, an urban development program that it supported in New Haven, CT.[37] This, in turn, became the template for Model Cities—probably the most ambitious project for urban reform ever attempted in the United States. In that way the spirit of Test Cities was revived, but without the liberal education core. Perhaps the goals of social renewal through liberal education are unattainable. However, it can be reasonably argued through an examination of the FAE and its innovative projects that the liberal studies concept was never given a fair chance to succeed.

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[36] See Edelson for a discussion of NAPSAE's "Saturation Project" which was intended to demonstrate the impact of adult education on a community as a way of leveraging political support.

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[37] See Nicholas Lemann, *The Promised Land. The great black migration and how it changed America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

A. S. Makarenko. A Reinterpretation

Rose Edwards
Loyola University, Chicago

Introduction

A. S. Makarenko (1888-1939) was a Soviet educator and writer who, after the Russian Revolution, achieved significant success in the education and social reform of homeless children and juvenile delinquents who had been orphaned by the wars and social upheavals of the time.

During his lifetime, Makarenko was the subject of much discussion and controversy in the Soviet Union; after his death, as his writings were translated and published in countries around the world, he gained international recognition. Scholars worldwide have interpreted his educational concepts in widely divergent ways. Sanctified after his death by Soviet educators, Makarenko is often described as the father of Soviet pedagogy and founder of communist education. Some Western educators have considered Makarenko a pedagogical genius, a creative teacher, a great humanitarian; others have seen him as a political ideologue who put pedagogy at the service of communism.

In 1968 Leonhard Froese, founder and director of the Philipps University's Research Center for Comparative Education in Marburg, Germany, together with other scholars, established a Makarenko Department within the research center.[1] The Makarenko Department has made its sole aim the study of Anton Makarenko's life, work, and international reception. When asked by a visitor from the USSR why he and scholars at the Makarenko Department occupied themselves with Makarenko, Froese explained that Makarenko had captured their special interest because they believed that a "modern classic of pedagogy" (Froese's words) had not yet been sufficiently explored. Froese and researchers at the Makarenko Department distinguished Makarenko not only as the most outstanding Soviet pedagogue, but also as the most significant pedagogical writer in the Russian language, who, as Froese expressed it, had "something to say" to his own people as well as the rest of the world. Elsewhere, Froese elaborated this view:

> Forty years of Makarenko in Germany, twenty-five years of Makarenko research, fifteen years of personal pursuits with Makarenko, and still—one might object—no end. Yet we [scholars at the Makarenko Department] know no answer other than a question in return: Will men ever have fully researched and explored a Comenius, a Rousseau, a Pestalozzi, or a Tolstoy to the point of having "enough" of him? A. S. Makarenko, the youngest among equals, is a phenomenon whom we have barely just begun to recognize and to interpret for the pedagogy of our and other times.[2]

The Makarenko Department in Marburg is the only Makarenko research center outside the USSR. (A more detailed description of their activities will follow.) Their research—since 1968 pursued by full-and-part-time specialists—and findings have changed the field of Makarenko scholarship and must be seen as a watershed in the Makarenko inquiry, providing for the first time a factual basis for the appraisal of Makarenko's life and work. The author, (whose mother tongue is German), was able to obtain some of the Makarenko Department's published literature through stores or through the interlibrary loan system, but most came from the Makarenko Department directly. This made it possible to base a study of Makarenko's life and work on well-grounded research and to assess the relevance and applicability of his pedagogical ideas to education in general.

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[1] Address: Forschungsstelle für Vergleichende Erziehungswissenschaft, Makarenko Referat, Ernst-Giller-Strasse 5, D-3550 Marburg/Lahn, Germany.

[2] Leonhard Froese, in Götz Hillig, ed., *Makarenko in Deutschland 1927-1967*. Texte und Berichte [Makarenko in Germany 1927-1967. Texts and reports] (Braunschweig: Georg Westerman, 1967), 27.

Who Was Makarenko?

One might ask why this once obscure Ukrainian elementary school teacher, more than fifty years after his death, continues to make such claim on the interest and attention of modern scholars. A brief background of Makarenko and the international reception of his pedagogical ideas may help explain why he continues to demand our attention.

Anton S. Makarenko was thirty-two years old when, in 1920, he was asked by Ukrainian authorities to organize and direct a labor colony for homeless children and youth. As a result of Russia's many catastrophic political and social upheavals, countless young people had become orphaned and homeless and many turned to crime in order to survive. Under exceedingly difficult and challenging conditions, Makarenko found a way to cope with the pressing problems these youth presented and provided for their physical, social, and psychological care and, slowly, to restore their human nature. In his *Pedagogicheskaia poema* (A Pedagogical Poem), Makarenko described his successes and failures in resocializing the vagrant youngsters who came into his care, and his efforts in helping them reenter society as healthy, responsible, socially conscious people. (Exact figures are not known, but over the years, hundreds of children and youth passed through his colony and later through his commune). Many of his colonists and communards, as Makarenko called them, became respected citizens and workers, some of them successful teachers, others doctors, engineers, or factory workers, with families and children of their own.

While the social and political events of Makarenko's generation provided the outer context of his work, they did not actually shape his educational ideas or provide the methods for his teaching. These he forged through direct contact with his colonists and through reliance on his own practical experiences from which he drew further conclusions. Yet political policies and official decrees determined the way in which Makarenko's ideas were received. Thus, in the 1920s, after the revolution, when early Soviet educators followed Western progressive thinking and experimented with liberal child-centered and permissive methods, Makarenko fell out of favor with the authorities for applying stern and disciplined approaches, and for using the community—in Soviet terminology "the collective"—as an agent for the resocialization of his often reckless youngsters.

In the 1930s, as liberal approaches were replaced by stricter procedures intended to provide the nation with well-disciplined and highly-trained cadres to meet Stalin's political goals, Makarenko's ideas and practices found official acceptance. After his death, in the 1940s, he was—by a process still not fully understood—celebrated as the founder of Soviet education, his pedagogy having been declared the authoritative Soviet system. Having been canonized as cultural hero, Makarenko was also revered for Soviet virtues that were either embroidered or not true at all. For example, early Soviet biographers claimed that he had been a convinced Marxist well before the revolution and that he was an exponent of Stalin's policies and pedagogy.[3] Throughout his postrevolutionary career, in reports, books and articles on education, in novels, essays, stories, and plays, Makarenko wrote of his experiences as teacher, guardian, and social worker of homeless youth. His writings were generally published in the Soviet Union by himself; in 1950-1952, the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR published most of his works under the title *Collected Works in Seven Volumes*, known in the literature as *Academy Edition* and often cited as *Sochineniya* (Works). This edition was expanded and republished in 1957-1958, to include letters and stenographically preserved lectures on diverse educational topics. For many years the *Academy Edition* was the most complete collection of Makarenko's writings, providing the basis for translations in and outside the Soviet Union and shaping scholars' image of Makarenko.[4]

International Reception of Makarenko's Writings

The scope of the dissemination of Makarenko's works can best be expressed in numbers such as those gathered by the Marburg researchers, who reported in 1971:

> This bibliography . . . lists 702 separate and omnibus editions of Makarenko's publications in 59 languages. They convey an impression of Makarenko's reception in 34 countries. Up to the present the *Pedagogic Poem* and the works on family pedagogics *Book for Parents* and *Lectures to Parents* have had the widest circulation.[5]

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[3] Leonhard Froese, "Zum Geleit: Der historische Makarenko" [Preamble: The historical Makarenko], in Götz Hillig, ed. *Hundert Jahre Anton Makarenko. Neue Studien zur Biography.* [One hundred years of Anton Makarenko: New studies regarding his biography] (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 1988), 10-11.

[4] *Anton Makarenko. Gesammelte Werke* [Anton Makarenko, collected works], eds. L. Froese, G. Hillig, S. Weitz, and I. Wiehl, Marburger Ausgabe, vol. 1, paperback "study edition" (Ravensburg: Otto Meier Verlag, 1976), 8-9.

The Marburger researcher Götz Hillig published a report on the dissemination of Makarenko's works outside the Soviet Union up to 1979, showing publication of Makarenko's works in thirty-seven languages, seventy percent of which had appeared in socialist countries.[6] His pedagogical writings have been studied in all Socialist and Communist countries and in Israel, China, India, Japan, and African nations. In the West, and in Germany especially, there has been increasing interest in Makarenko's writings. By 1966, twenty-seven years after his death, over eight hundred Makarenko titles existed in the German secondary literature, and by 1971, more than one thousand books had been written about him in Germany.[7]

In the United States several authors have observed in the 1960s and 1970s that Makarenko was practically unknown in the English speaking West. Yet a continuous, if thin stream of commentary on Makarenko's educational ideas and writings can be found in the English language literature. The earliest reference to Makarenko is dated 1928, when he was at the height of his career. In 1927, on a tour through Soviet Russia, the American educator Lucy Wilson visited the Gorky Colony in Kuriazh (Ukraine), and in 1928 published a report of this visit and her meeting with Makarenko in *The New Schools of New Russia*.[8] Ten years later, at the 1939 World Fair in New York, visitors to the Soviet pavilion could find a brochure in English, "Children in the Land of Socialism"

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[5] Götz Hillig und Siegfried Weitz, eds., *Makarenko Materialien II* (Marburg: VVG Verlag, 1971), 182.

[6] Götz Hillig, "Die Verbreitung der Werke A. S. Makarenkos ausserhalb der Sowjetunion." [The dissemination of A. S. Makarenko's works outside the Soviet Union] *Pädagogische Rundschau* 11 (1980): 745-753, here 746 and 753.

[7] Sara M. Lehrman, "The Pedagogical Ideas of Anton Semenovich Makarenko" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1971), 12; Valentin Kumarin, "Anton Makarenko," *Convergence* 4, 2 (1971): 85.

[8] Lucy Wilson, *The New Schools of New Russia* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1928), 104-07.

written by Makarenko. Since 1936, the English speaking public had the opportunity to read the first volume of Makarenko's autobiographical trilogy *The Road to Life* (the English title of *Pedagogicheskaia poema*, translated by Stephen Garry).[9]

In the following decades, the Makarenko (English language) literature steadily increased. In 1949, British author W. L. Goodman published the first Makarenko monograph, titled *Anton Simeonovitch Makarenko, Russian Teacher.*[10] In the 1950s, the Foreign Languages Publishing House in Moscow exported three of Makarenko's major works in English translation: *The Road to Life, Learning to Life. Flags on the Battlements*, and *A Book for Parents.*[11] With three of his principal works now available in English, Makarenko began to draw the attention of American and English speaking educators. Journal articles (typically on Soviet education) began to include discussions on Makarenko's educational ideas, and in 1958 Frederic Lilge published a monograph *Anton Semyonovitch Makarenko: An Analysis of His Educational Ideas in the Context of Soviet Society.*[12]

Interest in Makarenko's writings gained momentum during the 1960s, which saw the first American dissertation on Makarenko, "Anton Makarenko and the Development of Soviet Education," by James Bowen, and Makarenko's name beginning to surface in textbooks.[13] For example, Georg Z. F. Bereday et al mentioned him several times in their landmark study *The Changing Soviet School.*[14] In 1965, four of Makarenko's lectures, *Problems of Soviet School Education*, published in London, Moscow, and New York appeared in English translation.[15] In 1967, an American firm published *A Book for Parents*, renamed *The Collective Family: A Handbook for Russian Parents*, with an introduction by the acclaimed American psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner, who told that in the USSR and other socialist countries this work was used by parents as a popular manual on child rearing.[16] According to Bronfenbrenner, Dr. Benjamin Spock could be seen as Makarenko's American counterpart, except that Makarenko's concern was with the child's moral health. The same year, two articles appeared in *The Sunday New York Times Magazine*, with such titles as "What the Soviet Dr. Spock Taught," by Tobia Frankel, and "Soviet Too, Has Its Dr. Spock," by Fred M. Hechinger.[17] This may have been the only time that Makarenko's name entered American living rooms.

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[9] A. S. Makarenko, *The Road to Life*, trans. Stephen Garry (London: Stanley Nott, 1936).

[10] W. L. Goodman, *Anton Simeonovitch Makarenko. Russian Teacher* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949).

[11] A. S. Makarenko, *The Road to Life: An Epic of Education*, trans. Ivy and Tatiana Litvinov (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1951); *Learning to Live: Flags on the Battlement*, trans. Ralph Parker (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1953); *A Book for Parents*, trans. Robert Daglish (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1954).

[12] Frederic Lilge, *Anton Semyonovitch Makarenko: An Analysis of His Educational Ideas in the Context of Soviet Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1958).

The literature of the 1970s and 1980s showed an increase in discussion about Makarenko—the peak occurring in the late 1970s when authors, among them Soviet writers, commemorated the ninetieth anniversary of Makarenko's birth (1888).[18] Noteworthy were the doctoral dissertation by Sara M. Lehrman, "The Pedagogi-

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[13] James Bowen, "Anton Makarenko and the Development of Soviet Education" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1960).

[14] George Z. F. Bereday, William W. Brickman, Gerald H. Read, eds., *The Changing Soviet School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), 72, 192, 331, 419, 438, 439, 443, 445.

[15] A. S. Makarenko, *Problems of Soviet School Education*, ed. V. Aransky and A. Piskunov, trans. O. Shartse (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1965).

[16] A. S. Makarenko, *The Collective Family: A Handbook for Parents*, with an introduction by Urie Bronfenbrenner, Trans. Robert Daglish (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1967).

[17] Tobia Frankel, "What the Soviet Spock Taught," *The Sunday New York Times Magazine*, (May 7, 1967); Fred M. Hechinger, "Soviet Emphasizes Early Moral Education," *The Sunday New York Times Magazine*, (October 6, 1967).

[18] See *Soviet Education* 20, 12 (October 1978): 3-97.

cal Ideas of Anton Semenovich Makarenko,"[19] two books including reminiscences about Makarenko and excerpts from his lectures and writings, and, in the early 1980s, the (partial) translation into English of Makarenko's book *The March of 1930*, published in several installments by *Slavic and European Education Review*, later renamed *East/West Education*.[20] In 1981, *Slavic and European Education Review* published a review essay by John Dunstan, University of Birmingham, England, titled, "Demythologizing Makarenko," in which Dunstan introduced American readers to the Makarenko Department in Marburg and summarized some of their surprising findings regarding Makarenko's life and activities.[21] Through this article the author first learned of the Marburg research.

Makarenko in the United States

Makarenko's reception among American educators has been varied. Some saw him as the greatest representative of communist education, whose views and activities can be understood only in this political connection. Others admired Makarenko for his outstanding achievements in redeeming juvenile delinquents and for his success in transforming vagrant youth into self-respecting, useful citizens in the face of almost insuperable obstacles. Early in the American (and English language) literature, and with increasing persistence, educators considered the possible relevance of Makarenko's ideas to Western education, particularly in the area of rehabilitating problem youngsters. As early as 1933, Dewey suggested that the West could learn from Makarenko's work with juvenile delinquents.[22]

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[19] Lehrman, *Pedagogical Ideas*, 12.

[20] Bernhard Isaacs, trans., *Makarenko, His Life and Work*, (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d.); Valentin Kumarin, *Anton Makarenko: His Life and His Work in Education*, trans. Katherine Judelson (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976); A. S. Makarenko, "The March of 1930. Memorial to Felix Dzerzhinskii," ed. Mariam Gelfand, University of Iowa, *Slavic and European Education Review*, part I (1980): 34-45; part II (1981): 25-33; part III (1982): 20-29; *East/West Education*, 10, 1, (1986): 45-51.

[21] John Dunstan, "Review essay: Demythologizing Makarenko," *Slavic and European Education Review* 2, (1981): 27-32.

The educator most firmly opposed to the applicability of Makarenko's ideas in the West was James Bowen. While calling Makarenko a humanist "who worked wonders," Bowen believed that Makarenko based his educational system on a particular political ideology, that it was designed to meet political needs, and that it therefore had only immediate value.[23] On this point he differed with other educators, particularly with Lilge (1958), who thought Makarenko went beyond ideological orthodoxies, looking directly at human nature for educational answers.[24] Bowen rejected the applicability of Makarenko's ideas in the West but left a small loophole by saying that ". . . the future alone will indicate how accurate were his perceptions and how lasting will be his achievements."[25]

Indeed, the future did just that: In 1986, twenty years later, educator and scholar Kristen D. Juul reported that since around 1970, Scandinavia showed an expanding number of "intentional communities" for alienated youth (such as alcohol and drug addicted youngsters, or adolescents with severe adjustment problems), modeled on Makarenko's collectives. According to Juul, these collectives "show vitality and relevance to the needs of troubled youth." He suggested that other countries may consider this type or model of therapeutic community as a viable alternative for intervention.[26] The Scandinavian example seemed to demonstrate that Makarenko's perceptions had an appeal and usefulness that, in Dunstan's words, "transcends the temporal and spatial confines of their formulation."

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[22] John Dewey, cited in James E. Bowen, *Soviet Education: Anton Makarenko and the Years of Experiment* (Madison, WI: The University Press, 1965), 5.
[23] Bowen, *Soviet Education*, 205-06, 209.
[24] Lilge, *A. S. Makarenko*, 2.
[25] Bowen, *Soviet Education*, 209.

The Makarenko Department in Marburg: Overview of its Research and Activities

When the Marburg Philipps University's Makarenko Department opened in 1968, its two principal researchers Götz Hillig (head of the Makarenko Department) and Siegfried Weitz (lecturer) may not have anticipated encountering facts that would lead to a revision of commonly held views of Makarenko. Essentially, they were focusing on the critical examination and textual analysis of Makarenko's writing found in the "inherited" Moscow *Academy Edition*, at that time still the dominant (and only) collection of Makarenko's work. In their textual research, they discovered (in the *Academy Edition*) numerous deviations from the first printings of Makarenko's manuscripts, as well as editorial additions and excisions that constituted substantial fact and content changes. The Marburg scholars traced the origin of such alterations to certain texts printed in the 1940s, when Soviet editors tried to present Makarenko in the most favorable light possible. Confronted with scientifically unreliable source materials, the Marburg researchers focused on producing a historically accurate reprint of Makarenko's writings. Their plan is to publish a twenty volume annotated edition, titled *A. S. Makarenko Gesammelte Werke, Marburger Ausgabe* (A. S. Makarenko Collected Works, Marburg Edition). This edition will consist of the original Makarenko text, with German translation

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[26] Kristen D. Juul, "International Trends in Therapeutic Communities," *International Journal for Special Education* 1, 2 (1986): 193-203.

and detailed commentary. The first section (13 volumes) will contain works published during Makarenko's lifetime, including some newly discovered writings. The second section (seven volumes) will consist of Makarenko's posthumous works. All texts will be printed in chronological sequence.[27]

To date (1991), eight volumes have been published, including most of Makarenko's published writings between 1923 and 1937 and, among Makarenko's posthumous works, four original stenographs of lectures found in Soviet archives. The Marburg scholars have visited the Soviet Union and examined texts from accessible Soviet archives. In the interest of accurately appraising Makarenko's works, it was the belief of Leonhard Froese and the Marburg researchers that priority should be given to the critical examination of source material in order to produce an authoritative and reliable edition of Makarenko's collected works.[28] At this point, the *Marburg Edition* is the most definitive edition of Makarenko's writings. It must also be noted that between 1983 and 1986, the USSR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences published Makarenko's pedagogical works. The first three volumes of this eight-volume edition have appeared in German translation.[29]

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[27] Marburger Ausgabe, ed., *Anton Makarenko. Gesammelte Werke* 1: 9-11.

[28] Froese, "Zum Geleit: Der historische Makarenko," in Hillig, ed., *Hundert Jahre Anton Makarenko*, 10, 12-13.

[29] The Marburg edition: Anton Makarenko, *Gesammelte Werke, Marburger Ausgabe* [Collected works, Marburg edition], 8 vols., ed. L. Froese, G. Hillig, S. Weitz, and I. Wiehl, trans. G. Hillig, S. Weitz, and I. Wiehl (Ravensburg: Otto Maier Verlag, 1976-1978, for vols. 1, 2, 7, 9, 13), and (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982, for vols. 3, 4, 5): Vol. 1, *Veröffentlichungen 1923-1931* (1976); vol. 2, *Der Marsch des Jahres dreissig* (1977); vols. 3, 4, 5, *Ein Pädagogisches Poem* (1982); vol. 7, *Kleinere Veröffentlichungen 1932-1936* (1976); vol. 9, *Kleinere Veröffentlichungen 1937* (1978); vol 13, *Die Makarenko Drucke 1923-1939* (1976). The new Soviet Makarenko edition: *Makarenko: Pädagogische Werke*, [Makarenko, Pedagogical works], 3 vols., eds. of the German edition Edgar Günther-Schellheimer, Werner Kienitz, Werner Lindner, Wolfgang Pruss, trans. Else Zaisser (vols. 1, 2), Hertha von Schultz (vol. 1), and Ingo-Manfred Schille (vol. 3). (Berlin: Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag): I, *Pädagogische Schriften 1922-1936* (1988). II, *Der Marsch des Jahres dreissig; FD-1; Dur; Ehre*

Of great significance to Makarenko scholarship was the systematic examination of existing Soviet literature on Makarenko's biography undertaken by the Marburg researchers. They found, for example, alterations in Makarenko's letters and diaries, such as the replacement of "Lenin" with "Stalin."[30] Makarenko's Soviet biographers, excessively hagiographic in their tone, attempted to create the image of a Soviet cultural hero. In addition to drawing on Soviet archives recently made accessible, the Marburg editors were able to locate Makarenko's younger brother, Vitalii, and secure his testimony. His written memoirs have contributed to a broader and far more differentiated understanding of Makarenko's life.[31] Interim findings, published by Hillig in his article, "Der andere Makarenko" (The other Makarenko [1980]), revealed a more authentic and historically accurate image of Makarenko—one less perfect, but far more interesting.[32]

The Marburg Makarenko Department has also published a number of books, articles, indexes, and bibliographies on his international reception, including bibliographies and collected indexes of Makarenko's writings worldwide, (periodically updated in 1969, 1971, and 1980), and several collections of contributions by Makarenko scholars from various eastern and western countries.[33]

To stimulate discussion on Makarenko's life and work and to cultivate contact with interested scholars worldwide, the

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(1988). III, *Ein Pädagogisches Poem*, 3 parts (1989).

[30] Götz Hillig, "Der andere Makarenko. Ergebnisse einer biographisch-historischen Untersuchung." [The other Makarenko. Results of a biographic-historical examination] *Zeitschrift für Pädagogik* 26, 1 (1980): 122.

[31] Vitalii S. Makarenko, "Erinnerungen an meinen Bruder" [Memoirs of my brother], in Götz Hillig, ed. *Makarenko Materialien III* (Marburg: VVG Verlags-und Vertriebsgemeinschaft, 1973), 157-222. See also Götz Hillig, "Das Zeugnis Vitalij Makarenkos über seinen Bruder" [Vitalii Makarenko's testimony regarding his brother], in G. Hillig, ed. *Hundert Jahre Anton Makarenko*, 15-30.

[32] Hillig, "Der Andere Makarenko, 122.

[33] For a complete index of the Makarenko Department's publications write directly to the Makarenko Referat in Marburg. Their full address is given in note 1.

Makarenko department has organized major international Makarenko symposia in Germany in 1966, in 1971, and in 1989. This author was invited to attend the most recent Makarenko symposium, on the theme "Der Stand und die Perspektiven der Makarenko Forschung" (Makarenko research: current status and perspectives). Some seventy Makarenko scholars from twelve countries attended including the USSR, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Germany, England, Italy, Finland, Denmark, and Israel. Reports and papers centered on historic-bibliographic topics as well as current applications of Makarenko's educational theories. This author reported on the present situation of Makarenko research and reception in the United States.

This was the first time that the majority of Makarenko researchers had gathered in one place, including scholars from the USSR and (then) East Germany. The next International Makarenko Symposium will take place in 1991 in Poltava (Ukraine). There was a consensus among all attending scholars to replace the inherited misrepresentations of Makarenko with a historically accurate account and to search for additional source materials in order to correctly interpret Makarenko's life and work.

Conclusion

In this study the author has drawn extensively on the current *Marburg Edition* and other materials made available by the Makarenko Department, using their new findings as the basis for discussion. Her interpretation of Makarenko's educational insights and their applicability to education in general is drawn mainly from her experience as a curative educator. The term "curative" was coined in Europe to mean educating "children in need of special care." For eighteen years she worked with mentally retarded and emotionally disturbed children and youth, most from low-income families in Chicago. She recognized in Makarenko's work observations and insights that corresponded to her own experience as to what elements in the total pedagogical process proved effective—many of them commonly overlooked in the traditional classroom. One could say that the uniqueness of Makarenko's educational work lies not in his having created innovative methods or practices, but in having made full and original use of traditional educational principles. His talent surfaces in his special ability to take a fresh look at well known concepts and creatively apply—often in a surprisingly simple way—conventional ideas.

Makarenko gave new meaning and context to traditional concepts such as discipline and punishment, trust and responsibility. He imaginatively integrated the everyday need for hope and joyful anticipation of the future into the educational process. A man of practice who disapproved of being guided by theories, he liked to improvise his approaches. The literature is filled with stories illustrating his flare for responding spontaneously and effectively to problematic situations. He seems to have possessed intuitive insight into the particulars of a student's situation and to have sensed immediately what was needed. This faculty may have resulted, at least in part, from the humiliations and miseries he experienced as a child.

The author believes that what made Makarenko remarkable as a teacher was the way he understood and responded to problems, his personal insight into his pupils' needs, and his constantly alert attention to every detail of their daily lives. It was the way he applied himself as a teacher that was exemplary and worthy of our study.

Makarenko made his ideas and experiences accessible; he described his students and clearly formulated everything he did. He left a record that allows us to examine and evaluate his ideas and to determine whether he should be regarded as a historical relic, a political ideologue, or a modern thinker whose ideas and example have relevance to today's troubled world.

Rural School Attendance of African-Americans: Cass County Integration in the Nineteenth Century

Ernestine K. Enomoto
University of Michigan

Introduction

Living in small rural Northern communities during the antebellum period were clusters of African-Americans, mostly freedman and farmers. With the common school movement and the creation of one-room schools, their children were provided the opportunity to attend school. Little information is documented on the education of these children despite their presence in rural farming communities.[1] One such community was Calvin township in Cass County. It represented according to historian Mathews, "a marked contrast when compared with other townships in the county" due to the "great preponderance of the colored people who far outrank, in number the white population."[2] Located in south-western Michigan, the county was settled by African-Americans, many of whom arrived as early as the mid 1830s. With the advent of the Civil War and the support of sympathetic Quakers, this rural community quickly became the home of many African-Americans, particularly in the townships of Calvin, Porter, and Penn.[3] The county was located along the underground railroad and offered a sanctuary for those fleeing to Canada.[4]

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[1] For history on the rural education of African-Americans in the 19th century, see Carter G. Woodson and C.H. Wesley, *The Negro Is Our History*, 11th ed. (Washington, DC: Associated publishers, 1966); Horace Mann Bond, *The Education of the Negro in the American Social Order* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1934); Carter G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (New York: Arno Press, 1968).

> Little did the pioneers of this township, who were endowed by nature with a love for the whole human race, suppose, when they extended a helping hand to the trembling fugitive slave fleeing from a heartless task-master, that hundreds of this race would eventually become their neighbors and co-workers in the subduing and cultivating the soil, and take an active part in township affairs.[5]

Focusing on Calvin township which had the county's largest population of African-Americans, this research study examined the one-room schools that existed during the nineteenth century and the nature of integration among Black and White settlers in the township.[6] Did one-room schoolhouses exist for both races during the period before and after the Civil War? What effect did integration have upon the school attendance of African-Americans? Were there differences between the races in terms of school attendance? What differences were there in terms of factors such as age, race, family size, and family wealth? How did residential patterns influence attendance in this time period?

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[2] Alfred Mathews, *History of Cass County, Michigan* (Chicago: Waterman, Watkins, 1882), 380,386.

[3] By 1850, the percentage of the African-American population in Cass (which was roughly four percent) was surpassed only by that of Wayne County (which included Detroit) for the state of Michigan. George K. Hesslink, *Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968), 54; U.S. Census Office, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, reprint 1976),Tables 1,2,8.

[4] The "underground railroad" referred to a clandestine network of homes used by abolitionists to harbor runaway slaves and assist their escape to freedom. The "Illinois line" was the connection from St. Louis, Missouri through Illinois, Indiana and Michigan to the Canadian border.

[5] Mathews, *History*, 380.

[6] Calvin accounted for two-thirds of the entire African-American population in Cass County by the Civil War period. L.H.Glover, *A Twentieth Century History of Cass*

Initially, the research on this topic examined different rural school attendance patterns based on a sampling of federal census records from Calvin Township. A comparison was made of school attendance between the races in the years 1850 and 1880, before and after the Civil War. The findings from this examination suggested that first, school attendance had increased for both races. Given the increase in schools, enactment of compulsory attendance laws, and more established rural communities, this was not surprising. Second, factors associated with school attendance (age, race, family size, and wealth) which were significant before the Civil War (1850) were minimized substantially afterwards (1880). Gender was not a significant factor in either year. Third, between Blacks and Whites, family size was found to be significant in 1850 but not significantly so by 1880. Regarding family wealth, no comparisons could be made because of the lack of census data available for the 1880 year.[7] However the initial study was limited by its reliance solely on census records and categories of data available. A subsequent investigation was made to obtain maps of the township, identify residences of Black and White families, establish school locations, and include data from annual school reports made by county investigators from 1859 to 1880. By considering other data sources and relating these to the census records, the intent of this research was to be more definitive about

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County, Michigan, (Chicago: Lewis Publishing, 1906), 288.

[7] For details of the research findings, refer E.K.Enomoto, "Rural School Attendance of African-Americans in the Nineteenth Century: A Focus on Cass County, Michigan" *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* 19 (1991): 57-74.

the nature of integrated schools in Calvin Township during this time period. The findings of this investigation are presented in this paper.

Research Methodology

In the first study, a sampling of Federal Census records was obtained for the years 1850 and 1880, before and after the Civil War. The data retrieved from these records included family names, ages (in years), gender (whether female or male), race (whether Black or White), occupation of the head-of-household, real estate (property value denoted in dollars), family wealth (based on the real estate for the head of household), school attendance (whether or not the person had attended school during the year), number of members in family (based on a common last name).[8]

An equivalent number of Black and White families were obtained in each year. Selection was made of contiguous records, assuming that the census taker was surveying those living in the same communities and therefore those might be families whose children would likely attend the same school. However there was no way to be sure if this was indeed the case.

Thus, one of the priorities of this study was to obtain maps of the school districts if at all possible. During a visit to the Cassopolis Historical library in the county seat, nineteenth century maps of the area including names of landowners and/or residents were located and photocopied. Maps were obtained for the following years: 1860, 1872, and 1896; unfortunately the legibility of family names was poor on the 1860 map of the township. Located at the State Archives in microfilm copies of the Annual Reports of County School Inspectors (available from 1859 to 1931) were maps of the school districts. The first map found was for 1861, specifying eight districts, seven of which were whole districts and one fractional district shared with another township. A revision of school boundaries was made in 1866 to create a new school district and there was a map designating this boundary in the Annual Report for that year. What had previously been district 3 became two districts, identified as districts 3 and 9. From 1873 onward, there were maps included in each of the Annual Reports. Using the 1872 map of Calvin township because of its legibility, school boundaries were drawn as designated in the Annual Reports of 1866 and 1873. Also schools were located within sections of the township.

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[8] The designation of Mulatto indicating mixed African-American blood was categorized as "Black"; The researcher established the following occupation categories: 1=farmer, 2=laborer, 3=carpenter, 4=other. Women were identified as "keeping house" and children were not designated with an occupation; If the child attended school, the census taker marked a "1" otherwise the column was left blank.

Given the maps and school boundaries, the next step was to identify family residences, distinguishing Black and White families. Data from all of the Calvin township 1870 Federal census records were retrieved. Categories identified were the same as those of the first study, specifically family number as designated by the census taker, family last name, age, gender, race, occupation of head-of-household, real estate, family wealth, family size, and school attendance. The census names were matched against the map, identifying Black and White families found in both the census records and located on the township map.

It became evident that most of the Black families lived in the Eastern section of the township, clustering in the middle and lower Eastern quadrant. According to Larrie, settlements in this section radiated around the area known as Calvin Center.[9] In this area of the township, land speculators from New York and Ontwa had purchased large parcels that were later sold to Blacks; "the usual prices being from four to five dollars an acre, with a term of ten years' credit."[10] The school districts in the settlement areas included districts 3 through 9. A closer inspection was made of those families with residences in the four districts, two mainly settled by Blacks (districts 3 and 9) and two racially integrated (districts 6 and 7).

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[9] Reginald Larrie, *Black Experiences in Michigan History*, (Lansing, MI: Michigan History Division, Michigan Department of State, 1975), 9.

In building a data set for analysis, selection of records was based on the following criteria; (1) families whose census records matched those located in school districts 3, 6, 7, and 9; (2) those families who were residents rather than those identified as property owners in a particular district; and (3) those with school-aged children between the ages of five and twenty.[11] All records that met those requirements were retrieved and tabulated.[12]

To check whether the census records were appropriately allocated to school districts, the sequence of the family numbers on the census records was examined. It appeared that the census taker gathered information of families living in "neighborhoods" and recorded their family numbers in consecutive order.[13] After matching as many possible records and identifying a school district, a sequence of family numbers was determined. For example, family numbers from 93 to 126 matched names of those families whose residences were within the District 7 school boundaries. If there was a match for a family name out of the sequence, say family number 244, this record was not included in the data set. The rationale was to eliminate a family with a similar name but not likely to be living in the selected school district.

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[10] Mathews, *History*, 386.

[11] Ages five to twenty were designated in the Annual Reports as school-aged. For further reference on the Annual Reports, see Cornelius A. Gower, *Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan with Accompanying Documents for the Year 1880* (Lansing, MI: W.S. George and Company, 1881).

[12] The 1870 map designated dots for houses on the property with the label "RES" suggesting a residence. There were a number of families with property in several sections of the township and if the "RES" designation was not given, these were considered property owners and not residents.

[13] Family number refers to a designation for all those in the same household. These included those who might not share the same last name but resided together. For the families in this 1870 sample, all did have the same last name.

In contrast with the first study which sampled Federal Census records, this subsequent study attempted to include as many records as possible in the 1870 data set in order to characterize the integrated school districts. Of the approximately eighty-four residences in the four school districts, fifty-six families (sixty-seven percent) were matched and included in the sample. The sample reflected sixteen percent of the total Calvin township, 290 out of 1788.[14]

The 1870 data set can be described as having a relatively even number of males and females, majority of Blacks (eighty-one percent), age range from one to eighty-one years with relatively young population (sixty percent younger than twenty-one years of age), family wealth positively skewed (with the majority having less than $1200), and family size ranging from two to thirteen and averaging seven members. This sample consisted of only those families with school-aged children and therefore had a higher percentage of children, forty-six percent as compared to thirty percent statewide.[15] The percentage of Black families (eighty-one percent in the sample) was higher than in the township (sixty-one percent in Calvin as a whole) because it was drawn from integrated, predominantly Black school districts.

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[14] U.S. Census Office. *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*, vol. 1, 2. (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office), Table 9.

[15] The statewide percentage was calculated based on the census count of those between five and eighteen noted as "school-age" in the U.S. Census 1870 Table 21.

Table 1

Data Descriptives			
	Sample N=290	Children N=174	School-Aged N=132
Females	148 (51%)	90 (52%)	67 (51%)
Males	142 (49%)	84 (48%)	65 (49%)
Blacks	234 (81%)	146 (84%)	117 (89%)
Whites	56 (19%)	28 (16%)	15 (11%)
Mean Age	21.9	9.8	12
Range	1-81 years	1-20 years	5-20 years
Mean Family Wealth	$570	$465	$483
Range	$50-$2,500	$50-$2,000	$50-$2,000
Mean Family Size	7.1	7.7	7.8
Range	2-13	2-13	2-13

Of significance between the races was the difference in average family size, Blacks having slightly higher family size with one additional family member and a greater range (between two and thirteen family members). Interestingly the average family size found in this sample was even higher than that for Blacks in the 1850 sample (6.6 members) and in the 1880 sample (6.5 members). Other factors such as gender, mean age, and mean family wealth were not found to be significantly different.

To set the stage for the findings of this study, the next section describes the schools in Cass County, beginning with the school system in the territorial government and through legislation in the 1880s of the state of Michigan.

Table 2

Comparison of Blacks and Whites

	Blacks N=235	Whites N=56	Significance
Females	121 (52%)	27 (48%)	
Males	113 (48%)	29 (52%)	
Mean Age	21.7	23.1	
Range	1-76 years	1-81 years	
Mean Family Wealth	$500	$592	
Range	$50-$2,000	$110-$2,500	
Mean Family Size	7.3	6.2	**
Range	2-13	3-11	

Level of significance: *=P<.05, **=P<.01, ***=P<.001

Chronology of School Legislation

Even before Michigan became a state, a territorial act in 1809 formed school districts for children between the ages of four and eighteen. An annual tax was to be collected and apportioned among the districts.[16] In 1827, a common school system was established, requiring that every township containing fifty families support a school.[17] Those townships with larger populations were required to maintain schools for more weeks per year. Administration of these schools was to be managed by the townships themselves, marking a change from a centralized administration to a localized system.[18] At the same time, the territorial governor appointed a superintendent of the common schools to oversee the system, reporting on the condition and funding of these institutions. In addition there was a board of commissioners to distribute school monies and arrange for district boundaries as well as a board of inspectors to examine and certify teachers.[19]

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[16] Charles D. Hoyt and R. Clyde Ford, *John D. Pierce, Founder of the Michigan School System, A Study of Education in the Northwest* (Ypsilanti, MI: Schart Tag, Label and Box, 1905), 47-48.

[17] Hoyt and Ford, *John D. Pierce*, 49; Glover, *Twentieth Century History*, 215-16; Daniel Putnam, *The Development of Primary and Secondary Public Education*

According to historian Mathews' account, "educational interests have nowhere in the Union received more attention than in Michigan. Schoolhouses everywhere dot the landscape. The cities and villages have vied with each other in erecting the best school edifices; and it is no rare thing to see in towns of one, two or three thousand population schoolhouses admirable in architecture and arrangement, which cost ten, twenty and thirty thousand dollars."[20]

The first schoolhouse in Calvin, however, was a modest log cabin built probably around 1834 on Peter Shaffer's property.[21]

> The little log schoolhouse being packed with what was often an unruly mob of youngsters anywhere from 5 to 25 years of age and woe to the teacher who failed to hold their respect and fear. Some of the pupils really wanted to study but more attended school to pass the time and be in the company of others, perhaps doing a little courting on the side. Teachers were more in demand for their muscle than their mental ability.[22]

By 1835 with the formation of a state government, educational provisions in the constitution gave the governor power to appoint a

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in Michigan, A Historical Sketch (Ann Arbor, MI: George Wahr, 1904), 14.

[18] Glover, *Twentieth Century History*, 216.

[19] Hoyt and Ford, *John D. Pierce*, 50.

[20] Mathews, *History*, 85.

[21] Mae R. Schoetzow, *A Brief History of Cass County*, (Marcellus, MI: Marcellus News, 1935), 56.

[22] Schoetzow, *A Brief History*, 13-14.

superintendent of public instruction and gave the legislature charge to provide schools operating at least three months a year and receive public funding. When John Pierce the first Superintendent of Public Instruction introduced his plan for a "system of common schools and a plan for a university and its branches" in 1836, he retained the main features of the territorial system with independent school districts, directed by the townships, and locally established boards of education.[23]

> Let the schoolhouse and the church be planted, as they ever have been, in every village and hamlet throughout the length and breadth of our land, and no tyrant can ever arise that shall be strong enough to trample upon and tread down the rights of the people.[24]

To supplement school revenues, a rate bill was passed in 1843 which assessed parents or guardians of children attending school. The law was counterproductive in terms of school attendance because poor families would opt not to send their children to school. The bill was repealed in 1869 and primary schools made free for all children.[25]

By 1850 the common school system was firmly in place with the basic unit, the district school, located "close to the homes and hearths of the people" and directly controlled by them.[26] Little change occurred in this arrangement during the next sixty years; district schools were essentially self-contained, one-room schoolhouses, community-run, and independent of each other.[27] Specifically in Calvin township, the first school map in the Annual School Report for 1861 denoted eight school sites dividing the township's thirty six sections into eight school districts. The boundaries of these districts remained fairly stable over the period of examination from 1861 until 1880 except for the creation of a ninth district by the split of one district into two in 1866.

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[23] Putnam, *Development*, 35.

[24] Holt and Ford, *John D. Pierce*, 90.

[25] Glover, *Twentieth Century History*, 219; Anson Depuy Van Buren, "The Log Schoolhouse Era in Michigan," *Michigan Pioneer Collection* (later called *Michigan Historical Collection*), 14 (1889): 286-87; Putnam, *Development*, 121.

[26] Putnam, *Development*, 65.

[27] Regarding the independence among rural schools, Putnam comments that there was much less connection with urban schools than might be expected given the rural schools and neighboring graded high schools. Voluntary arrangements were made for pupils of district schools to be admitted to neighboring high

The Michigan Legislature enacted a law in 1867, stating that "all persons residents of any school districts and five years of age, shall have an equal right to attend any school therein, and no separate school or department shall be kept for any person on account of race or color; provided that this shall not be construed to prevent the grading of schools according to the intellectual progress of the pupil, to be taught in separate places as may be deemed expedient."[28] The law was not invoked until 1868 when Detroit African-Americans appealed the question in the State Supreme Court.[29] Legislation in 1871 further stipulated that "no separate school or department shall be kept for any persons on account of race or color," noting that there was no per age restriction and that any one desiring could attend school.[30]

A compulsory school attendance law was passed in 1871, requiring that all children between the ages of 8 and 14 be sent to a public school. Parents were to be fined if found not complying. Initially the enforcement of this legislation was lax but in 1883 and also in 1885, additional laws addressed enforcement of the com-

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schools, in this way eliminating the need for legal requirements for matriculation. Putnam, *Development*, 71-72.

[28] Michigan State Laws, 1867, Volume I: 43 as quoted in Robert Hayden, *History of the Negro in Michigan* (publication date unknown), 47. The court case involved two African-Americans, Mr. Willis and Mr. Workman who appealed to get their children into the Duffield Union school. This legislation was passed in 1869. Gower, *Forty-Fourth Annual Report*, 327.

[29] Larrie, *Black Experiences*.

[30] Gower, *Forty-Fourth Annual Report*, 327.

pulsory attendance legislation and increased the amount of school attendance required.

In sum, the changes in school legislation during the nineteenth century echoed the common school movement toward universal public education. Modeled after the common school system of the territory, Michigan state's system retained the decentralized district schools, administered locally, and overseen by the state superintendent. Funds for the school system were provided increasingly through publicly generated revenues rather than privately contributed funds.[31] Compulsory school attendance was not only enacted but measures provided for enforcement by the mid-1880s.

In his annual report on schools in 1880, Superintendent Cornelius A. Gower commented that "Michigan was among the very last states to make her public schools free schools for all the people . . . the primary schools are now entirely free, and the school interest fund increased. . . ."[32] School attendance by 1880 in district schools was 75.6 percent with schools in operation for 7.5 months of the year.[33] Mathews reports that in Calvin, "There (were) 615 school children between 5 and 20 years. For fiscal year ending August 31, 1881, there was paid $464 for female and $1356 for male teachers in the township."[34]

With this background in school legislation and events particularly in Calvin township, a closer look at the four integrated schools is presented.

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[31] School funds included interest from the primary interest fund, a one-mill property tax assessment, a dog tax, and library monies. Glover, *Twentieth Century History*, 222.

[32] Gower, *Forty-Fourth Annual Report*, 9.

[33] Gower, *Forty-Fourth Annual Report*, 35.

[34] Mathews, *History*, 388.

Findings: A Closer Look at District Schools

To examine the question of integrated one-room schools in Calvin township schools in 1870, the researcher first examined census records with school attendance data and compared the results with the Annual reports. Of the 132 school aged children (between five and twenty years) in the 1870 sample, only nineteen (fourteen percent) were said to have attended school, much less than expected given the state norm for school attendance in 1850 was roughly fifty percent, comparable to the 1850 census sampling of forty-nine percent school attendance.[35] The rate increased between 1850 and 1880 to 84.5 percent according to Gower's report in 1881.

As a second source to validate school attendance, data from the 1870 Annual reports for the four districts indicated a school attending rate of 75 percent, 105 out of 139. This was comparable to statewide norms reported in the 1870 census, indicating 74 percent of school-aged children were attending.[36] However the rate is based on data from only districts 6 and 9 with missing data in districts 3 and 7. In 1871 with all four districts reporting number of school-aged children and those attending, the rate was 59 percent, 161 out of 274. These rates suggest that indeed the sample's attendance rate was substantially lower than would be expected, raising the question of data reliability.

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[35] The state had a highly stable school enrollment rate, roughly fifty percent meaning that half of all the school-aged children were attending school sometime during the year. Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 106-07.

[36] U.S. Census 1870 Table 21.

Table 3

Comparison of Schools				
District Schools	#3	#6	#7	#9
No. in Sample	79 (29%)	50 (17%)	82 (28%)	79 (27%)
No. of Children	52 (30%)	23 (13%)	49 (28%)	50 (29%)
No. School-Aged	39 (30%)	14 (10%)	39 (30%)	40 (30%)
No. in School	2 (11%)	2 (11%)	14 (74%)	1 (5%)

Of those found to be attending school, the majority (seventy-four percent) were in District 7 which had largely a Black student population (thirty-seven out of thirty-nine were African-American). With such a small sample count and data discrepancy on attendance between the census records and Annual School report figures, it was not possible to conduct significance testing among the four schools. However the differences among factors such as gender, mean age, family wealth, and family size are noteworthy. In comparison with the other schools, District 7 was similar in terms of gender distribution, mean age, and family size. Its lower family wealth ($394), less than half of that for District 6 and lower than for the sample as a whole ($570), suggests that family wealth might not have been factored into whether or not a child attended school.

The most integrated district school in the sample was District 6, with a mix of fifty percent Blacks and fifty percent Whites among school-aged children. When examining factors such as mean age, family wealth, and family size, this district had the lowest mean age, highest family wealth reported (three hundred dollars more than the second highest), and smaller family size (less than 6 members). Based upon findings from the earlier study, this is what would be anticipated in a predominantly White school district. However the low number reported to have attended school (two out of fourteen school-aged children) remains puzzling.

Table 4

School Aged Children (between 5 and 20)				
District Schools	#3	#6	#7	#9
Females	22 (56%)	6 (43%)	20 (51%)	19 (47%)
Males	17 (44%)	8 (57%)	19 (49%)	21 (53%)
Blacks	33 (85%)	7 (50%)	37 (95%)	40 (100%)
Whites	6 (15%)	7 (50%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)
Mean Age	12.3	11.5	11.9	12.5
Family Wealth	$506	$800	$394	$438
Family Size	9	5.9	7.5	7.5

Table 5

Annual School Report for 1870				
District Schools	#3	#6	#7	#9
No. school-aged	66	82	82	57
No. in school	n/a	60	n/a	45
Duration in months	5	5	6	5
Value of school	none	$500	n/a	$600
Male teachers	1	1	1	1
Wages paid	$190	$150	$105	$120
Female teachers	0	1	1	1
Wages paid	none	$46	$54	$52
Months boarded	0	0	0	0

To compare the census sample with the Annual report, the researcher calculated the number of school-aged children based on the assumption that the census sample represented sixty-seven percent of the actual number of school-aged children. For districts 3 and 9, the census calculations seem relatively close to those in the Annual report; District 3: fifty-eight calculated as compared with sixty-six reported, and District 9: sixty as compared with fifty-seven. In districts 6 and 7, there was considerable disparity; District 6: twenty-one calculatedas compared with eighty-two reported, and District 7: fifty-eight as compared with eighty-two.

To account for this, the researcher examined population trends reported in the Annual reports for a ten year period (1865-1875). The number of school-aged children reported in district 6 fluctuated from 87 to 102, declined to 78 in 1869, returned to 82 in 1870 and declined again to remain in the low 70s for the subsequent years. The difference between the census calculation and Annual report could not be explained. In the case of district 7 the disparity noted for 1870 was fifty-eight calculated as compared with eighty-two reported. In the following year, the number of school-aged children declined to sixty-four and remained in the sixties. The disparity between 1871 was only six, with fifty-eight calculated compared with sixty-four reported, suggesting perhaps a reporting error in the 1870 Annual report figures.

Data from the Annual report (Table 5) indicate that the schools were in session for approximately the same duration, five or six months out of the year which was comparable to 6.5 months, the average for all the schools in Calvin. Two districts maintained schoolhouses valued between five and six hundred dollars, while district 3 reported not having a schoolhouse. This might account for the lack of school attendance in this district. District 3 had only one male teacher in 1870 in contrast with the other districts which had one male and one female teacher. The different amounts paid in wages suggest the length of time that the teachers taught might have varied slightly among the districts.

Table 6 compares district schools with predominantly White students (districts 1, 2), Blacks (district 9) and integrated (district 6).[37] The duration of the school term was at least 2 months longer in the White schools; the minimum term being five months. All the schoolhouses were frame structures of comparable value ranging from five to seven hundred dollars. The wages paid to teachers were slightly higher but there was an indication that teachers in the White schools were boarded. Room and board were commonly used to compensate teachers, supplementing the wages paid to the teacher. According to the 1870 Annual report, none of the teachers in the integrated schools (districts 3, 6, 7 and 9) were boarded. Thus the figure given for wages represents the total amount of compensation, suggesting an even greater disparity between White and Integrated schools in terms of teacher compensation.

Table 6

Annual School Report for 1870				
District Schools	#1	#2	#6	#9
No. school-aged	78	74	82	57
No. in school	n/a	61	60	45
Duration in months	8.5	8	5	5
Value of school	$600	$700	$500	$600
Male teachers	1	1	1	1
Wages paid	$200	$160	$150	$120
Female teachers	1	1	1	1
Wages paid	$100	$64	$46	$52
Months boarded	3	8	0	0

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[37] Districts 1 and 2 are presumed to be predominantly White based on the assumption that White families lived in the Western section of the township.

Discussion

The inquiry for this study was whether or not one-room integrated schools existed in this township given the predominantly Black community. Historian Mathews describes the uniqueness of the township in the following way: "Should a stranger be placed in its center, he would at once conclude that he was in a Southern state."[38] Most of the African-Americans settling in Calvin had come "in a destitute condition and obtained by contract possession of land which they have cleared and improved." "They take justifiable pride in the churches of which they have three, and schools which reflect great credit upon them." "Some of the schools are even now taught by colored teachers and are attended by a greater or lesser number of white children." By the 1880s the township did indeed seem to reflect an integrated community with school children attending integrated schools.[39]

The initial question sought to examine the existence of one-room schools before and after the Civil War in the same census years as examined in the first study, 1850 and 1880. The available map and Annual report data provided information beginning in 1859 but matching census, map, and Annual report data narrowed the focus to 1870. This represented the first year when all three data sources could be combined to describe the nature of one-room schools in Calvin township. Creating a census sample for that year and retrieving records to more closely examine racially integrated school districts proved to be a more challenging task. Census data reporting school attendance was much lower than expected and consequently the reliability of that data was questioned. The related questions on effect of integration on school attendance patterns and differences between races in terms of age, family wealth and size could not be answered.

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[38] Mathews, *History*, 386.

[39] The Black churches were: Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church (founded in 1856); Chain Lake Baptist Church (1848); and Mount Zion Methodist Episcopal Church (1849). Mathews, *History*, 387.

Nonetheless, racially integrated one-room schools were definitely suggested based on matching census records with maps indicating schools and their boundaries. The study has provided a description of four racially integrated districts. Three directions for further research are suggested. First, using the same research methodology, it would be possible to retrieve all of the 1870 census records and identify school-aged families, placing them in specific school districts. In this manner, a contrast can be made of all school districts, characterizing predominantly White, Black and Integrated schools in terms of school attendance, duration, facilities, and teaching staff as well as contrasting differences between Black and White families based on mean age, family wealth, and family size of those school aged children. A second research direction involves using a later map and Annual report data. With a later map, a similar methodology can be applied to the 1880 census records. Given the better reporting of school attendance in the 1880 census, a sampling of families residing in the racial integrated district schools might provide a larger, more substantial sample size of those children in school. Third, historical writings suggest that Calvin township "presented a marked contrast when compared with the other townships of the county."[40] Further study might explore this anomaly in comparison with townships like Penn and Porter which also had sizable African-American settlements.

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[40] Mathews, *History*, 380.

Education for Inferiority: The Fort Sill Indian School Experience

Lydia A. Gerzel
Northern Illinois University

In October 1867 the Indians of the Great Plains met with representatives of the "Great Father" to develop the Treaty of Medicine Lodge. Prior to this meeting, the Indians had been warring against settlers who were encroaching on their lands. In response to these attacks, the U.S. Government had sent waves of troops to punish the "unruly savages" by setting fire to their homes and stripping the men of their wives and children. Both the Indians and the U.S. Government agreed to meet in order to make a peaceful settlement of these conflicts. The great council convened at Medicine Lodge Creek in Kansas. Unbeknownst to the Indians, the U.S. Government, in accordance with the wishes of President Johnson, planned to give back to the white settlers most of the lands the Indians had been granted in former treaties. Government officials told the Indians that they were now restricted to 5,546 square miles within the Oklahoma Territory. The Indians were also told that the "Great Father" promised that he would build schools and feed and cloth them as was "proper" to their "condition."[1] The Indians present at the meeting—Comanche, Apache, and Kiowa, as well as smaller tribes—felt robbed of even more of their freedom. Ten Bears, a representative of the Comanche people, spoke:

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[1] T. R. Fehrenbach, *Comanches: Destruction of a People* (New York: Alfred A.

> But there are things which you have said to me which I do not like. They are not sweet like sugar, but bitter like gourds. You have said that you want to put us on a reservation, to build us houses and make us medicine lodges. I do not want them. I was born under the prairie, where the wind blew free and there was nothing to break the light of the sun. I was born where there were no enclosures and everything drew a free breath. I want to die there and not within walls. I know every stream and every wood between the Rio Grande and the Arkansas. I have hunted and lived over that country. I like my fathers before me and like them now lived happily. When I was in Washington the Great Father told me that all the Comanche land was ours, and that no one should hinder us living on it. So, why do you ask us to leave the rivers, and the sun, and the wind and live in houses? Do not ask us to give up the buffalo for the sheep. The young men have heard talk of this and it has made them sad and angry. Do not speak of it more. . . . The Texans have taken away the places where the grass grew the thickest and the timber the best. Had we kept that we might have done the things you ask. But it is too late. The Whites have the country which we loved, and we wish only to wander on the prairie until we die . . .[2]

Despite Ten Bears' impassioned plea, the treaty was ratified, thus giving control of the Great Southwestern Plains to the United States Government. The land reserved for the Indians came to be called the Fort Sill Oklahoma Territory.[3] According to the treaty, ten thousand dollars a year would be devoted to education. The government would provide, for twenty years, a school and teacher for every thirty children.[4] In turn the Indians agreed to "compel their

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Knopf, 1974), 472.

[2] Ibid., 474.

[3] Ibid., 480.

[4] William T. Hagan, *United States Comanche Relations: The Reservation Years* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), 39.

children, male and female between the ages of six and sixteen, to attend school."[5]

For centuries the Comanche, Apache, and Kiowa had provided informal education for their children. Mothers instructed girls on how to sew by having them assist in making tents and clothing, how to cook, and how to help in the herding of animals. Fathers instructed boys in the art of hunting and ritualistic rites which were passed down through the ages. Parents also taught their children a sense of moral values and religious beliefs which had been a part of Indian culture for centuries. In addition, parents taught their children to work together for the whole tribe so that all would survive. However, this kind of life seemed petty and savage to whites who did not understand how the Indians could have survived before the settlers had arrived in the area.[6] Laurie Tatum, the first agent in charge of the Witchita Agency, wrote in a report to the Commission of Indian Affairs that unless "they [Indians] become civilized and embrace the Christian religion it is not likely that they will last much beyond the present generation." [7]

Such thinking led to the establishment of seven government-sponsored Indian schools in the Oklahoma Territory.[8] The Fort Sill Indian School, founded at the site of Geronimo's alleged suicide jump from Medicine Bluff, in Fort Sill, Oklahoma, was a boarding school in accordance with the Treaty of Medicine Lodge. According to Julian Haddon, the first superintendent of the school, "[O]ur curriculum is mainly concerned with making agriculture and stock raising the leading features of our work." Hence the school was placed on a farm of 160 acres of fertile bottom soil and 2,000 acres of pasture land for grazing.[9] The school had three basic goals: (1) to segregate the children from their families and tribes; (2) to teach the children to take the bottom rung on the social ladder; and (3) to assimilate the children into the dominant white society. This paper will show how this type of "education" was an encouragement of minority status and only allowed for the continuation of the dominant white power structure. It will also show strategies of resistance on the part of the Indians and the ultimate hopelessness that resulted from their status as perpetual children.

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[5] Ibid., 39.

[6] Flora Seymore, *Indian Agents of the Old Frontier* (New York: Apple Century Corporation, 1941), 94.

[7] See Bonnie Crump, *Educability of Indian Children In Reservation Schools* (Durant, OK: Southeastern State Teachers College, 1932).

[8] Henry Rosentbluth, *Fort Sill ORBS Survey* (Albuquerque, NM: Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1973), n.p.

Wiping Out The Past

The education of the children at the Fort Sill Indian School was designed to isolate the children from their parents. Thus, all children were required to board there. In defense of boarding schools one superintendent wrote that such schools protected the "youth from the detrimental influences of his home surroundings." It was hoped that the children would forget their savage ways. Many whites believed "the Indian though a simple child of nature with mental faculties dwarfed and shriveled, while groping his way for generations in the darkness of barbarism already sees the importance of [Eurocentric] education."[10] The children were expected to be blind and obedient followers, who would not only embrace enlightened Eurocentric thinking but also convert their elders. They were expected to be the bridge between savage life and appropriate civilized living.

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[9] Today the building, which closed in 1989, is located two and a half miles south of the military post of Fort Sill, Oklahoma; see also Rosentbluth, *Fort Sill ORBS Survey*, n.p.

[10] F. P. Prucha, *Americanizing the American Indian* (Cambridge, CT: Harvard University Press, 1973), 194.

However, a problem evolved which Superintendent Haddon of the Fort Sill Indian School had not anticipated. The children of these Indians were well loved and missed. It was difficult for parents to pass the responsibility of raising their children to someone else. According to James Baldwin, agent of the school, "I never saw a people so devoted to their offspring as the Indians are."[11] At first only Kiowa would send their children to school and as a result Baldwin withheld rations and annuities and threatened arrest if the truants where not sent to school. The Indians knew that without government-supplied rations they would die, for they were no longer allowed to hunt without special permission from the agent. There were also problems with the quantity, quality, and distribution of rations. One Indian boy wrote: ". . . going to the nearest Indian agent to wait long time for beef rationing, it will probably be a long time before I get it."[12] Many times the children went without food because of a lack of meat or in other cases the salt pork, lamb, and dried beef were too strong for their digestive systems. This was especially the case with salt pork and beef which were used when the regular rations ran out.[13]

These reprisals taught the Indians—both parents and children—that the Anglo society had total control of them and that they were its vulnerable dependents. Some parents willingly sent their children to school, but being homesick a number of the children ran back to their families. One Indian recalled: "Mother took me to school and I was homesick in a week. I told the matron 'I am going home.' She said 'You are not going home.' And I told her I was going to 'gift you a black eye' if you don't let me go home."[14] The children who stayed in school were isolated from their families and cultures for ten years, except for summer holidays. Most of these children either died in a literal sense, from disease and the lack of a "stable" diet while at school, or in the figurative sense in that they felt alienated from their people or their native cultures.

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[11] Hagan, *U.S. Comanche Relations*, 223.

[12] Gertrude Golden, *Red Moon Called Me* (San Antonio, TX: Naylor Company, 1954), 191.

[13] Hagan, *U.S. Comanche Relations*, 65-66.

[14] Golden, *Red Moon*, 191.

Work Appropriate For "Children"

A second goal of the Fort Sill Indian School was to develop a functionally based curriculum in order to prepare the children for their predetermined roles within society. These predetermined roles were at the bottom of the social structure. The Indian boys were taught to accept roles of farm hands and laborers as a part of assimilation into the settlers' society. They had no choice in their curriculum or in their occupations. The education for the boys included student projects consisting of raising field crops, row crops, and gardens. They also raised dairy and beef cattle, swine, and poultry.[15] As the boys grew older, these projects became cooperatives which were money-making ventures for them. The reason for this type of functional curriculum was due to the apparent inability of adult Indians to adjust to the agricultural life envisioned for their reservation. As one agent put it, "We gave them the land to farm, but they only let cattle graze upon it."[16] In effect, he blamed the Indians for their inability or unwillingness to transform themselves into successful farmers. Eventually, the Indian Bureau had to hire white farmers to plow the fields and to plant the crops. An Indian agent recorded that some of the "squaw men" plundered the watermelon fields before the plants had ripened. Apparently these Comanche plunderers were hungry and did not realize that the watermelons were not yet ready for harvesting. Some of the Comanche ate green watermelon and became violently ill and as a result branded all farming as bad medicine.[17]

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[15] Rosentbluth, *Fort Sill ORBS Survey*, n.p.
[16] Fehrenback, *Comanches*, 480.

Education for girls was designed to prepare them to be mothers. Field matrons were hired to circulate among the Indians instructing them in the household arts of cleaning, sewing, cooking, child care, and personal hygiene.[18] In addition, the girls helped to tend gardens. This was a similar education to that which they had received from their mothers while living at home. The U.S. Government went so far as to publish a curriculum outlining the rudiments of cooking for "Indian girls to take charge of their homes and perform necessary household work."[19] The purpose of this curriculum was to teach the girls to prepare meals for a small family intelligently and economically. The lessons were designed for simplicity and for those who have not had experience with "proper living." Proper living included experience with dining tables, forks, knives, spoons, and bunk beds. "In the night when we were going to bed I was afraid to lay on that high bed, because I might fall off in the night," wrote Bertha Sheeply when she was just beginning school. "And then at the table I couldn't eat with fork, knife and spoon, cause I was used to eating with my hands."[20]

As in other Indian schools, both boys and girls were expected to contribute to the functioning of the school itself. Half a day was devoted to those chores that were indispensable for the operation of the school. Boys ran the farm and gardens, and the girls cleaned, cooked, sewed, darned, and tended the gardens. After the boys left school in June for the summer holiday, the girls were kept to clean and prepare the school for the next year. Some of these children did not get home until late July, only to have to return at the end of August.[21] In reality, these children were subsidizing their "free" educations despite the fact that the Indians had been given the impression that the federal government would take responsibility for the cost and maintenance of the school. Making such demands on these Indian minors emphasized their marginal role in American society, for such requirements taught them that they were worthy of only a minimal financial investment.

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[17] Ibid., 480.

[18] Hagan, *U.S. Comanche Relations*, 222.

[19] Department of the Interior, *Teaching the Rudiments of Cooking in the Classroom* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing, 1906).

[20] Golden, *Red Moon*, 192.

Outside and In

The third goal of Fort Sill Indian School was to assimilate the children into the dominant white society. This goal was to be accomplished in two ways: through external constraint and through internal transformation. Strict militaristic discipline was believed to be necessary to control the students. The children were often seen marching up and down the campus like soldiers.[22] School officials asserted that the strict discipline served to aid the children in understanding the rules and laws of the land. The children were given no opportunities to voice opinions or objections to the rules. They learned that if they wanted to eat and have shelter and a sort of life, that they had to follow the white rules without question. Charlie Tallbear wrote to a sympathetic Indian schoolteacher about his frustrations when he was forced to learn in class:

> The teacher was trying to talk to me. I didn't say a thing, because I don't understand them what they mean. In the school was very hard lesson for me. When my teacher try to make me read I won't do it, and so she try to make me read.[23]

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[21] Ibid., 194.
[22] Rosentbluth, *Fort Sill ORBS Survey*, n.p.
[23] Ibid., 189.

Corporal punishment was used on both boys and girls, and former students of the school indicated that it was administered harshly. Students over twelve years of age might also be imprisoned in the school jailhouse. Indian researcher Lewis Meriam wrote, "'Unusual, cruel or degrading punishment' was prohibited. However, school jails were not abolished until 1927."[24]

In addition to external control, the Fort Sill Indian children were immersed in Christian teachings. It was believed that their conversion to Christianity would have many benefits. First, it would break the ties the children had with pagan ways and those of their parents, thus ensuring their salvation and eternal life. Second, Christianity would teach them a system of morality in keeping with the dominant Eurocentric culture. Third, Christianity would ease the pain of losing their culture and autonomy, and prevent them from fighting back.

Each of the tribes of the Oklahoma Territory had distinctive religious beliefs which became intertwined after their forced removal to the reservation. At religious festivals involving all the tribes, individuals learned about neighboring religious beliefs and then chose those with the most appeal. They were not so much concerned with theological purity as with "good Medicine," which was defined as an individual's feeling of well being. All tribes believed in the Great Spirit, the supernatural patron of all powers who did not interfere with human affairs. It was through an Indian's "dreams" induced by the drug peyote that the Great Spirit gave power, songs, and procedures needed to manipulate good Medicine. The tribes didn't believe in the afterlife; this life was a wondrous thing to be praised.[25] U.S. Government officials had no respect for these religious beliefs. Christianity was the sword with which they hoped to make a huge and final gouge between the children and their native cultures.

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[24] Evelyn Adams, *American Indian Education* (New York: Morning Side Heights, 1946), 56.

[25] David E. Jones, *Sanapia: Comanche Medicine Woman* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972), 8.

At this time there was a symbiotic relationship between the U.S. government and the Quakers. With direction from his political cabinet, President Grant in 1869 developed the "Quaker Policy" which was to ensure peace between the government and the peoples of the Southwestern Plains, specifically belligerent Comanche and Apache who refused to be placed on a reservation. Grant appointed the Quakers as leaders and agents of Fort Sill because of their longterm commitment to the evangelization and education of the Indians. Grant said, "If you can make Quakers out of the Indians it will take the fight out of them."[26] According to Josiah Butler, who opened the Fort Sill Indian School in 1871, "Education cuts the cord that binds Indians to a pagan life and places the Bible in their hands."[27]

The English language was used to complete the assimilation process. Without it, none of the other goals could be achieved. It was the means by which the children were taught the Eurocentric culture to which they were being introduced. Through English they learned school rules, Christian beliefs, and the laws the U.S. Government considered important for them to obey. All treaties were made and written in English. Even daily rations were doled out by a man speaking English. Thus it was the core subject in the Fort Sill Indian School curriculum. Native languages were called "barbarous" tongues; it was considered a waste of money and energy to spend any time on them. Nor were the children encouraged to preserve their folk tales and traditions. J. D. C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, wrote in 1887: "[U]tilize that time in school in learning the language of the country of which [the Indians] are to become citizens—a language in which not only the scriptures can be read but all the extensive literature of the civilized world." As a circular put it: "The Indian heroes . . . need not be disparaged, but gradually and unobtrusively the heroes of American homes and history may be substituted as models and ideals."[28]

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[26] Rupert Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to the South Plains Settlement* (Glendale: Arthur Clark Company, 1933), 325. Also see Hagan, U. S. Comanche Relations, 139-40.

[27] Robert Keller, *American Protestant and U.S. Indian Policy 1869-1882* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1983), 28.

These measures produced submissive students who were, at the same time, devoid of hope and energy. One child wrote of her experience, "When I went to the schoolroom the teacher told me to sit with another girl. I didn't know what she meant and just stand there till she came and put me by that girl . . . she gave me a slate and a pencil and told me to copy the ABC's on the slate; but I didn't do it because I just couldn't do it."[29] Some children ran away from school. Those who stayed returned to houses built by the government for them. The best male scholars were employed as herders, teamster, and laborers for the Indian agencies. The females were their housewives. After one generation their only apparent resistance to white domination was their continued use of the drug peyote, even though it had been banned by the Government.[30]

Conclusion

The strength of the Indian population was perhaps best reflected in its resistance to white domination. At first Indian power seemed infinite: they massacred white settlers who encroached on their land; they tortured men, raped women, and snatched white children and made them their own. They set fire to buildings, they stole horses, they robbed wagon trains. They left the white man feeling hopeless and insignificant. But the strength of the white encroachers was greater still, and after the "peace" Treaty of Medicine Lodge, these same warriors were forced to plea for freedom and then to submit to bondage. Yet the Indians continued to resist, at least for a time. They refused to send their children to school and balked at farming the way they were told to farm. They continued to practice their religious beliefs despite the continual bombardment of Christian teachings.

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[28] Prucha, *Americanizing the American Indian*, 202.

[29] Golden, *Red Moon*, 192.

[30] For a discussion of the Indian responses to Presbyterian sponsored schooling, see Michael C. Coleman, "The Responses of American Indian Children to Presbyterian Schooling in the Nineteenth Century: An Analysis Through Missionary Sources," *History of Education Quarterly*, Winter 1987, 473-97.

As has been stated, the United States Government believed that Christianity would be the sword that would cut the Indians from their past, but in reality it was something far more detrimental to the spirit of the nations of the Great Plains. In late fall of 1878 P. B. Hunt, an agent for the Fort Sill Reservation, got permission from the government to permit the Indians to go on a buffalo hunt. Government-issued passes allowed whole villages of Indians to leave their reservation to hunt. Yet it seems that this act of kindness was only a slap in the face. The Indians were not allowed to travel alone. They were told that the settlers might kill them, so troops escorted them into the prairie. Autumn fell into winter but the Indians found no buffalo. The children were hungry and crying for they were starving. The Indians prayed for good buffalo medicine and a great wind to bring the buffalo to them. Instead of buffalo, however, they found only dry bones scattered across the prairie. This was all that was left of the once mighty herds. The destruction of the buffalo—not the curriculum of Fort Sill Indian School—killed the strong spirit within the Indians of the Oklahoma Territory. Now, at last, they had become the perpetual children that the United States government wanted.[31]

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[31] Fehrenback, *Comanches*, 550.

Dr. Jessie A. Charters: Reclaiming Her Role In Adult Education

Carolyn K. Geyer
Augustana College

On May 14, 1928, Dr. Jessie Allen Charters received a telegram at the Edgewater Beach Hotel, where she was attending a conference. It was from her husband and read, "YOU WERE ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF THE NEWLY CREATED DEPARTMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION TUESDAY STOP . . . FAMILY ALL RIGHT."[1] The same day a second telegram arrived, this one from Dr. George F. Arps, Dean of the School of Education at Ohio State University: "TRUSTEES DEFINITELY ESTABLISHED DEPARTMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION WITH YOU AS ITS HEAD STOP COURSES WERE ALSO AUTHORIZED."[2] It was an exciting moment professionally for Dr. Charters, who was 48 years old at the time and well-known in Illinois, particularly in the Chicago area for her volunteer work in adult education.

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[1] W. W. Charters to Jessie Charters, telegram, 14 May 1928, Jessie and W. W. Charters Papers, George Arent Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, New York.

[2] George Arps to Jessie Charters, telegram, 14 May 1928, Jessie and W. W. Charters Papers, George Arent Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, New York.

When she had married Dr. W. W. Charters, Professor of Education, in 1907, according to the fashion of the day, Jessie retired from her college teaching job in psychology and got on with the business of being a professor's wife and later mother to four children. During the intervening years between her marriage in 1907 and the arrival of the telegram in 1928, she nevertheless remained active professionally through various consulting jobs and community projects, starting as early as her first year of marriage when she worked with rural women's groups in Missouri.[3] But this was her chance at a full-time college position, and one can only imagine her reaction to this opportunity to bring her rich experience and outstanding educational background to the new field of adult education.

In personal recollections about her family, Jessie's daughter, Margaret Charters Lyon, said that Dr. Arps "laid a well-baited trap" when he offered both husband and wife jobs at Ohio State University.[4] Jessie would have the chance "to organize a new department of adult education," and her husband would be challenged "to build the existing Bureau of Educational Research into one as strong as any in the country."[5] The couple left the University of Chicago for Ohio State and spent their "most fruitful professional years in Columbus."[6]

References to Jessie, the wife in this professional team, are sparse. She is mentioned briefly in a l987 book about the first generation of American women psychologists. Her inclusion in this volume was due to her early membership in the American Psychological Association and her biographical entry, although not atypical was still striking, in the 1910 edition of *American Men of Science.*[7] Although her story has never been fully told, the details of her life and experience are instructive and worthy of study, not merely as fascinating biography, but as representative of women's contributions to the history of adult education.

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[3] Jessie Charters, "For General Publicity," Spring 1932, Jessie and W. W. Charters Papers, George Arent Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, New York.

[4] Margaret Charters Lyon to John Charters Russell, September 1979, Alexander Charters Papers, George Arent Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, New York.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

This paper resulted from my research into the recently catalogued papers of Dr. Jessie Charters, papers donated by her nephew, Dr. Alexander Charters, to the George Arent Research Library for Special Collections at Syracuse University. It outlines the life of Dr. Charters and appraises her significant contributions to adult education.

Jessie Blount Allen was born in Canton, Texas, on 23 September 1880. After her father died when she was four, her mother moved first to Kentucky to be with her family, then to Seattle, where her brothers decided to relocate. Her mother was a college graduate who taught school in Seattle and invested in real estate. Tutored at home by her mother, Jessie went to a private girls' school, where she stayed until she was fourteen. Then she spent a year preparing for admission to the University of Washington, starting her undergraduate studies there in 1895 and graduating four years later with a B. Ped. and a B.A. in English. After teaching fourth and fifth grades at Snohomish public schools for a year, she returned to the University of Washington in 1900 as a student assistant in the English Department. She received her M.A. in English in 1901, when she was 21 years old.[8]

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[7] Elizabeth Scarborough and Laurel Furumoto, *Untold Lives: The First Generation of American Women Psychologists* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 133-34.

[8] Jessie Charters, "Jessie Blount Allen Charters," vita, 15 December 1943, Jessie and W. W. Charters Papers, George Arent Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, New York.

She decided to pursue doctoral studies, rare for women at the time, and was awarded a scholarship at the University of Chicago to work on a doctorate in psychology under the direction of John Dewey, James Angells, and other notable scholars. Also receiving a fellowship in neurology, her minor area of study, she worked as a technical laboratory assistant. She graduated with honors in 1904 with a Ph.D. in Psychology. In the fall semester of 1904, she became Chairman of the Psychology Department at the Los Angeles State Normal School.[9]

But she had acquired something else at the University of Chicago: a romance with classmate Werret Wallace Charters, a Canadian who had received his Ph.D. the same year. They had gone their separate ways after Chicago, he to become the principal of a training school on the campus of the State Normal College in Winona, Minnesota, and she to California, an exciting move to head an academic department. Yet their courtship continued at long distance. Three years later, W. W. Charters moved from Minnesota to the University of Missouri, where he had received a professorship in the Education Department. With this professional advancement, he felt ready to propose marriage to Jessie, and they were married 21 December 1907, at the Baltimore Hotel in Kansas City.[10]

Jessie Charters exchanged her teaching career for married life, doing volunteer work and other duties of a faculty wife and mother. During her child-raising years, there is little information about her professional activities. The best summary of her attitude during those years is found in a biographical newspaper article written after she became Chairman of the Adult Education Department at Ohio State. She explained that she tried to read and do her writing after the children were in bed. "It was hard to concentrate on technical stuff when I was tired, and harder still to force myself to write, but that was the way I kept in touch with what was being done in psychology until my children were a little more grown up."[11] She managed to keep her research interest in women's psychology alive during this time, moreover, through her consulting work.[12]

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[9] Ibid.

[10] W. W. Charters, "Werrett Wallace Charters," vita, 15 December 1943, Jessie and W. W. Charters Papers, George Arent Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, New York.

In 1925, the family moved to Chicago, where W. W. Charters joined the University of Chicago as Professor of Education. It was during these Chicago years, 1925-1928, that Jessie began her volunteer adult education activities with increased enthusiasm, working with parental education by organizing study groups and leadership institutes in Chicago and throughout the state. She was also appointed an instructor in the Home Study Department at the University of Chicago, where she directed a correspondence course on parental education. She even taught non-credit psychology courses during the evenings at the YWCA.[13]

By the time the telegram came with Dr. Arps's offer of a full-time position at Ohio State, she had earned a reputation as a leader in parental education and had strong academic qualifications as well. Husband and wife both headed toward exciting and complementary new jobs, Wallace concentrating on educational research and Jessie becoming the practitioner.

During the five years during which she was Chair of the Adult Education Department at Ohio State, 1928-1933, Jessie Charters built a far-reaching program and state network. She served on White House Commissions, presented papers and conducted workshops at national conferences, spoke throughout the state about the work of her new department, started a graduate program in adult education, published over thirty articles and a book, and became a co-founder of the Ohio Association of Adult Education.[14] She accomplished more in five years than many professionals do in an entire career.

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[11] Rene Ryerson Mart, "Pioneering Natural to Dr. Jessie Charters, One of Earliest in Adult Education Work," *The Columbus Citizen,* 1933. The month and day are not available.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Jessie Charters, "For General Publicity."

But then, as suddenly as this rich professional period had begun, it was over. By 1931, when Charters was only three years into her program, the depression had impinged on all aspects of American life. Professors at Ohio State saw their salaries lowered and departments were threatened with staff cuts. In the 1931-32 academic year, Jessie Charters's salary was cut by 50 percent and her staff was reduced from five to just herself as chair. Allowed to keep a secretary, she tried to continue her extensive state and campus work alone. In her annual report, she described a university struggling to survive hard economic times with decreased state revenue.[15]

The summer of 1933 must have been especially difficult for Jessie Charters, although there are no recorded personal reflections from this period. She received from Dr. Arps a letter in late July, which announced the end of her professional dream:

> Enclosed is a copy of a letter setting forth the action of the Board of Trustees re Adult Education. This distresses me more than any of the distressing things with which I have been confronted. I was under the definite impression that everybody, from the President down, was agreed to the continuation of your services with Dr. Berry. This undermines my morale considerably, and further disintegrates my confidence—so much so that I am unable to discuss it at this time.[16]

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[14] Ibid.

[15] Jessie Charters, "Fourth Annual Report of the Work in Adult Education (Parental Phase) 1931-1932," 15 April 1932, Jessie and W. W. Charters Papers, George Arent Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, New York.

[16] George Arps to Jessie Charters, 26 July 1933, Jessie and W. W. Charters Papers, George Arent Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, New York.

The other letter, enclosed with Dr. Arps's message of dismay, was from George W. Rightmire, President of Ohio State University. In it, Rightmire described the action of the Board of Trustees:

> Yesterday when the budget for next year was being studied by the Board of Trustees, the members felt a heavy compulsion on account of the limited appropriation of the Legislature and other resources of the University and had to reach the conclusion that the University would be unable to finance the work in Adult Education longer. Therefore, the recommendation that Doctor Jessie A. Charters be included in the staff . . . was not approved by the Board of Trustees.[17]

There is, however, another version of the story from family recollections:

> In the depth of the depression, when many professional people were out of work, there was a clamor at OSU against both husband and wife working. Since JAC and WWC had combined salaries above any other couple, she was one of the first wives to be sacrificed; her adult education job was given to a man.[18]

Even after this abrupt discontinuation of her services, Jessie Charters persisted in her important volunteer work in Columbus and the rest of the state. Her husband retired from Ohio State University in 1942, after a distinguished career as Director of the Bureau of Educational Research and consultant to numerous colleges and private companies around the country.[19]

During the five years that Jessie Charters was Chair of the Adult Education Department at Ohio State University, she contributed significantly to the field and played an invaluable role in the growing influence of adult education in Ohio. Yet the story of her contributions remains obscure, both at her home university and within the overall field of adult education itself. As a first notable contribution, she organized and created an adult education department at a major university, one of the first in the country. When she came to Ohio State, academic study of adult education was in its infancy, with no current graduate programs to use as models. Yet she created a graduate curriculum and recruited graduate students to this new field. Besides course work, each graduate student was required to complete a project of stipulated practical value to that student's community. One student, for example, served as Principal to the National Cash Register School for Home-Makers in Dayton and designed a curriculum for women.[20] Another doctoral candidate in the department set up and directed a large alumnae project in Dayton.[21]

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[17] George Rightmire to Charles S. Berry, 25 July 1933, Jessie and W. W. Charters Papers, George Arent Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, New York.

[18] Lyon to Russell, September 1979.

[19] W. W. Charters, 1943 vita.

Another pioneering activity of her new department was an extensive outreach effort in parental education, supported in part by the Ohio State Department of Education. In the first two years of the department's existence, Dr. Charters and her staff organized parent study groups all over the state in cooperation with the Ohio Congress of Parents and Teachers. They wrote study courses for these groups and provided follow-up consultation to group leaders. The department sponsored leadership training institutes, which were designed to train leaders of parent study groups and anyone interested in directing adult education activities. Delegates from Ohio colleges and other organizations interested in adult education attended these successful events. Dr. Charters had been at Ohio State only four months when she started publishing *Better Parents Bulletin*, which was sent free to over 4,000 people in the state. This bulletin was comparable to a small journal in appearance and content. She also established a speakers bureau for public relations and educational outreach. During the second year of her departmental operation, she and her staff delivered over one hundred speeches.[22] The Adult Education Department literally took the campus to the people.

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[20] Jessie Charters, "Second Annual Report of the Work in Adult Education (Parental Phase) 1929-1930," 15 April 1930, Jessie and W. W. Charters Papers, George Arent Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, New York.

[21] Jessie Charters, "Fourth Annual Report."

A second contribution was the groundwork of Dr. Charters in starting the Ohio Association of Adult Education. In 1931, she invited a group of leaders to her campus to discuss cooperation among state agencies interested in adult education. Agencies represented included colleges, libraries, parent-teacher groups, Federated Women's Clubs, AAUW, county extension offices, and the League of Women Voters. This meeting revealed widespread interest in the new field and a growing conviction on the part of participants that a formal organization would be valuable for coordinating efforts and advancing the adult education movement.[23]

As a result of this interest in cooperation, an executive committee was appointed to plan the details for a consolidated state adult education effort, and Jessie Charters served on that committee. The organizing group learned that California alone had a state association and sought the advice of Morse Cartwright, Director of the American Association for Adult Education. With Cartwright's encouragement and their own enthusiasm, the Ohio committee moved to make theirs the second state organization, naming it the Ohio Adult Education Conference.[24] During this essential organizational period, Jessie Charters chaired the constitution and bylaws committee, was acting chairman for six months, and served as membership and publicity chair.[25] The second year she was elected secretary/treasurer.[26] She edited the first newsletter, which included a brief history of the new organization, a summary of the 1933 convention, and a description of such adult education projects as the Springfield Free-Time People's College.[27]

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[22] Jessie Charters, "Second Annual Report."

[23] A. J. Arnold, "Report of the Chairman," 16 January 1932, Jessie and W. W. Charters Papers, George Arent Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, New York.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Minutes of the Ohio Conference on Adult Education, 16 January 1932, Jessie and W. W. Charters Papers, George Arent Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, New York.

Jessie Charters pioneered work in other adult education areas as well. She received a Carnegie grant for the study of alumni education on the basis of her work with Ohio State alumni in several cities. She designed a radio course in parental education, with programs airing twice a week before the supper hour in homes all over Ohio. In addition to programs such as "How to Manage the Difficult Child," problems of college students were dramatized so that parents might learn about difficulties which existed beyond the home years. She created an English study course for immigrant Italian women and a course in child development for parents of delinquent children under the auspices of the Franklin County Court of Domestic Relations. She wrote a correspondence course for foster parents in the Central District of the Child Welfare Division of the Department of Public Welfare. She experimented with a variety of methods in bringing adult education to the people in Ohio.[28]

Many of the activities and ideas which Jessie Charters started continued long after she left. Evidence can be found, for example, in a 1950's brochure of the Ohio State Bureau of Special and Adult Education. It describes, among other things, the bureau's cooperation with officials of the Ohio Congress of Parents and Teachers in setting up leadership training for study group leaders. Still in the graduate curriculum were the courses "Parent Education," "Minor

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[26] "Arnold Cites Goal of First Education Conference," *Columbus Journal Dispatch*, 29 January 1933.

[27] "News Letter of the Ohio Conference on Adult Education," April 1933, Jessie and W. W. Charters Papers, George Arent Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, New York.

[28] Jessie Charters, "Fourth Annual Report."

Problems in Adult Education," and "Adult Education," three courses from the first years of the department when Dr. Charters was chair. Graduate students continued to do practical projects, and one of the professors carried on the tradition of editing the quarterly newsletter of the Ohio Association of Adult Education.[29]

In conclusion, Dr. Jessie Blount Allen Charters brought academic reality to the emerging field of adult education. She focused her keen analytical mind on matters of curriculum, integrating the best ideas in the field with her extensive knowledge and experience. Through her work at Ohio State University and around Ohio, she advanced significantly the adult education movement. Hers was a time of experimentation in educating adults, a period of freshness and imagination in danger of vanishing as the field became more formally organized.

In an article which she wrote in 1929, the year after she arrived at Ohio State, she astutely summarized questions which adult educators are still trying to answer. She ascertained that the greatest problem facing the profession is how to motivate adults to learn, which involved a different teaching methodology than the standard lecture and textbook routine:

> However, the most successful adult education courses are conducted in quite a different way. The group often selects its own subject or topic, discusses it freely with the leader or instructor, and insists upon the right to a judgment quite unrespectfully independent of authority. One correspondence student criticizing Herbert Spencer's "discipline of natural consequences" said, "it is good as far as it goes, but it only goes one step of the way, and we mothers have a long way to travel in order to make our children behave like human beings."[30]

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[29] "Adult Education: Program and Services of the Bureau of Special and Adult Education, Ohio State University," brochure, n.d. Andrew Hendrickson Papers, George Arent Research Library for Special Collections, Syracuse University, New York.

[30] Jessie Allen Charters, "Problems in Adult Education," *Educational Research*

Such seminal ideas as these are found throughout her writing. Her work merits further study so that she can be awarded her rightful place in the history of adult education and so that her ideas can instruct adult educators today.

Bulletin 8 (15 May 1929): 209.

Robert Kennicott, 1835-66: Chicago's First Environmental Educator

Edward T. Klunk
Loyola University of Chicago

Robert Kennicott was the moving force in the establishment of the museum of the Chicago Academy of Sciences. Born 11 November 1835 in New Orleans, Louisiana he was brought to West Northfield, Illinois as an infant. Robert's father John Kennicott relinquished his medical practice to pursue horticultural science in Illinois. John Kennicott's residence "The Grove" eighteen miles northwest of Chicago quickly became a center of study in horticulture, agriculture, and natural history attracting the educated, refined, and scientific men from the adjacent countryside. Through the encouragement of family and friends Robert grew up in the "wildness" of the agrarian area around the Grove. Robert's delicate health interfered with his formal schooling and in view of this fact John Kennicott decided against regular formal elementary schooling for Robert. Robert was schooled at home largely in the fields, woods, marshes, and other wild areas around the Grove.

Robert showed a remarkable inclination for natural history and early developed a devotion for the study of natural history. Robert's interest, exploration, and collecting of natural history at the Grove convinced John Kennicott that formal study of natural science would benefit Robert. An old friend Jared Potter Kirtland suggested and encouraged John Kennicott to send Robert to Cleveland. Robert studied with Kirtland, an expert in natural science and horticulture, during the winter of 1852-53.[1] Through correspondence Kirtland introduced Robert to Spencer Fullerton Baird of the Smithsonian Institution. Following Kirtland's advice young Kennicott started a regular correspondence with the Smithsonian Institution becoming friends with Baird.

In 1854 Robert studied in Racine, Wisconsin with P. R. Hoy a well known ornithologist, who greatly advanced Robert's knowledge of practical field zoology. The study of local birds etched into Kennicott's brain an all inclusive catalogue of recognition by song alone. Hoy remarked of Robert, "Bob is a good kind hearted; and very conscientious boy; a little too bold and confident to suit everyone but he suits us."[2] His periodic study with Hoy continued for several years.

In the winter of 1854 a serious attempt devoted to formal study and consideration of the medical profession proved ill fated. Poor health and recommendations from friends convinced Kennicott to take his entire education in the field. Freedom from formal schooling molded Kennicott into an authority on Chicago region animal life.[3] The time spent in the woods, prairies, and marshes germinated and ripened his understanding and expertise of the natural world around him.

Looking toward opening the Illinois frontier to development the Illinois Central Railroad Company proposed to the State Agricultural Society their cooperation and support in a natural history survey of the state. Plans were developed and organized in the spring of 1855. Through the influence of his father Robert was appointed as the naturalist in charge of the survey and the railroad provided assistance with passes, services of their employees, and equipment needed to make collections. Robert began the survey on May 30 collecting throughout the state the entire summer. The material collected was catalogued, described, and identified during the fall and early winter. Kennicott's first professional expedition proved to be a success.

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[1] "Biography of Robert Kennicott," *Transactions of the Chicago Academy of Sciences* part 2 (1869): 134.

[2] Ibid., 135.

[3] Robert Kennicott, "Catalogue of Animals Observed in Cook County Illinois," *Illinois State Agricultural Society Transactions* 1 (1855): 577-96.

The Illinois expedition documented Kennicott's ability and fervor as a field zoologist. He constantly came into contact with men of science, influence, and wealth who shared his interest in natural history. During the spring of 1856 Robert associated himself with a group of prominent Chicago men that would soon organize the Chicago Academy of Natural Sciences.[4]

The state agricultural fair held at Alton in October 1856 brought public recognition to Kennicott's work on the state natural history survey. An Illustrated series of the vertebrates of Illinois collected during the 1855 survey was placed on display. The value of the collection and its description invoked strong acknowledgement from the agricultural community and men of science. So complete and detailed was the collection that Baird convinced the U.S. Commissioner of Patents to propose that Robert write for the Agricultural Report of the Patent Office. Titled *Quadrupeds of Illinois injurious or beneficial to the Farmer* the report detailed the natural history of Illinois mammals and their relationship to agriculture. Understanding the relationships of the natural world can be the farmer's most powerful tool expounded Kennicott:

> However injurious wild animals may be to man he should not forget that he himself is very often the cause of their undue destructiveness . . . before waging war upon any animal, let us study its habits, and look well to the consequences which would

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[4] Robert Kennicott to Spencer Fullerton Baird, 10 March 1856, Spencer Fullerton Baird Collection, record unit 7002, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington DC.

> follow its extermination. We must remember that it is an undeniable fact that the dangerous increase of any species is due to the destruction of its natural enemies . . .[5]

In 1857 Northwestern University of Evanston, Illinois instituted a natural history museum for use by its students and to assist in identifying the unknown natural inhabitants of the region. His reputation established as a field zoologist, Kennicott was engaged as curator by Northwestern University to gather specimens for its museum of natural history. Soliciting public assistance by distributing a letter with detailed instructions for the collection and preservation of specimens Kennicott evangelized his infatuation with natural history and its collection.

> Any person in the country while walking in the woods and fields, or a farmer, while engaged in his daily work, could, by carrying in his pockets a small bag for reptiles and mammals and a strong half-ounce wide-mouthed vial of alcohol for insects, with the loss of only a few minutes, secure many valuable and often new or rare species. Several hours spent in searching among the grass, examining flowers, turning over stones and old logs, and stripping off dead bark, or fishing, in any region unexplored by naturalists, could scarcely fail to expose species unknown to science.[6]

A true zealot he always looked toward advancing natural history in an altruistic manner:

> . . . duplicates of specimens obtained will be placed in the hands of competent naturalists engaged in studying the various classes, that all may be accurately determined and the new species described; and the University will, by giving the Smithsonian Institution and other scientific organizations with large opportunities for the diffusion of knowledge, the benefit of any

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[5] Robert Kennicott, "The Quadrupeds of Illinois injurious and beneficial to the Farmer," *Report for the Commissioner of Patents for the year 1856* (Washington DC: Cornelius Wendell 1857), 52.

[6] Robert Kennicott, public letter of solicitation and directions for collecting specimens for Northwestern University, Chicago Historical Society Library.

> new collections and discoveries made, and by other means endeavor to make its collections of the most use to science, education and the agricultural interests at large. The time has come when the practical benefit resulting from such collections is too well known among the intelligent to need comment.[7]

The collection of specimens, their identification, and organization of the museum progressed successfully. In the winter of 1857 Kennicott made his first visit to the Smithsonian Institution to help complete his work at Northwestern. Arriving in the middle of December he worked through April of 1858. Selection, classification, and description of collections for the museum as well as specific work on herpetologic specimens gathered on various occasions occupied most of his time. The results of this work were published in the *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*.[8] Kennicott established himself on the national level as a field zoologist of worth. Returning to the Grove he continued work at Northwestern through July 1858. In a dispute over compensation he broke his association with Northwestern and found future suggestions to place his personal collections in their museum objectionable.[9]

Encouraged by Baird of the Smithsonian Institution, Kennicott wrote to Sir George Simpson Governor of Hudson Bay Territory asking approval for an expedition to make collections. Receiving a favorable reply he began the expedition in April 1859 under the sponsorship of the Smithsonian Institution, individual patrons, members of the Chicago Audubon Club, and members of the Chicago Academy of Sciences.[10] With some reluctance he returned to Chicago in October 1862 as a result of hearing news of the Civil War.[11] Taking the advice of family and friends Kennicott decided not to enter the army. He then proceeded to the Smithsonian Institution to work on the collections of the arctic expedition. The results of the expedition became recognized for their valuable specimens of the unknown natural history from the northern regions of North America. Upon return to Chicago in the spring of 1863 Kennicott was viewed as somewhat of a celebrity by the citizens of the city. This notoriety gave rise to a movement to bring Kennicott's personal portion of the arctic expedition collections to Chicago.[12] The stage was now set for the expansion of the museum of the Chicago Academy of Sciences with Kennicott in the leadership role.

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Robert Kennicott, "Notes on Coluber calligaster of Say, and descriptions of new species of Serpents in the Collection of the Northwestern University of Evanston, Illinois," *Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia* 11 (March 1859): 98-100.

[9] Robert Kennicott to Spencer Fullerton Baird, 20 November 1863.

[10] Robert Kennicott to Spencer Fullerton Baird, 21 April 1859.

It was undeniable that Kennicott wanted a world class museum established in Chicago.[13] In November 1863 museum plans were sent to Spencer Fullerton Baird for comment and answers to specific questions.

> Suggestions as to what is necessary to secure to Chicago a great scientific museum.
>
> 1. A collection illustrating natural science generally and especially American zoology, botany, geology, ethnology and archeology. This is to be labeled, classified and every specimen identified with unquestionable accuracy.
>
> 2. Either temporary rooms secured for ten years, or a permanent building to contain the museum and laboratories. Dimensions of museum hall 50x100 feet—25 to 30 feet high and two or three small work rooms.
>
> 3. A sum (say $33,000) securely invested, the interest of which shall be permanently devoted to paying a suitable salary (say $1,500) to a secretary and the surplus ($500) to the expenses of preserving the museum.

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[11] "Biography of Robert Kennicott," 133-226.

[12] Robert Kennicott to Spencer Fullerton Baird, 24, 25 October, 16, 18, 23 November 1863.

[13] Robert Kennicott to Spencer Fullerton Baird, 26 November, 4 December 1863.

4. A sufficient sum of money for immediate expenditure for museum furniture, (cases) mounting specimens, transportation, etc., to put the first collections in order. (The sum required will be more or less just in proportion to the magnitude of the collections to be exhibited.)

Excepting the museum furniture (cases) which are, in fact, properly a part of the building—from $3,000 to $6,000 would be sufficient—this to be used within about three years. As much besides would be required for museum cases. (This estimate is for a museum of the same scope and character as the largest now in America.)

It might reasonably be hoped that some of the extensive Chicago libraries would afford such facilities as would obviate the necessity of the museum's owning a library.

Such a museum would be the first and most important step toward the creation—in such shape as might be best—or a great institution devoted to the increase and diffusion of knowledge generally—or if thought better, of science and the arts generally—of science alone—or even of natural science only.

But the museum alone if well labeled and correctly illustrating natural science in its present advanced state would go far towards effecting the following objects.

A. The elevation of natural science to its proper dignity as a matter of common education in the west.

B. To afford facilities in this city for the study of natural science in any and all of its details.

C. To make Chicago the great center of science in the west—as it now is of wealth and of commercial intellect and energy—and by a combined effort on the part of even a few persons specially interested in natural science—and who appreciate it as a matter of general education—they might easily—in connection with such a museum eventually effect the following grand desiderator.

D. To thoroughly investigate the entire field of Nature in the west and apply the knowledge so gained to the best purpose.

E. The publication of such original investigations as may increase knowledge; or of any special and general works that

> may diffuse more widely the knowledge now possessed only by a few.[14]

Plans for a Chicago museum of natural history developed in Kennicott's mind early. As one in a regular gathering of natural history zealots in the offices of Dr. Edmund Andrews, Kennicott became part of a circle of men that established the Chicago Academy of Natural Sciences in 1857.[15] The group of prominent Chicagoan founders of the Academy included Dr. James Van Zandt Blaney a founder of the Rush Medical College, Dr. Nathan S. Davis professor at Rush Medical College, Dr. Hosmer Allen Johnson teacher at Rush, Dr Edmund Andrews a founder of Chicago Medical College, Dr. Franklin Scammon, Col. Samuel Stowe philanthropist, Richard K. Swift banker, Captain Joseph D. Webster, W. H. Zimmerman businessman, Dr. Henry Parker and J. A. Lapham.[16] The promotion of scientific pursuits was the Academy's objective and the primary means to accomplish this goal was the formation of a scientific museum and library. Rooms were secured in the Dearborn seminary for the museum and library. Kennicott was appointed chairman of the standing committee on zoology and enthusiastically began obtaining and collecting specimens for display as did the other members of the society. "The objects of the Society commend themselves to all friends of science and education. The natural sciences would seem particularly fitted to interest and profit our Western people."[17] Public contributions were sought to build exhibit cabinets to display and study the collections. The second object of the Society was to interest the various educational institutions growing up in Chicago in: "one extensive and valuable museum than for each to attempt to have one of its own."[18] The twenty-one year old Kennicott became frustrated with the attempts (including his own) at raising funds for the museum. "I don't mean to say that Chicago people are all ignorant of natural science and its results but as a class they care as little and know as little of such things as any folk I ever heard of that called themselves civilized and enlightened."[19] Kennicott asked Baird if the Smithsonian Institution could make contributions to the Chicago museum to provide encouragement to the members of the Society, to persons who were giving financial support and, to help increase contributions from the public.

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[14] Robert Kennicott to Spencer Fullerton Baird, 10 December 1863.

[15] Robert Kennicott to Spencer Fullerton Baird, 10 March 1856.

[16] Nathan S. Davis ed., "The Chicago Academy of Natural Sciences," *The Northwestern Medical and Surgical Journal*, March 1857, 1.

[17] Ibid.

In the Academy's early years Kennicott's enthusiasm and frustrations in the establishment and development of a museum were evident. In the time between 1857 and October of 1862 his efforts were largely given to collecting expeditions. The major part of Kennicott's life was spent in field work, collecting, and exploring.

Kennicott had returned to the Grove in the spring of 1863 on receiving news of the illness of his father. John Kennicott's death in June 1863 kept Robert with his family through most of that year. It had been during this time that his energies were focused on creating a major natural history museum in Chicago.

Kennicott's reputation and renown as a collector and explorer provided the celebrity status necessary to interest the wealthy, cultured, and influential citizens of Chicago. Needing assistance and guidance with the 1863 plan Kennicott relied on Baird, his long time mentor and friend. His reputation as a field zoologist also attracted the attention of Louis Agassiz. Through Joseph Henry, then Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Agassiz approached Kennicott to work for the Museum of Comparative Zoology established at Harvard University. Agassiz, the preeminent natural scientist in the United States, was recognized as having great

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Robert Kennicott to Spencer Fullerton Baird, 10 March 1857.

influence in raising funds in support of natural history. Kennicott concluded the wealthy and influential Chicago people could be moved to build a museum if Agassiz visited the city and offered his support: "The sons of wealthy men here tell me that Agassiz's strong endorsement of my plan would be worth ten thousand dollars in raising money here. The fact is Agassiz's popular reputation is all powerful here in such matters."[20] Kennicott asked Baird to comment on his plan through correspondence during November and December 1863. Kennicott outlined his idea to gain Agassiz's favor and commitment to come to Chicago in a November 18 letter to Baird. Indicating he felt the Chicago museum would go ahead and Agassiz's support was needed to raise money. Kennicott did not wish to offend the prominent Harvard zoologist by declining his request to go to Cambridge and work in its museum of comparative zoology. Kennicott tells Baird "I confess to you I'm bound to try on a little claptrap and humbug to help me carry out the plan here."[21] Kennicott further reasoned that working with or for Agassiz (even for a short time) will provide an "eclat" that would also facilitate his Chicago museum plans.

Kennicott's insight and planning were materializing. The idea was to have the museum plans in place and made public before Agassiz's visit so the museum will be Chicago's idea and Agassiz will give the plan a "boost."[22]

Baird and Agassiz were not on friendly terms. Agassiz was actively working to prevent Baird's membership in the recently formed National Academy of Sciences. In his desire to have his museum at Cambridge become the first ranked zoological collection in the United States, Agassiz made attempts to have the Smithsonian natural history collections controlled by Baird transferred to Cambridge. The entire scenario made Agassiz and Baird bitter opponents. Joseph Henry, then Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution supported Baird and was the third party necessary in establishing communications with Agassiz that brought him to Chicago in early February 1864. Agassiz's Chicago visit brought George Walker, Horatio Loomis, Edmund Aiken, Daniel Thompson, Erza B. McCagg, Eliphalet Blatchford, J. Young Scammon, and William Doggett together as a committee of prospective donors to a Chicago museum. During the Chicago visit Agassiz spoke of the importance of Kennicott's collections.[23]

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[20] Ibid., 16 November 1863.
[21] Ibid., 18 November 1863.
[22] Ibid., 5 November 1863.

Kennicott's shrewd maneuvering of Agassiz through Henry and Baird brought the backing and support of prominent Chicagoans. Kennicott's loyalty was to Baird who he repeatedly relied on for advice and answers to specific questions about the establishment and management of a museum. Baird advised Kennicott to be sure his friends controlled all funds as he would find both eastern and western men who would try to "cut you out" if the museum succeeded.[24] Baird's advice convinced Kennicott to accept personal donations from patrons such as George Walker, a prominent Chicago businessman. Information supplied by Baird also went into the Constitution and By-laws of the Academy.

A short time after the Agassiz visit sufficient funds were raised to meet Kennicott's requirements for a museum to house his collections. Joseph Henry agreed not only to turn over Kennicott's share of the arctic expedition of 1862 but felt the Chicago plan under Kennicott's direction worthy of a series of all duplicates in the collections of the Smithsonian Institution. The Chicago Academy of Sciences, through Kennicott's work and dedication, became endowed with the funds and collections to establish a natural history museum of worth. Kennicott was elected curator as work on the museum began in February 1864. An early 1864 estimate of the collections included 10,000 plants, 2,000 minerals, 75,000 fossils, 97,000 animals including 1,000 mammals, 3,000 birds, 2,000 bird eggs, 5,000 reptiles, 10,000 fishes, 40,000 insects, 5,000 crustaceans, 30,000 mollusks and 1,000 radiata.[25] Kennicott personally supervised the packing and shipping of the collections from Washington to Chicago. The collections were arranged in the Metropolitan Building at LaSalle and Randolph streets and the museum opened to the public 1 January 1865.[26]

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[23] Ibid., 15 February 1864.

[24] Spencer Fullerton Baird to Robert Kennicott, 28 November 1863.

The Western Union Telegraph Company in the winter of 1864 asked Kennicott to take part in the Overland Telegraph Expedition. His experience and knowledge of the northern climes brought an opportunity to further explore unknown northwest regions and collect natural history specimens. Supplementing the 1862 expedition would be of great advantage to the Chicago Academy and the museum. The Smithsonian Institution and the Chicago Academy of Sciences agreed to help to scientifically outfit the expedition and share in the collections made. Kennicott could not resist the possibilities unfolding: greater personal recognition, expansion of the museum in Chicago, and undiscovered natural history to be collected and identified. Accepting the offer he took command of the party destined to survey Alaska and the Yukon River for a route to lay an overland telegraph line to Europe. Provisions were set in place by Kennicott for the work on the Chicago museum to continue. He left the city in March 1865 never to return. Kennicott died at Nutalo on the Yukon River 13 May 1866.

Kennicott's zealous pursuit of natural history and his desire to make its tenets part of everyone's common education established him as Chicago's first environmental educator. Robert Kennicott summed up his life-long desire in a letter to a friend: "You have heard me speak of my wish to establish a good museum in Chicago which should enable me to work more effectively at what I consider my vocation—the making popular of natural history, and its advancement."[27]

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[25] Robert Kennicott to Spencer Fullerton Baird, 24 February 1864.

[26] Walter B. Hendrickson and William J. Beecher, "In the Service of Science: The History of the Chicago Academy of Sciences," *Proceedings of the Chicago Academy of Sciences* 11 (1972): 222.

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[27] Karl P. Schmidt "Robert Kennicott Founder of Museums" *Program of Activities of the Chicago Academy of Sciences* 7 (January, 1936): 6.

Community or Curriculum? Experiences in a One-room School Circa 1940

Ruth K. McGaha
Iowa State University

Historical Background

The rural schools of the Midwest were the last bastion of nineteenth century educational philosophy. Whatever the critics and well-meaning reformers of the early twentieth century believed, they failed to recognize the rural schools as the living link to American education's past. Perhaps somewhat ossified, it still held to the structure and heart of the common school philosophy. The reformers' sociological and psychological perceptions could not break through tradition's bone.

What existed there was as old as the American ideal. Henry Adams expressed the underpinning of that ideal in his discussion of the philosophies of Jefferson and Gallatin when he said, "education should bring the masses into familiar contact with higher forms of human achievement, and their vast creative power would rise to the level of democratic genius . . ."[1] Fuller, writing of the reformers' lack of success in the rural schools only a century later, reported the same philosophy or attitude existed among the board members of the rural school districts. "Practical and conservative, they wanted to maintain the traditional curriculum, and they tended to look upon the attempts of the theorist as an effort . . . to restrict their children's opportunities to be whatever they wished to be . . ."[2]

The concept of the school as a stepping stone to a better life is an old idea. The lyceums of the nineteenth century were "community education." They sponsored teacher training seminars, published pamphlets of support for the common schools, and provided the meeting halls for the fledgling teacher organizations. As the torch passed from the volunteer organizations to the schools, the schools became the community centers.

The communities continued to expect what they had always expected of their teachers. In 1848, Aronzia Perkins attended services in all the New Haven churches, including the Synagogue, the Catholic church, and the African Methodist Episcopal church. In addition, she attempted to meet community expectations by distributing tracts, teaching Sunday School, and working diligently in her spare time to raise money for a new school.[3]

Elizabeth Dusenbury experienced the same expectations in 1855 in Joliet, Illinois. Dusenbury expressed her weariness in her journal after attending three services on Sunday at two churches and prayer meetings at both the Methodist and Presbyterian churches during the week. Three months after her arrival in Joliet, she joined the Presbyterian church. "It is another bond to bind me to this people," she wrote.[4]

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[1] Henry Adams, "The History of the United States During the Administration of Jefferson and Madison," Vol. 1, Chapter 6, American Ideals, in *Major Writers of America*, ed. Perry Miller (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1952), 306.

[2] Wayne E. Fuller, "The Teacher in the Country School," in *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work*, ed. Donald Warren (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 107.

[3] Polly Welts Kaufman, *Women Teachers of the Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), 58.

[4] Ruth McGaha, "The Journals of Sarah Elizabeth Dusenbury: Portrait of a

Near the turn of the century, many of these community restrictions on teachers changed as "professionalism" became the dominant factor in the hiring of teachers. The old demands of "good moral character," local examinations written by school boards or two commissioners, and "physical stamina," were replaced by requirements for normal school graduation or state or county examinations which measured the candidate's academic proficiency. But the old expectations, while perhaps not often discussed, remained in place. The teacher must be a model for her pupils and an exemplary member of the community.

Gone too were the days when a teacher's education was a manual tucked in her pocket, but the reformers and critics suddenly found a new merit in the philosophies espoused by the manuals. The reformers had decided what the rural schools needed was a teacher active in community affairs. Charles Northend's classic, *The Teacher and the Parent*, emphasized the teacher's community role. "A teacher must be faithful in the performance of their public, as well as private, duties . . . ready, with cheerful earnestness, to cooperate with others in every suitable manner."[5] When the reformers urged teachers to become community leaders, they were not suggesting a fresh concept of the teacher's role. They were retreating.

Other reform suggestions seem to have been recycled from the past. Fuller told of a Wisconsin report in 1900 which read, "Country teachers are, in most cases, young, immature, half trained, ineffective and lacking professional ideals and ambition."[6]

This sounded remarkably like James Carter's disgusted voice of 1824. "This is the only service in which we venture to employ

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Teacher's Development" (Ph.D. diss., Iowa State University, 1990).

[5] Charles Northend, *The Teacher and the Parent, A Treatise Upon Common-School Education Containing Practical Suggestions to Teachers and Parents*, 8th ed. (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1853), 77.

[6] Warren, *American Teachers*, 109.

young, and often ignorant persons, without some previous instruction in their appropriate duties."[7]

A Memoir

The critics of rural education, while far from original, were right. As one of those rural teachers of the middle west in the years before World War II, I know about the rural schools. Upon reflection I can see how they might have viewed my little Prairie Hill school in Rooks County, Kansas, as just one more sorry example of the state of rural education.

The Prairie Hill school house was much like the one described by Fuller in "The Teacher and the Country School."[8] It was a plain, rectangular wooden building, with a row of windows down either side. It sat on a small rise in the midst of a scruffy square of pasture land with no trees to block the path of the unremitting wind. Unlike some other rural schools, Prairie Hill had playground equipment: a metal swing set with four chain swings with sturdy plank seats sat between the wooden privies. We also had a basketball hoop, firmly fastened to the rear of the building, a basketball, and several baseballs and bats.

The school, when I arrived, was immaculate. The interior walls had been repainted a creamy beige, the windows washed, floors scrubbed and oiled, the pot bellied heater resplendent with polished chrome. Two new brooms guarded the cloak room and half a dozen neatly folded dusting towels emphasized their expectations of a clean and orderly school. Prairie Hill, despite some limitations, was a focus of community pride. Two barrels on a scaffold outside the cloakroom provided fresh spring water. To the extent that the water in the barrels lasted, or didn't freeze, the school had inside running water. Two galvanized wash bowls sat on a wide bench by the water spigot. Children were expected to bring their own cup for drinking, and their own towels and soap. Appropriate hooks had been installed beside the wash bench along the cloak room wall.

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[7] David B. Tyack, ed., *Turning Points in American Educational History* (Waltham, MA: Blaisdell, 1967).

[8] Fuller, "The Teacher in the Country School," 101.

In the center of the classroom was the bulging, black bellied heater, flanked on either side by wooden boxes. One held the precious kindling wood, the other the larger wood, which hopefully, the teacher would soon learn to split. It was the teacher's responsibility to build the fire. A farmer with a bent for organization had equipped the woodshed. A bin of corn cobs stood ready just inside the door, neatly stacked wood ranged along the back, on the opposite side stood the crib of bark and kindling, and in the well-swept center was a hard wooden block and the school board's pride—a glistening red handled new axe for splitting wood. I had never split wood in my life. Not only did I exemplify the critics' complaints of poorly educated teachers as to teaching practices, but I lacked the country skills to deal with the most rudimentary of my new duties.

High School Normal Training

I had only a high school normal training course even more rudimentary than those described by Herbst.[9] It consisted of little beyond a few days substituting in the town elementary school, a few hours of educational lectures, of which I remember only that a teacher must demand the respect of her pupils if she was to keep

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[9] Jurgen Herbst, *And Sadly Teach: Teacher Education and Professionalization in American Culture* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 162.

"order." I was not unusual. Most rural elementary teachers did not attend Normal school, although Kansas supported a Teachers' College in Emporia, Kansas. Many of the small, rural schools, such as Prairie Hill, often looked no further than the high school graduate who had taken the "normal training course." My older sisters moved into teaching by this route in the early thirties. By the time I attended high school, such programs were being phased out. As a result, only a few classes were available in the high school and those consisted of reading a thick book, some practical advice on discipline, and the occasional assignment to spend an hour or so each day in the local grade school assisting teachers with everything from playground duty to scrubbing up after a painting lesson. For many young women the more appropriate time to attend Normal school was after she had taught a year or two and additional skills might make her eligible to teach at the secondary level.

Institutes

Those, like myself, who were planning to teach had the additional option of attending an eight-week summer teachers Institute at Emporia. The Institute announcement advertised the course as covering philosophy, methods, discipline, and some school management.[10] At sixteen, my interest was in being away from home. I reveled in being on my own. Even the steamy dormitory and terrible food failed to squelch my sense of adventure. Going to class was a bother. My memory of the class content is clouded by my recollection of the heat, the long lectures, and the awful constraint of keeping dormitory hours.

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[10] Ibid., 113-Herbst mentions a similar curriculum on page 113. Philosophy may not have been included in my curriculum. I remember, however, a course in Geography and many intense discussions of the world's food distribution problems. My guess, in retrospect, is that this was a Sociology class.

Our classes centered around games, poster making, and record keeping. A course in "meeting children's needs" met outside every other day at 11 A.M. Outside was preferable to the sweltering classroom, but the lecture was lost as the tired little instructor swatted flies, wiped the rivulets of sweat from her face, and constantly brushed back her hair. Her audience, in retrospect, seems to have been totally apathetic. To this day "meeting children's needs" brings to me the memory of a strained voice, windmilling hands, the incessant buzz of summer insects, and the occasional smack of a hand on the bare flesh of arm or neck. Unfortunately, this completed my teacher training.

Motivation

Has there ever been a sixteen year old with three younger siblings who truly loved children? I had no interest in children, or indeed in education. School teaching was a means to an end.[11] To go to college, I needed money. Teaching school was one of the few ways in the rural community I could make money. True to the traditions of the nineteenth century, in the twentieth century teaching continued to be a respectable, acceptable, temporary occupation for a woman.[12] Susan Carter explains in her essay, "Incentives and Rewards to Teaching," that as late as 1970, 53 percent of female college graduates who were working for wages still taught school.[13]

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[11] Ibid., 117. Herbst verifies that many attendees at normal schools were interested in other careers than teaching.

[12] S. Alexander Rippa, *Education in a Free Society: An American History*, 6th ed. (White Plains, NY: Longman, 1988), 242-43.

Teaching school was a bit of a tradition in my family. My older sisters had taught school before they married, my brother had married a rural school teacher. Teaching was, after all, only a temporary occupation. I wanted to be a journalist. My parents believed a year or two in a rural school would squelch such a ridiculous notion.

Teacher Certification

The criteria for a teachers' certificate in the state of Kansas was passing the state teachers' test.[14] It was a test which put the GRE or the Miller Analogy to shame. The new professionalism in teaching was demanding stricter academic standards.[15] My habit of keeping my nose in a book served me well, and, as there were no questions on teaching methods, child psychology, or discipline, of course I passed the test.

Methods and Practices

Once out in the rural school, I turned to the kind of teaching by which I had been taught.[16] Long before I started attending school I had passed my first lessons in memorization and rote learning given by my older sisters. To this day, I can recite most of

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[13] Susan Carter, "Incentives and Rewards to Teaching," in *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work* (New York: Macmillan, 1989).

[14] John D. Pulliam, *History of Education in America*, 3d ed. (Columbus, OH: Charles E. Merrill, 1982).

[15] Michael W. Sedlak, "Let Us Go and Buy a Schoolmaster," in Warren, *American Teachers*, 167.

[16] Fuller, "The Teacher in the Country School."

"Little Orphan Annie's come to our house to stay, To wash the cups and saucers and brush the crumbs away, To shoo the chickens off the porch, and dust the hearth and sweep, To make the fire and bake the bread, An' earn her bread and keep. And sometimes in the evenings when the supper things is done, we set around the fire and have the mostest fun . . . a-listenin' to the witch tales that Annie tells about. . . ."

My teachers at school had encouraged this kind of memorization. Often entire class periods were devoted to each student standing and repeating from memory the Declaration of Independence, or the Gettysburg Address. They had emphasized phonics, memorization, and silent reading for meaning.[17]

Once out on my own, I followed the "course of study" guide presented to me by the County Superintendent, but my methods dated back to my own early school days. David Tyack laments this practice in his essay, "The Future of the Past." Tyack believes the methods used by public school teachers have varied little through the years because "teachers begin their socialization the day they walk into the classroom as students. They observe and internalize the teacher-centered classroom as the way it is in schools."[18] The children in my little school memorized "The Raggety Man," and poems from Hamlin Garland (a great favorite of mine at the time), and the poems of Robert Louis Stevenson, in about the same progression as I had memorized them in school.

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[17] Richard L. Venezky, "Steps Toward a Modern History of American Reading Instruction," *Review of Research in Education* 13, (1986): 129-67. Venezky discusses the long battle for teaching reading comprehension on pages 147 and 148. He quotes Ayers and McKinnie, 1927, as quoted in Gray and Zirbes, 1927-1928, p. 39, "By the end of the 1920s, the aim of reading instruction was defined as training pupils to translate the printed words into ideas, thought, motives, and acts, which made for knowledge and efficiency."

[18] Tyack, *Turning Points*, in Warren, *American Teachers*, 419.

Meeting Children's Needs

Could I meet children's needs? I was too close to being a child myself to consider meeting anyone's needs beyond my own. Child psychology had an interesting sound to it, but my brief acquaintance with it in Emporia had not impressed me with its practical use. My mother, not my Latin teacher, not the tired, hot psychologist at Emporia, was my mentor in meeting children's needs. My mother had preached responsibility, but she was always flexible and willing to listen. Flexibility with responsibility was necessary when you found yourself alone with nine children in a one-room school.

Contribution to Community Leadership

It would never have crossed my mind that I was expected to contribute anything to community leadership. The school board which had employed me did so because I was their rural mail carrier's daughter, small, pretty, and reputed to be bright. I had been hired as teachers for the rural schools had been hired for a century. Just as Fuller describes the hiring process in the South, Prairie Hill school was controlled by the farmers in the district. They were competent people, but hardly educational professionals.[19] They liked me because I read a lot, had won the high school oratorical contest, had my chalk pictures on display in the local general store, and had placed third in the state spelling bee. They didn't inquire about my teaching philosophy or ask how I intended to keep order. Teaching methods? Women were teachers. What other method existed?

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[19] Fuller, "The Teacher in the Country School," 99.

My contribution to the community was confined to arranging the school house for the monthly parent and neighbor meeting. Twice during the year, at the request of the school board president, the children contributed to the programs. They presented a very dramatic version of "A Visit from St. Nicholas" at the district Christmas party, in which our jolly St. Nick (an over-plump seventh grader named Elmer) came crashing down from his step ladder chimney as his faithful deer (two thoroughly intimidated fifth graders) dashed for safety. You could hardly do anything wrong at a country school Christmas party. Elmer bounced back with a hearty "Ho, Ho, Ho." Everyone cheered and the play proceeded. While all the meetings were primarily social, county fair expenses, district and county elections, and school business such as new library books appeared on the agenda.

The farmers and farmers' wives in the district were warm and friendly. Like many other country teachers, I was talked "to" almost as much as I was talked "about." I spent many a sociable hour in their homes involved in discussions of everything from current fashions and pickle recipes to the price of hog feed and politics.[20]

Conclusion

During my tenure at Prairie Hill School, little of Mabel Carney's inspiration for making the school a community center, and none of the farmer's former dissatisfaction with their children's education which had been displayed in the founding of the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, were evident.

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[20] Carroll Atkinson and Eugene T. Maleska, *The Story of Education* (New York: Bantam Books, 1962), 385.

Twentieth century critics of one-room school education may deny their effectiveness, but the children, comfortable in a non-threatening familiar environment, were often inspired and encouraged toward the first stirrings of ambition and intellectual achievement. If the teachers, like myself, lacked learning much beyond that of their students, they still brought an element of socialization to the country school children which was needed and desirable.

Rural school boards sought out teachers who were affordable and met their community standards. If the teachers' methods were not progressive, they transmitted the prevailing culture.[21] The children moved from the rural school to gratify their parents' expectations, which might or might not coincide with the educator's ideal. These were conservative people. They expected the teacher to maintain order and teach the traditional curriculum. The young teacher was not there to change the family's expectations for the children or to alter the community mores, she was there as a member of their community. The current literature on country schools assures me that my experience was not different than that of most country teachers.

The country school has almost vanished. We have paid the price in community as we have adopted the reformers' policies for the professionalism of rural education.

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[21] Fuller, "The Teacher in the Country School," 107.

Providing Excellence in Intercollegiate Athletics as a Preamble to Quality in Academic Program and Research

Joel Ray Nielsen
William H. Young
Northern Illinois University

For the past one hundred years intercollegiate athletics has served American colleges and universities in a variety of capacities. While being declared as an auxiliary enterprise in most institutions, it has been argued that intercollegiate athletics is an important component in the social education of all students. This social education fulfills one of the major areas of a higher education experience for the student. Today, intercollegiate athletics is also considered to be an integral component of the marketing mix in development strategies, affecting the outcome of quality ratings and rankings, and playing a major part within the political fabric of the organization dealing with constituents as well as external forces. Through these provisions intercollegiate athletics directly influences the institution's mission and direction.

Prominence in sports has oftentimes been equated in the minds of individuals with academic reputation and prestige. Garvin writes that prestige (a reputation for excellence) is more important than actual institutional quality in the definition of the market to which an organization can appeal.[1] In an attempt to better understand the character of American colleges and universities, one must look beyond the regimented scholastic traditions and determine the importance and focus of intercollegiate athletics within the mission of the organization. The relationship, justified or unjustified, provides the foundation and direction of this writing.

Our interest in this topic began when reviewing the required textbooks for many history of higher education graduate courses offered through colleges and universities. Often times, the *American College and University: A History* by Rudolph appears in the listing. Among the chapter headings such as The "Colonial College," "Financing Colleges," and "The Education of Women," and before the chapters of "Academic Man" and "The Organized Institution," lies a chapter entitled "The Rise of Football." This chapter is devoted to the effects that one particular sport had upon the development of American higher educational institutions. Sports have often been viewed as an important component in education; however, this point was truly emphasized when Rudolph identified the need to devote one of twenty-one chapters solely to this historical topic.[2]

The University of Chicago began formalized classroom instruction and football practice on the same day in 1892. President William Rainey Harper accepted a challenge to develop the ideal university. An important component in the organization of his mission was the need for money and prestige. His plan for gaining prestige included using the drawing card of sport. A successful sports program would lend evidence toward the University of

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[1] D. Garvin, *The Economics of University Behavior* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 37.

[2] F. Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Random House, 1968).

Chicago's ability to compete, academically and athletically, with the powerful schools of the Northeast. By luring to Chicago former Yale colleague Amos Alonzo Stagg, Harper brought with him one of the premier football coaches of the era and went a long way toward his objective of providing symbolic representation of institutional quality. Sport provided Harper the means of acquiring the resources necessary for institutional survival and growth. From this day forward, sport would play a significant role in the recruitment of superior students and financial supporters. By 1900, Chicago, along with Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and California (Berkeley), accounted for 55 percent of all earned American doctorates.[3] All of these institutions had placed considerable emphasis on their sport programs.

Dr. John Swain, an administrator at Indiana University, was hired in 1902 as president of Swarthmore College. He assumed a college which based its revenue on the students, and due to immense competition for the most successful student, Swain pursued strategies to make the college more attractive. He looked to develop and strengthen the idea of "life for fun" in the Quaker-based institution. The most significant directive within this concept was the implementation of major college football. Swarthmore provided one of the first examples of the marriage between the traditional college ideal and major college football for the sake of institutional recognition and survival.[4]

While the crux of land grant university philosophy referred to, ". . . making education available to all of the people of the state, where the borders of the institution lie at the borders of the state, . . ." it was quickly recognized that the most identifiable item or tool of the University of Wisconsin was not its outstanding academic reputation, but the football team's fight song ("On Wisconsin"). Intercollegiate athletics was viewed as the one positive link with alumni and state inhabitants during both periods of prosperity and hardship. It allowed the establishment of statewide friendships, while providing a buffer to public sentiment. Many saw athletics as providing an alternate focus for university personnel; away from the ongoing internal, interdepartmental, and faculty situations of the era.[5]

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[3] D. Chu, *The Character of American Higher Education and Intercollegiate Sport* (Albany: State University of New York press, 1989), 26.

[4] B. Clark, *The Distinctive College: Antioch, Reed and Swarthmore* (Chicago: Aldine, 1970).

It became increasingly apparent that intercollegiate athletics provided a tangible indicator of institutional worth. As Veysey notes, to build a major university certain structures were necessary—a board of trustees, faculty of various rank, a president, departments organized by discipline, department heads, and an athletic stadium.[6]

The importance of athletics was also seen at Southern Methodist University in Dallas, Texas. Hiram Abiff Boaz, SMU's second president, stated in 1920, "The spiritual atmosphere on the campus had been greatly improved, and since the faculty was doing most excellent work in the classroom it seemed to me that we ought to lay some emphasis on securing a winning football team." This philosophy became apparent when the university built Ownby Stadium (in promotion of the football program) thirteen years prior to building the institution's first library.[7]

What is the relationship between former athletic excellence and the emergence of the modern research institution? It appears that a deliberate attempt has been made to use intercollegiate athletics as a vehicle to create an atmosphere where academic excellence may follow. Findings in recent literature echo this significant bond.

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[5] J. Beasley, "The State Politics of Intercollegiate Athletics," ed. G. Hanford, "The Need for a National Study of Intercollegiate Athletics. A report to the American Council on Education" (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1974), 90.

[6] L. Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), 340.

[7] D. Whitford, *A Payroll to Meet* (New York: McMillan, 1989), 75.

The University of Notre Dame is currently celebrating its 150th anniversary. With this recognized milestone, many articles are currently being produced. Recently, the *Chicago Sun Times* featured such an article. Immediately following the lead headline announcing the anniversary itself, the sub-headline read, "Old Notre Dame takes pride in academics, too."[8] This statement allows the reader to assume that another area of the institution may lay claim to the association which is responsible for the recognition, reputation, and prestige of the university.

Evidence dictates that the University of Notre Dame has made a concerted effort in its existence to capitalize on athletic successes to promote educational excellence. "Notre Dame without a comprehensive athletic program would seem to be almost a contradiction in terms. Without athletics, the university would not be the same as we have known it. The camaraderie of the various teams, not just football, contributes to the famed Notre Dame spirit," states its own university-produced publication.[9] Also, the development of a Catholic identification becomes a rallying point for creating what is viewed as the largest contingent of "subway alumni" in the nation—those people who take great pride and ownership in the university and its function while not having any detectable association through attending the university.

Notre Dame created and strengthened its graduate school during the years that famed coach Frank Leahy was concurrently stringing together national championship football teams. The reflection was seen academically as enrollments and professionals leaving with graduate degrees significantly increased.

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[8] R. Flaherty, "Cheer, Cheer for 150 Years," *The Chicago Sun-Times*, 6 Oct. 1991.

[9] Chronicle of Higher Education. "Large Expenses for Sports Programs Lead More Colleges to Seek Funds from Donors." 24, 1 (3 March, 1982): 5.

Institutions such as the University of Akron have sought to become first-rank institutions through National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Division I-A membership. As President William Muse asserts, the hiring of former Notre Dame head football coach Gerry Faust has increased public exposure for the university. Such exposure is thought to improve student as well as faculty recruitment, enhance alumni donations, and increase student pride.[10] Similarly, the State University of New York-Buffalo has sought to enhance its reputation with a gradual upgrading of its competitive stature to the Division I-A level.[11] Recently, for the University of Akron and the State University of New York-Buffalo, enhanced institutional standing requires athletic competition at the highest levels.

Recently when Stanford University was considering eliminating a portion of its twenty-six athletic programs due to financial constraints, university officials undertook various compromises in order to maintain the current offering. Their reasoning was based on the ideology that the programs must remain available to remain competitive in the nationwide recruitment of the finest students to their institution.

In a public university's desire to further advance the mission and direction of the institution, allocation of funding from legislative sources becomes a primary focus. Examination of the significance that successful programs have in relation to institutional funding continues to be discussed nationwide. Various examples exist in this area.

In 1870, the Massachusetts Agricultural College's baseball victory over Harvard prompted a contemporary commentator to submit that it "marked the agricultural school as a real college." The chronicler of the incident noted that soon thereafter the legislature increased its appropriations accordingly. A reader of the history cannot escape the impression that the Legislature's liberality was the result of the athletic accomplishment.[12]

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[10] D. Lederman, "On the Trail of 'Visibility' Added Income. University of Akron's Moving Up to Big-Time Sports," Chronicle of Higher Education 33, 7 15 October, 1986: 45.

[11] Chronicle of Higher Education. "In Brief: Go-Ahead to Upgrade Sports Given to State University of New York-Buffalo." 33 (22) February 11, 1987: 36.

Also, the Maryland State legislature was contemplating narrowing the University of Maryland's discretion in fiscal matters due in part to the mediocrity of the football program. Much of the University's autonomy in these affairs had been acquired two decades ago when the institution was a national football power. That may very well have been the case. One is left with the impression that the concern of the legislature was motivated by winless football at the University. Institutional control of federal dollars was placed under intense scrutiny surrounding this particular situation, so much as to prompt legislative action.[13]

In a special meeting called before the West Virginia University Board of Governors, M.M. Neely, then governor of West Virginia, stated that a change in the presidency at West Virginia University needed to be made, to put an emphasis on the mediocrity of the athletic program and lack of national recognition. He felt this mediocre direction in the athletic program contributed to the university's unattractiveness to the students in the state of West Virginia.[14] Intercollegiate athletics have probably never received such grandiose support as in Neely's speech:

> Duty, judgment, and conscience jointly warned me with trumpet voice that temporizing should end at once and reform should begin without delay. If you desire that the University may be lifted high above the Dead Sea level of inferiority in which visionless greed has long kept it, and that you join me in this

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[12] J. Beasley, "The State Politics of Intercollegiate Athletics," 91.

[13] J. Beasley, "The State Politics of Intercollegiate Athletics," 90.

[14] J. Beasley, "The State Politics of Intercollegiate Athletics," 91.

> important fight for reform, and help render an inestimable service to all the average men and women of the state.[15]

As the examples in the writing have thus far noted, intercollegiate athletics have played a significant role in the higher education setting. The association between successful athletic programs and excellence in acquiring the finest students to campus need further examination.

Goode defines prestige as "the esteem, respect or approval that is granted by an individual or a collectivity for performances or qualities they consider above average."[16] It is paramount that an institution takes guard over the quality of its perceived image. A reputation for integrity and morality are vital, however the effects of a winner in athletics may be perceived very highly by those people the institution contacts. Prestige and reputation may very well attract a larger pool of prospective students to the university. This additional number of applicants allows the admissions officials to select the finest students for possible entrance to the university.

In Chu and Solomon's study, application rates at NCAA institutions which had won conference championships were compared to those institutions that had not won conference titles in either football or basketball. Findings revealed that significant differences existed in the number of freshman applications (1981-1985) between championship and non-championship schools. Depending on the conference studied, the average increase in new freshman applications for this period was at least doubled for conference champions. For example, whereas Big Ten Conference schools that did not win a conference championships in either football or basketball saw an average increase of 376 applications for each year in the period 1981 through 1985, schools having won a championship in either sport saw their applications rise an average of 730. These findings remain very suggestive.[17]

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[15] J. Douglas Machesney, "The Evolution of Statewide Governance of Higher Education in West Virginia" (Ph.D. diss., West Virginia University Archives, 1971).

[16] W. Goode, *The Celebration of Heroes* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 3.

For most institutions, athletics serves as vivid evidence of the willingness and ability of the school to develop excellence in an identifiable field. This may lead to a psychological effect being placed upon the students in a variety of ways. Oftentimes, athletics provides a model for success, which when viewed individually, may affect the molding of individuals' values, personalities, and self concepts toward the qualities and benefits rendered by the university. This concept is nurtured by universities such as Notre Dame and Stanford.

Athletic success appears to be a means for an institution to acquire "status." It may even be used as a vehicle to create an atmosphere among the public at large about the overall quality of the institution and its graduates.

In today's higher education climate, the scarcity of funds is rapidly increasing. Intercollegiate athletics, although commonly a financial drain upon the fiscal component of the university, may promote the overall survivability of the institution because of the fact that sport has become an integral part of the image, reputation, and prestige associated with higher education.

Throughout history, private institutions of higher education have successfully developed their athletic programs into national prominence. The prominence or prestige is then used to cultivate and solicit the most distinguished faculty to campus, which in turn, attracts the most gifted students. Also, this prestige allows the university to gain enormous endowments to provide financial stability. Once these areas have been successfully addressed, a large number of private institutions have tended to de-emphasize or possibly abandon their athletic programs.

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[17] Donald Chu and Sheldon Solomon, "The Relationship Between Sport Performance and College Application Rates: Pilot Study" (Paper presented at the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport Annual Meeting, Las Vegas, 30 October 1986).

A study conducted by Springer, examined the make-up of senior colleges that have discontinued football. A total of 151 colleges were identified as either discontinuing their programs or de-emphasizing by reducing funding and classification. Of this group, a strikingly small number (ten) were public supported institutions.[18]

There were a variety of reasons for the small number of public institutions on the list (five of the ten have since reinstated football). Among the reasons offered was the fact that state legislators are freer with taxpayer money than private donors are with theirs, and the fact that there are few state schools with huge financial deficits in football. However, the reason encountered most in the survey was that the tuition component of athletic scholarships were waived by almost every state (all but two in the study). Thus, since the primary reason for the discontinuance of football was the financial constraints on the university, a tuition waiver prevented discontinuation in part because it made the cost at publicly supported colleges look considerably less than it does at private ones.[19]

Public higher educational institutions that achieve intercollegiate athletic success seem to maintain the level of athletic prominence for the continuance of academic reputation. This is in evidence since, until very recently, benefactors did not give significant endowments to public higher education. It will be interesting to follow the emphasis, positive or negative, placed upon the intercollegiate athletic programs once public higher educational institutions saturate their financial coffers.

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[18] F. Springer, "The Experience of Senior Colleges That Discontinued Football," ed. G. Hanford, "The Need for a National Study of Intercollegiate Athletics. A Report to the American Council on Education" (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1974), 392.

[19] Ibid., 419.

University leadership, although not possessing the power and influence it once retained, must distinguish the relationship between their particular institutional mission and the role of the intercollegiate athletic program. While curriculum and instruction is the driving force of any higher educational institution, it remains almost unnoticed in the perception of society. Leadership must recognize the visibility and symbolic importance inherited by their athletic programs. Once a relationship is identified and agreed upon, proper instruments and vehicles must be put into place to implement such an objective. For, as evidenced through the examples in this writing, intercollegiate athletics has played, and continues to play, a significant role in the development and character of the American higher educational system.

Former President of Yale and Commissioner of Major League Baseball, the late A. Bartlett Giammatti stated, "If education is intended to show us not only how we have gotten here and what we now are but also what we can be, then intercollegiate sport—in some form—perhaps does belong as part of higher education in America."[20]

In response to the findings and examples presented here, further examination into this topic will continue. As shown, in many cases the data will show quality in intercollegiate athletics occurred previous to the rise and reputational index of the institution.

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[20] A. Bartlett Giammatti, *The University and the Public Interest* (New York: Atheneum, 1981), 82.

The Era of Republican Motherhood: A Formative Period in the History of American Women's Education

John L. Rury
DePaul University

The period extending from the American Revolution to the Civil War was one of tremendous change in the lives of American women. Changes in the political structure and a series of gradual shifts in the economy helped to define a new set of female roles. The question of women's education lay at the center of this process. In recent years a new picture of the development of women's education in the United States has emerged from the work of historians, most of them working in the field of women's history. In this essay, I will identify major themes in this gradual but nevertheless dramatic turn of events, drawing on much of the scholarship which has informed our new understanding of women's experience in these years. While other scholars have focused on one factor or another in this process, my purpose is one of demonstrating how the various elements of this large scale transformation may have fit together. This is an exercise in synthetic reasoning and integration, but it can be a potentially critical step in helping to develop a new interpretation of how women's education developed in the United States.

There are certain themes in this process, of course, which now are well known. The Revolutionary War established a new political ideology: Republicanism, or the notion that government ought to be popularly elected. This meant that all males, as potential voters, needed to be trained in citizenship and principles of proper moral conduct. Republicanism, after all, would only work if the electorate were educated for its new duties. And the responsibility for this task fell to the nation's women. Of course, this meant that women themselves must be educated. As Linda Kerber, Mary Beth Norton and other historians have shown, in a sharp break with the prevailing custom of the colonial era, the years immediately following the American Revolution were marked by a veritable clamor for improved women's education.[1]

There are other dimensions of the process which are less well known, however. The Revolution and the political turmoil it occasioned served as an opening wedge for the development of schools for women. While women played no formal role in the new Republican political order, they were assigned a very important informal role. They were to serve as the moral guardians of American civilization, and to transmit its essential values from one generation to the next. Mothers were responsible for educating their sons, as well as their daughters, and even for helping maintain the moral integrity of their husbands. This meant that women too had to cultivate their minds. A generation of reformers in women's education agitated throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, criticizing the underdeveloped state of female schooling and defining new roles for educated women. During this period there also appeared the nation's first generation of women authors. Writing for a largely female audience, these women helped establish an idealized domestic role for middle class white women which excluded them from most commercial enterprise. The principal social role educated women were allowed, and encouraged, to assume outside of the home was an extension of their domestic duties: as teachers, particularly of small children. With few notable exceptions, women's new roles were restricted to those associated with their highly regarded moral and nurturing capacities.

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[1] The best accounts of the effect of the Revolutionary War upon American women are Linda Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1980) passim, and Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1980); in Norton's study, see Part II in particular.

The period extending from the Revolution to the Civil War, in that case, was marked by a remarkable transformation of the social and economic roles women had played in colonial society. The shift from household production to a more highly commercial and industrial economy was associated with new restrictions in women's economic roles. The ideal of Republican Motherhood held that women should not work, but should reserve their energies for their families. This meant that women could be educated, but only for a narrow range of domestic and nurturing responsibilities. The early nineteenth century witnessed the appearance of the nation's first large class of educated women, but their activities were defined carefully. Nevertheless, this early movement to see women schooled in a manner parallel to men was a foundation upon which other, more radical developments in women's education would begin to take shape.

The Revolution and Women's Education

The transformation of women's education in the United States was associated with a range of larger social and economic forces. Perhaps the most important of these was the general intellectual and political context of the Enlightenment. Representing a new middle class or bourgeois perspective, writers extending from John Locke to Jean Jacque Rousseau challenged the feudal proposition that social position, political rights, or even sensibilities were natural concommitants of birth. Instead, they argued that men (and, by implication, people) were born with equal status and, generally speaking, equal abilities. What distinguished social groups, in this view, was a series of arbitrary social and political conventions which were oppressive and economically backward. Enlightenment writers called for an end to monarchical rule, and celebrated the ideas of universal manhood suffrage and mercantilism.

The Enlightenment aided the promulgation of an ideology of generalized equality, and helped spark revolutions in North America and in France. In the eyes of many, it also discredited the prevailing theories of innate inferiority. In the latter eighteenth century, especially, there was widespread speculation on the intellectual equality of different radical and ethnic groups. John Locke's notion of the infant mind as a "tabula rasa" (or blank slate) and the French writers' theory of "natural rights," whatever the qualifications associated with such concepts, pointed to the conclusion that people everywhere were essentially similar. Given this, it was a short step to the conclusion that women were possessed of the same intellectual capacities as men.[2]

In British North America the American Revolution was the catalyst that popularized Enlightenment ideas of political and social equality. The war was fought over issues of political representation and popular rule, and popular sentiments were enjoined by Thomas Paine and dozens of other pamphleteers assailing the ideas of inherited status and inborn distinctions separating social classes. So great was the ideological turmoil over these questions, that petitions for the abolition of slavery were entertained in state legislatures, along with proposals to extend citizenship to American Indians. Such suggestions were not immediately successful, but reflect the extent to which the Revolutionary epoch was characterized by a new view of human differences.[3] Not least among these was the development of a different manner of thinking about women.

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[2] See the discussion of this in Jane Kendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1984) Ch. 1; Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, ch. 9.

The Revolutionary War was also associated with considerable social and economic upheaval. Thousands of men left their homes to fight for one side or the other, leaving their families—and in many cases their wives—to fend for themselves. As the British and American armies moved across the colonies, families supporting either side were pressed into service or subjected to punitive harassment depending upon the situation of the war and their terms of involvement. These circumstances posed new demands for women. Many were required to manage business and supervise estates in the absence of their husbands. Because the war often involved them directly, colonial women also were forced to develop a political understanding of the major issues in the conflict. Many became "perfect statesmen," in the words of one, and as Abigail Adams, developed their ideas quite independently of their husbands. The result of these factors taken together was a new independence on the part of some American women, and determination to exercise the principles of equality expressed in the Revolutionary ideology. Although little is known about the extent of such sentiment, it probably found it clearest (and fullest) expression in the movement for improved women's education.[4]

In 1791, Mary Wollstonecraft published her influential treatise "Vindication of the Rights of Woman," declaring women to be the intellectual and political equals of men. Though Wollstonecraft was sharply repudiated in England (especially after her untimely death), and certainly did not spark a feminist response in North America, her work was widely influential. It represented a culmination of nearly a century of discussion about social and political equality which had largely excluded women. In the closing decade of the eighteenth century, after the experience of revolutions in North America and on the continent, and at a highpoint of egalitarian sentiments, women were prepared for a change. Many of them wanted to learn about the world, to study history, to discuss politics and religion, and even to become involved in public affairs. "Do not forget the Ladies," Abigail Adams wrote her husband John during his deliberations on the new government for British North America. Of course, John Adams and the other men who framed the United States Constitution excluded women from direct political participation. But the very form of republican political life, popularly elected government, demanded a new social and educational role for women. And that meant that they too needed education.[5]

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[3] See, for instance, Duncan J. MacLead, *Slavery, Race and the American Revolution* (London: Blackwell, 1974).

[4] This is discussed in considerable detail in Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, part II.

The years immediately following the Revolution witnessed the establishment of schools and academies for women throughout the Northern states. The most famous of these was The Philadelphia Female Academy, promoted by Benjamin Franklin and Benjamin Rush. But there were dozens of others as well. What distinguished these schools from the "Dame" schools and vanity schools of the colonial period was their concern with giving women an education fundamentally equivalent to that of young men, short of actual collegiate studies. This meant studying history, literature, and the sciences, as well as reading the Bible and studying moral philosophy. These were serious academic pursuits and were designed to equip young women to serve as "Republican Mothers"—to rear sons ready to participate in the political life of the nation. Women's education became a popular topic of discussion and the subject of a flurry of books, pamphlets, and magazine articles. This was the response of the nation's leaders to Abigail Adams' advice: Women would exercise influence through their domestic ties, from their power of "heart." Viewed in retrospect, it seems a small concession, especially given the important political and social changes associated with the revolutionary period and women's wartime roles. But it did irrevocably establish women's education as a vital dimension of the new social order. This was a reform upon which later generations of women could build their own conception of equal rights.[6]

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[5] Norton, *Liberty's Daughters*, chs. 6, 9; Kendall, *Origins of Modern Feminism*, ch. 2; also see Barbara Berg, *The Remembered Gate: Origins of American Feminism—The Woman and the City, 1800-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978) chapter 1.

Education and Religion

A second major influence on the development of women's education in the years between the Revolution and the Civil War was religion. The nineteenth century was marked by the development of the Second Great Awakening, a religious revival of national scope extending from 1810 to 1840. In part a reaction to the secular humanism of the Enlightenment era, the Second Great Awakening (the First had occurred about a century earlier) was marked by the willingness of evangelical leaders to permit female participation in public exercises. This was an important development, for it encouraged women to practice religion in ways that had not been open to them earlier. While women still could not be ministers, they could proselytize others (particularly other women), to go to church and join the revival. Since public roles for women remained sharply circumscribed, most such activity took place in informal meetings of women. The extent of these activities is difficult to document, but women's historians have suggested that a wide network of female correspondence bound women together in this period. The Awakening gave women reason to anguish over one another's salvation, and to urge moral reformation. This in itself probably helped promote greater attention to education, and it almost certainly contributed to a distinctive female culture and feminine identity during this period.[7]

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[6] Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, chs. 7, 8; Kendall, *Origins of Modern Feminism*, ch. 2.

The context of religious revivalism also gave rise to the development of female voluntary associations. Insofar as the Great Awakening urged women to lend a hand in spreading the gospel, women were encouraged to assist the cause in novel ways. In the second and third decades of the century small groups of purposeful women began to appear in communities across the Northeast. Although there was some variation in the class and ethnic composition of these organizations, most were comprised of young, unmarried middle class women from Protestant (generally New England) backgrounds. And the overwhelming majority were quite small, generally counting no more than a few dozen members at any time. The women in these associations devoted themselves to any number of causes related to the spread of Protestant influence and humanitarian improvement. In many cases their activities revolved around raising money to support one or another cause; missionary work, collegiate training for local ministerial candidates, the education of local poor children and similar objects occupied their attention. In addition they also conducted self-improvement exercises among themselves, reading and discussing literary works, entertaining speakers, and occasionally even sponsoring (or co-sponsoring) public exhibitions. The effect of all this was to give young women access to public affairs in a manner never before possible. They could develop critical organizational and public speaking skills to an extent unimagined by earlier generations of women. Many of these groups maintained small libraries, and encouraged members to read widely and to follow the latest trends in literature and criticism. They helped to define a female culture of learning that extended beyond formal schooling and into the everyday lives of young, single women. This was a variety of female education, moreover, that women themselves controlled. The activities of these groups formed the basis upon which a century of female voluntary reform agitation was established.[8]

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[7] Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion, 1800-1860" in Mary Hartman and Lois W. Banner, eds., *Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974) 137-57; Mary Ryan, *Womanhood In America* (New York: Watts, 1983) 125-30; Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family In America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), ch. 13; Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" In New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 132-35.

The Second Great Awakening, in that case, had a big, although indirect, effect upon women's education. By encouraging women to participate actively in religious and humanistic reform affairs, the revival opened a new world to them. These activities, of course, made a proper education all the more imperative for young women. And it is possible, on the other hand, that the Awakening itself was in part a consequence of women searching for a way to employ their knowledge and abilities. Whatever its causes, however, the religious enthusiasm that swept the country in the opening decades of the nineteenth century helped to dramatically alter the lives of women—widening both their field of activity and their education.[9]

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[8] See the discussion of these societies in Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), ch. 3.

[9] The best brief overview of this is provided in Kendall, *Origins of Modern Feminism*, ch. 3.

Women and Educational Reform

A third influence on the development of women's education in this period was the appearance of a generalized reform movement focusing upon the issue of universal education. Although related to the Great Awakening and the reform impulse it initiated, the educational reform movement was more broadly secular and humanitarian in orientation. In regard to women's education, the impact of this reform movement preceded the clamor for improved schooling associated with the Common School Movement. But the impulse behind the effort to improve women's education was similar to the spirit that informed the Common School campaign. In both instances the aim was to make schooling more rigorous and effective, to increase its moral value, and to professionalize the teaching corps. In both cases education was seen as the keystone to a host of other reforms. And in each instance improved schooling was deemed vital to the continued health of the Republic. In many respects the campaign to establish a better education for women, however small, was a precursor to the educational enthusiasm which swept the country in the 1840's and fifties. Indeed, without a movement to see women better educated, it is doubtful that the Common School agitation would have been as successful as it was.[10]

The nineteenth century movement for improved women's education is usually dated from 1821 and the establishment of Emma Willards' Troy Female Seminary in Troy, New York. The equivalent of a male academy, which was a widely popular institution of secondary schooling, Willard's Troy Seminary was distinctive on several counts. First, because of its relatively generous initial endowment, the Troy Female Seminary could charge low tuition rates, permitting young women from middle and even lower class backgrounds to attend. Secondly, Emma Willard's academy had a purpose: training Republican mothers and, most especially, teachers. This attached a new vocational end to women's education that simultaneously gave it moral purpose and a measure of financial return, however meager. Finally, the Troy Female Seminary was managed and staffed by women. This was a distinguishing feature of the schools established by women educational reformers in this period. Catharine Beecher and Mary Lyon also became well known women educators after establishing schools in the 1820's and thirties. At the same time that these women sought to make female education serve their existing social roles more perfectly, they also sought to establish new roles for women in the changing social and political order. By no means radicals, women educators in this period aimed both to preserve the existing social and political order while they augmented the power of women. In establishing her academy In Troy, Emma Willard marked a trail that many others would follow.[11]

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[10] The best general account of popular school reform in this period is Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society. 1790-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983); also see Lawrence Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1775-1876* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980).

The 1830's and forties witnessed the establishment of dozens of other women's academies in the Northeast. To a large extent this movement was part of a general wave of school foundings which has led to this period being described as the "Age of the Academy." But the women's schools were distinctive in their mission to prepare female students for new tasks. The most important of these was homemaking. Catharine Beecher, probably the best known female educator of her age, established her reputation with the publication in 1843 of her *Treatise on Domestic Economy*, which demonstrated how middle class households could be most effectively run. In Beecher's view, and those of other women educators, a woman's most essential purpose was to serve her husband and children. By keeping a clean, warm house, preparing the best possible meals, and carefully monitoring their health, she believed that mothers guaranteed the physical well-being of American families. Furthermore, by keeping a busy schedule, maintaining frugality in their everyday accounts, and efficiently organizing their activities, American mothers taught their families (particularly their sons) important values. Through their own management of household affairs, women could transmit a sound sense of discipline, a calculated penuriousness, and a deeply rooted respect for order and authority to their children. Of course, if they were adequately educated as well, women could also teach their children how to read, to appreciate history and literature, and perhaps even to master the account book. Catharine Beecher and her associates promoted women's education because they believed it to be a foundation stone upon which future generations of middle class Americans would be built. More than a decade prior to the success of the common school campaign, women reformers conceived of education as a critical element in the continued health of American civilization.[12]

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[11] Emma Willard's career, and the role of women educators at this time, is described in Anne Firor Scott, "What, Then, Is the American: This New Woman?" *Journal of American History* 65 (December 1978): 679-703.

The other purpose of women's academies, of course, was to train women to become teachers. Again, Catharine Beecher was a leading advocate of women becoming teachers. This was in no way inconsistent with the idea that women were to serve primarily as wives and mothers. Teaching was a task for young women in the years before they married. And it was a vocation that, in the eyes of female reformers in this period, called for essentially the same qualities as motherhood: a nurturing instinct toward children (especially younger ones), efficiency in organization, and the ability to maintain order. Teaching itself, in that case, became a part of the preparation to be an effective mother for many middle-class (and even lower class) women. A period of duty in a district school or two was often taken as evidence that a young single woman knew how to manage children and (by implication) household affairs quite capably. In this regard teaching, and the variable period of formal education that necessarily preceded it, may have supplanted the colonial domestic apprenticeship as a rite of passage for certain groups of women in the nineteenth century. The growth of the female teaching force will be considered in detail in another section below, but by the 1850's most middle class women in Massachusetts probably had worked for some period of their lives as teachers. This was, no doubt, partly a result of the reform campaigns then changing public education. But the movement of women into the teaching force in large numbers signaled an important change in female social roles. For the first time in American history women were given responsibility for an occupation outside the home which called for them to use formal education.[13]

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[12] Katherine Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), passim.

The employment of women as teachers, of course, required the new vision of domesticity shaping women's lives resulted in near-universal female literacy (at least in Northern states) and encouraged academic achievement—within certain limits—for women. One reflection of this was the proliferation of academies run by women in this period. Another was the rising levels of female literacy recorded in the Federal censuses by mid-century. The meaning of these statistics is hard to determine, but high levels of female literacy, reaching parity with male literacy in the Northeast by 1850, was probably associated with generally universal female participation in popular education. This meant that across the Middle Atlantic and New England states between the Revolution and the second or third decade of the nineteenth century women began to attend the district and town "common" school in large numbers. Indeed, most educational historians agree that by mid-century girls were attending school at the primary (or pre-secondary) levels in numbers generally the same as boys, and as David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot have pointed out, the vast majority of them in coeducational settings.[14]

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[13] There is a growing literature on the development of teaching as a profession for women in the nineteenth century. See Geraldine Joncich Clifford, "Man/Woman/Teacher: Gender, Family and Career in American Educational History" in Donald Warren, ed., *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work* (New York: Macmillan and AERA, 1989), 293-343; also see Richard Bernard and Maris Vinovskis, "The Female School Teacher in Ante-Bellum Massachusetts," *Journal of Social History* 10 (March 1977): 332-45.

This was another important change from the colonial pattern of women's education. Whereas girls were excluded from schooling virtually altogether during much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, by 1850 they attended primary schools at about the same rate as males. This was a revolutionary development, and underlay the rise of the female academies at this time. Yet it was accomplished without much controversy or fanfare. Because women were assigned a critical educational role in the home in the new republican social and political order, most people (and particularly most men) apparently believed that their education was a virtue rather than a potential threat. As long as women's education was restricted to the district or common school, and perhaps in some cases to an academy, it was seen as complementary to their domestic roles. The common school, after all, was not a college, and did not generally prepare young people for roles of real leadership in society.[15]

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[14] David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Learning Together: A History of Coeducation in American Public Schools* (New Haven: Yale University Press), chs. 1, 2.

[15] Ibid., ch. 3; Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, chs. 4, 5.

Informal Education

In this period women's education also took place outside of the schoolroom. Continuing a practice widely observed in colonial times, young women continued to contract themselves out as apprentice housekeepers well into the first half of the nineteenth century. But this practice seems to have declined with each succeeding decade. By mid-century it was unusual, as the use of paid servants became ubiquitous and immigrant women flooded the domestic labor market. Domestic work gradually ceased to be a matter of women's training with lengthy contracts and instead became a form of casual labor, with women switching employers according to the changing circumstances of their lives.[16]

The function of the domestic contract or apprenticeship, however, was fulfilled in part by a new manner of preparing women for their roles as wives and mothers. Between 1820 and 1860 a large number of women writers appeared on the American scene, publishing novels, short stories, and essays in a variety of forums. These "scribbling women" (to use Nathaniel Hawthorne's term for them) wrote for a largely female audience and featured domestic themes in their work. They glorified the role of the mother in family life, depicting it invariably as the very pinnacle of female accomplishment and satisfaction. These stories served as counsel, and warnings, to young women who contemplated making a career outside the home: a woman's place was by her hearth and caring for her husband and children. Women who did not heed that advice invariably suffered tragic circumstances until they saw the light.[17]

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[16] On the use of contracts, with educational stipulations, in the colonial period, see John Rury, "Imagining Gender in Educational History: Themes from the Lives of Colonial Women," *Educational Foundations* 2 (Summer 1988): 53-56; on the transformation and development of domestic service in the nineteenth century, see David Katzman, *Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), ch. 2.

Of course women writers also concerned themselves with the technical side of housekeeping as well. In 1843 Catharine Beecher published her household manual, *A Treatise on Domestic Science*, and it immediately became a best seller. Several similar books appeared across the next two decades, as reformers worried that young women were not getting enough training in household responsibilities. The women who read these volumes learned both about technical aspects of good housekeeping, but they also were told that domestic work was a sacred responsibility for all women to fulfill.[18]

Thousands of women read such books in the nineteenth century, and if most did not fulfill their household duties perfectly, at least they had a clear model to which to aspire. Women's magazines also proliferated at this time, the most successful and best known being *Godey's Ladies' Book*, and emphasized the same themes. One historian has referred to the battery of ideas represented in the female literature of this time as a "cult of true Womanhood." As such it was a conservative force, sharply restricting female roles to a domestic norm. But it may also have been essential to preparing women for the carefully defined domestic role most of them would play in nineteenth century society.[19]

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[17] See the excellent and thorough discussion of these women writers and their work in Mary Kelly, *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), passim.

[18] Ibid., ch. 9.

[19] Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151-74.

Towards a Conclusion: Education and Women's Rights

Women's education underwent a dramatic set of changes between the Revolution and Civil War, and helped prepare women for a new set of roles in American society. The Republican ideology of the Revolution held that women had a vital task to perform in the education and political socialization of their children, particularly their sons. With the advent of elected government, all families were to become atomized educational agencies, with women—and their domestic duties—at the center. In order to perform this role, of course, women needed to be educated, and it appears that they enrolled in district and otherwise "common" schools in rising numbers across the early nineteenth century. As regarded this elementary level of education, women were as well schooled as men by the time of the Civil War.[20]

Largely concentrated in the North, the mass literacy afforded by ubiquitous female elementary education became the basis for a distinctive female literature in this period. Women writers succeeded partly because women could—and would—read their work. Similarly, the female academies relied upon the common schools to send them young women who could read, write, and perhaps calculate a little. The growing numbers of female academy graduates, educated, middle class women, became in turn an important source of skilled teachers to staff the schools of the Common School Reform era. No doubt they also contributed much in the way of informal education as well, in church and community groups, their own female societies, and most of all in their own families. The education of women, initiated by the Revolution, was associated with a wide range of changes in women's lives and status. Although still largely restricted to the "Domestic Sphere," nineteenth century women were entitled to a full view of the world and an important role in the transmission of fundamental values.[21]

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[20] Tyack and Hansot, *Learning Together*, chs. 3, 4.

Beyond the conservative domestic character of women's education in this period, there was the issue of feminism. The rise of advanced levels of education for women, and the recognition of their ability to comprehend and act on intellectual matters, provided a window of opportunity through which some women could become involved in reform politics. In the ante-bellum period women became interested in a variety of political issues, but the most important undoubtedly was Abolitionism. It was a short step, after all, from the "natural" female propensity to nurture and care for others to a humanitarian sentiment of support for slaves and free blacks. Women became active in the Abolitionist movement by utilizing their literary skills, composing and circulating petitions against slavery. Hundreds of thousands of names were collected on such documents, most of them women's, before they were submitted to Congress. The Abolitionist movement itself, of course, provided some women with a practical education in political affairs. Although thousands of women became active supporters of Abolitionism, most male Abolitionist leaders refused to allow women to assume leadership roles in the movement. Citing Biblical proscriptions against female political activism, male Abolitionists denied a group of American women admittance to the World Abolitionist Convention in 1845. It was this incident that led eventually to a convention for Women's Rights at Seneca Falls, New York in 1848.[22]

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[21] For discussion of Southern women's lives in the first half of the nineteenth century, see Anne Firor Scott, *The Southern Lady: From Pedestal to Politics, 1830-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), part 1; on differences between women in the North and South, see Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 45-47.

[22] Catherine Clinton, *The Other Civil War: American Women in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1984), chs. 4, 5; for an influential early essay,

There is little direct evidence that the new developments in women's education in the Post-Revolutionary period were associated with the appearance of the nation's first women's rights movement. The general thrust of most women's education in this period, after all, was quite conservative. Catharine Beecher, Mary Lyon, and other respected women educators believed that women belonged in their homes, caring for their husbands and children, and not on a speaker's platform. Beecher even engaged in a lively exchange of letters with Angela Grimke, one of the period's most vociferous women activists, and denounced the principle of female involvement in political affairs. This advice notwithstanding, however, it is also clear that most of the women who occupied roles of leadership in the Abolitionist and Women's Rights movements had benefitted from sound educational experiences. Unlike their counterparts a century earlier, women in the mid 1800's could read and write easily, they could draft pamphlets and manifestos, they could manage organizational affairs, and many were effective public speakers. The development of women's education had helped to prepare a generation of women to challenge the patriarchal oppression that delimited their lives. Without the critical skills, not to mention the historical and social perspective that women gained in schools and academies, justified in conservative terms, the modern Women's Rights movement probably would not have developed as it did in the mid-nineteenth century. And although women's rights remained popular only within a select strata of educated women for much of the next fifty years, it became an educational force itself—contributing to a variety of forces which would continue to transform women's education well into the twentieth century.[23]

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see Gerda Lerner, "The Political Activities of Anti-Slavery Women," in *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 112-28.

[23] For an account of the feud between Grimke and Beecher, and the general difficulties of female activism in the mid nineteenth century, see Gerda Lerner,

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The Grimke Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Woman's Rights and Abolition (New York: Shocken Books, 1967), 184-87 and passim.

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The Scott Twins Go To School, 1903-1911[1]

James M. Wallace
Lewis and Clark College

> "It is perhaps possible to discern . . . some essential elements that might inform attempts to synthesize the history of teaching: a primary focus on the teachers themselves that seeks to explain their motivations and daily work; a combination of a broad demographic view of the teacher population with the cultural constructions of meaning provided by the life histories of the teachers themselves . . . and an attempt to illuminate the neglected center of the teaching process, instruction, probing both constancy and change in ways of teaching."[2]

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[1] This article is something of a challenge to the author's historical objectivity, since he is writing about his mother and her twin sister, Ethel and Edith Scott. Drafts of chapters of a projected book about the twins have been presented at meetings of the International Society for Educational Biography and the Midwest History of Education Society. Another will be given at the meeting of the American Educational Research Association in spring, 1992. The author thanks Mary Guenther, Christine Tau, and Charles Stones for their helpful suggestions on a draft of this article.

[2] David Tyack, "The Future of the Past," in Donald Warren, ed., *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), 410. Various chapters of this book have provided helpful background for this article.

In September, 1903, the Scott Twins, Edith and Ethel, began their formal education at the Pickering School in Wolfeboro, New Hampshire. The youngest children in a family of five girls and one boy, they were not permitted to begin school until they were eight years old, because their parents had let an older sister, Beatrice, start school early, and had decided that the experience had not been good for her. The twins walked the three blocks to school, entered the building, and were directed to a combined first and second grade room. The Pickering School was a venerable three-story structure, constructed in 1820 of old-growth pine, with hand-hewn timbers, hand-doweled together.[3] The school had four teachers, each in charge of two grades, with as many as forty students in a room.[4]

In their old age, neither twin could recall details about the first two grades, but Edith, at the age of 95, wrote that "we loved going for we had been kept home for a year."[5] Both, however, had vivid memories of the next two years. The teacher in grades three and four was Maude Cate, a good friend of the twins' mother. Ethel recalled that Miss Cate "was an excellent teacher." She began each day with Bible lessons, and had students memorize some of the Psalms as well as poems like Longfellow's "Paul Revere's Ride" and "The Village Blacksmith. . . . She also took us on walking trips to the grist mill and the dam and the lumber plant at Wolfeboro Falls

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[3] Ethel Rachel Horne, "Elementary Schools," *Granite State News* (Wolfeboro, NH: 13 November 1964), 4.

[4] Ethel's notes for 13 December 1910 and 5 June 1911 from her 1910-11 diary said that there were about 162 students in the Pickering School, and that her eighth-grade class had 20 students, 10 boys and 10 girls. Ethel's 1910 and 1911 diaries are now missing; however, in her old age, she took 26 pages of notes from the diaries. All diaries, notes, letters, and interviews referred to are in the possession of the author.

[5] The quotation from Edith Scott Tinker was written on an early draft of this article in April 1991.

[about a mile from the school] and we'd study nature as we walked. She told us about rocks and trees and all kinds of plants."[6]

Miss Cate wore ankle-length dresses and high-button shoes and walked slowly, with a bad limp. Edith recalled that "she used to stand on a chair, pull up her skirt and show us that one leg was shorter than the other. . . . People said that she walked like a ship in distress."[7] Miss Cate was concerned about the physical health of her students and had them do calisthenics, standing by their desks and imitating her movements.

After two years with Miss Cate, the twins moved on to a big double room where Alice Given, the daughter of the Baptist minister at Wolfeboro Falls, was the fifth and sixth grade teacher. Ethel described her as "very kind and a very good disciplinarian." The children all sat in pairs in double seats and carried on the usual activities of memorization, recitation, quizzes, and notebook-keeping. Ethel saved occasional examples of her schoolwork. For Thanksgiving of her fifth-grade year she wrote out a program for a presentation put on by the students. On the cover she drew a Pilgrim man carrying a Bible; the program itself lists fourteen activities, including a Thanksgiving proclamation, songs, a recitation on "The First Thanksgiving," and the Doxology.

The twins made little illustrated booklets for other holidays and kept notebooks with quotations such as "good deeds are ever bearing fruits." They learned the rules of punctuation and capitalization (God and the Bible were prominent in the sample sentences), wrote out musical notations for songs, and copied poetry dealing with patriotic and nature themes, love of mother, and other topics.

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[6] From a taped discussion between Ethel Scott Wallace and her husband, Clayton Morey Wallace, during the winter of 1980-1981. Ethel was 84 years old at the time. Unless otherwise noted, material in this article comes from this discussion.

[7] Interview with Edith Scott Tinker and her daughter, Janet Tinker Lewis, 1 May 1991.

When the twins were in the sixth grade, Miss Given took advantage of the election of 1908 to teach some political lessons. Just before the election she required the students to memorize—and quizzed them on—all the presidential candidates, including those of the Prohibitionist, Populist, Independent, and Socialist parties. Students learned the procedures which a local voter would follow in the polling place, as well as the names of local officials who handled the balloting. After Taft's election Ethel wrote in her notebook the following bit of doggerel: "Who are we? Come and see./We elected Billy T./Way from Boston safe and sound./Lodge was glad to see us round./Down with Hibbard, ditto graft./Give us men like Billy Taft."

The students learned the states and capitals of New England, studied formal grammar, answered historical questions ("What Viking with a turned-down collar/Fights trusts and grafts and tainted dollar?" The answer: Theodore Roosevelt). They memorized inspirational poems ("Count that day lost whose low descending sun/Views from thy hand no worthy action done.") and wrote out Whittier's poem, "School Days." They studied American history in detail; Ethel wrote five pages on the battles of the Civil War.

Ethel saved two handwriting books from the fifth and sixth grades. Each page of the books has a small line drawing of a famous person with a quotation and spaces for students to copy the script. Book five included British and American authors (including two women—Louisa May Alcott and George Eliot). Book six featured American presidents and statesmen and ended with this message to pupils:

> By reading the lives of the great men pictured in the copies of this book, you will learn much that will be a help to you in choosing and following out your own vocation. Remember that a good movement handwriting will be of great value to you. James A. Garfield was a good penman and taught a writing-school to help pay his expenses while at college. When you have finished the year's work in this book you should keep it

> for future examination and comparison. When you are old it will be a pleasant reminder to you of your school-days.[8]

Ethel faithfully reproduced the neat handwriting in the books, starting with "A loving heart is the truest wisdom" (Dickens) and ending with a related message: "Let not the foundation of our hope rest upon man's wisdom" (Franklin Pierce).

Ethel kept a diary from 1 January 1909, when the twins were in the sixth grade with Miss Given, through 31 December 1909, when they were in Miss Fox's seventh grade.[9] A few quotations from the diary will give some impressions of what this young girl considered memorable in her schooling. (Her occasionally creative spelling and grammar have been preserved.)

February 2: "Miss Given feruled Edgar Low. It was the first time I ever saw anyone feruled."[10] February 15: "Today we had a Valentine's party at school. Edith and I each got eleven valentines." March 8: "We had an arithmetic test this morning. We staid in at recess to finish ours." March 12: "Today is the last day of school for two weeks. . . . We played managerie. We each had a half a stick of gum. Then we had a slip of paper with a number on it and the name of some animal then we had to make the animal out of the gum. Then we put the animal down on the table and Miss Given put the number on the board and if we guessed the animal we put it on the board." May 28: "We had Memorial Exercises up in Miss Hutchin's room. Miriam, Edith, Dorothy and I sang a two part song. Miss Holt's and Miss Cate's room came up." June 8: "Had three Exams today . . . in Arithmetic, Language, and Geography."

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[8] *The Whitehouse Educational System and Natural Movement Method of Practical Writing*, 5 and 6, Parts Two (New York: Silver Burdett, 1905); the quotation is from Book VI, p. 38).

[9] The diary cover says *Physician's Daily Memorandum for 1908*, but Ethel did not use the diary until 1909.

[10] To "ferule" means to spank, usually with a stick or ruler.

The twins' teacher in the seventh and eighth grades was Miss Alice Fox, who was also the principal. In the seventh grade their report cards showed that they took a sizable array of courses: Reading, Writing, Spelling, Language, Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Physiology, Drawing, and Music. They received separate grades in each subject, as well as for Effort and Deportment. Parents were kept well informed about student progress, since cards were sent home ten times during the year. The back of the card had a printed note from the superintendent, which concluded: "Visit the school, consult the teacher and encourage the child." The twins presented their cards to their parents, and their father, the town doctor, usually signed them.

Miss Fox emphasized neatness and the attractive presentation of material in all subjects. Students made illustrated booklets at the end of each month, and included in them quizzes, spelling lists, Bible quotations, health vocabulary, lists of antonyms, geography terms, grammar exercises, short compositions, and carefully-drawn maps of various countries. Students learned to write music on printed staffs, and wrote out the music to "The Flag" and their graduation song (with seven sharps!). They kept notebooks with poetry ("We Hail the Flag"), physiology information, grammatical definitions, and the answers to "Search Questions." They kept two separate notebooks for American History, beginning with the founding of Jamestown and going, in great detail, through the Mexican War.

Ethel's diary again give some impressions of school work and activities: September 7: "Today is the first day of school. Miss Alice Fox is our teacher she is awfully nice. There are 23 scholars in our grade and 9 in the eighth." September 28: "Edith and I staid and did our Arith. at school instead of bringing it home." September 29: "Went into the library with Edith and Miriam to hunt up search questions. Clayton, Frank, and Ransom followed us in." [Clayton continued to follow Ethel, and married her in 1921.] October 1: "Had a social down to school. The school was lighted by Jack-o-lanterns.

Frank Cronin was Edith's partner and Ransom was mine." October 27: "The boys have got a track team down to school. They have high jumping, quoit throwing and racing." November 3: "The girls are going to get up a track team. We practice jumping every recess."[11] November 4: "The girls elected their captain. Edith is one and I am the other." November 5: "The class read 'Three Sunday's in a week.' We took parts. Harry H. was my father. Charles was Rob or the boy who was going to marry me. I was Kate. Ralph was Smitherton and Harlan Kelly was Captain Pratt." November 9: "We stay after school almost every night for track."

November 12: "I was looking around in school this afternoon when I should have been studying my Geog. and I was laughing at Frank. Miss Fox asked what I was laughing at and I said Frank and she told me to get a chair and sit beside him. I did." November 16: "We staid after school to practise. All the scholars had to sing alone. Miss Fox told Avis L. that Edith and I sang the best and Ruby Kent next." November 23: "Frank and Herbert came up just before supper to do our examples. They came up again at about seven and staid until 9." December 4: "There was a teachers convention down to school and Miss Fox asked Edith, Miriam, Dorothy, Hazel, Gladys and Myself to wait on the people."

December 6: "Dora and Louisa came down and visited school this afternoon. [Dora was a future sister-in-law; Louisa was an older sister.] We had a Geog. match. Edith was capt. of one side . . . I was on Harry's side." December 17: "School closed for two weeks. Miss Fox gave us each a pink. [A flower.] Miss Fox read 'The Other Wise Man'." December 19: "The school choir sang Christmas songs tonight." December 24: "The Xmas consert was in the church. E and I were in two exercises and sang a duet."

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[11] This is consistent with findings that at this time school sports were usually initiated by students rather than teachers. See David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Learning Together: A History of Coeducation in American Schools* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 193, 336-7.

The twins continued with Miss Fox during their last year at Pickering. In February, 1911 they observed another example of corporal punishment when Miss Fox feruled two boys for throwing things at each other during a singing lesson. She feruled a third boy for hurting a smaller boy and also made him write a note to his mother about the incident.

In June the twins attended a school musical performance, and Ethel wrote: "Miss Fox looked perfectly lovely—if some of the boys had seen her they would act a little better in school." (An interesting assumption—that beauty would somehow tame the savage beasts.) The twins' elementary education ended on 5 June 1911 with a graduation program. "Judge Abbot made the presentation speech. Mamma, Louisa and Beatrice all came. . . . Mr. Moore [the superintendent] gave a dandy talk."[12]

Not surprisingly, Ethel did not write about the standard school routines: memorization, recitation, drill, blackboard work. She recorded mostly special events and activities like tests, plays, games, and teams. But the impression one gets from this diary is that the twins enjoyed school, that they took pride in their academic work, that the teachers were kindly and fair, that corporal punishment was rare (and only inflicted on boys), and that relationships between the sexes were natural and comfortable.

The twins were beginning a process of schooling which would lead them, in 1919, to the two-room South Wolfeboro schoolhouse, where they would teach for two years before marrying and raising families. Although the above material provides background for the twins' own teaching careers, their grammar school experience had an integrity of its own, apart from its role in preparing them for their future work as teachers, wives, and mothers. School, along with family, community, and church, was part of a web of significant, integrated experiences. The twins were living intense, active lives, and from the recorded evidence, not giving much consideration to their long-range futures.

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[12] Ethel's notes from her 1910-1911 diaries.

But, given that, it would not have been surprising if the twins, as the youngest members of an educationally-oriented family, might occasionally have thought about becoming teachers. In 1867, at the age of seventeen, their father had "hired out to teach school on the hill [in Dalton, New Hampshire] at one dollar a day" before continuing his own schooling.[13] Their oldest sister, Margaret, had graduated in 1905 from Plymouth Normal School (where they would study in the summer of 1919) and was teaching in the South Wolfeboro school during part of the time the twins were at Pickering. (The twins even got involved in Margaret's preparations, by making Valentines for her fifteen students in 1909.)[14] Their next-oldest sister, Beatrice, had begun teaching school at the age of sixteen before going to Wellesley College to resume her education. Beatrice also substituted for Maude Cate while the twins were in the eighth grade.[15]

In any case, whether they were already thinking about teaching or not, they were receiving informal preparation for that role. Only eight years elapsed between their graduation from Pickering and their teaching in South Wolfeboro. Those years were spent at Brewster Free Academy and the University of Maine; both institutions reinforced the prevailing assumptions that learning was hard but interesting work, that teaching was generally didactic, and that learning was primarily a process of memorization and recitation.[16]

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[13] Ethel's notes on her father's diary from 27 December 1867.

[14] Ethel's diary for 12 February 1909.

[15] Ethel's notes for 3 January 1911 from her 1911 diary.

[16] See Larry Cuban, *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1890-1980* (New York: Longman's, 1984). The twins' experiences throughout their schooling and teaching demonstrate more constancy than change. Chapters one and three of Cuban provide a context in which to interpret the twins' experiences and those of other young women who became teachers.

When the twins taught in 1919-1921, they inevitably looked back on their own elementary education for methods and models. They knew, both from family and school experiences, that teaching was a respectable, useful, socially-approved, occupation for women. They assumed that schooling should be challenging, orderly, pleasant, varied, and—to the degree possible—non-punitive. Ethel never saw a student feruled until half-way through her sixth-grade year; when she taught in South Wolfeboro there was a cherrywood paddle hanging in her classroom but she never used it.[17] But we must recall that the twins were obedient, agreeable, motivated students from a respected middle-class family. School may have felt like a less benign place for the children of working-class families. (We have no diaries from the boys who were feruled!)

The twins accepted coeducation as a natural, normal part of schooling. Whether coeducation in Wolfeboro was based on financial, social, or ethical considerations—or some combination of these factors—it was accepted, it worked, and it was not challenged.[18] Coeducation presented many opportunities for boys and girls to interact naturally and comfortably, perhaps providing part of the mutual understanding that lay the basis for long-term successful marriages for some of them.[19] But while ostensibly equal classroom treatment was apparently provided to both boys and girls, the twins were familiar with the unequal status of male and female adults in the schools. Throughout their careers as students and teachers they worked within the prevailing pattern of male superintendents and female teachers.[20]

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[17] Telephone interview with John Wiggin, a former student of Ethel's, 30 April 1991.

[18] Tyack and Hansot explore the varied motivations for coeducation in *Learning Together*. Wolfeboro's educational situation was more like that described in chapter three, "Coeducation in Rural Common Schools," than that in chapter four, "Urban Public Schools." Even if there had been a demand for separate schools for boys and girls, it would not have been economically feasible for Wolfeboro to have them.

[19] Both twins had marriages that lasted for over sixty years.

They also learned that school was a place for religious, patriotic, and seasonal celebrations. Students and families expected that teachers would organize such celebrations and invite the community to attend. Religion of a mild Protestant variety was a natural and unchallenged part of school. Both at Pickering and later in South Wolfeboro, school opened with Bible lessons and psalms, and religious references were common in materials and activities.

Patriotism was pervasive in both schools. Students memorized patriotic quotations, wrote essays about the flag, and participated in national celebrations. When the twins were at Pickering, the memory of the Civil War was alive in the minds of many older citizens, and the Spanish-American War had occurred very recently. Veterans of both wars were prominent in patriotic activities in school and community. One expression of patriotism was the effort by teachers to educate students about politics. Miss Given taught about politics during and after the election of 1908, and Ethel would later do so during the election of 1920.[21]

In both settings there was substantial emphasis on neatness and order. Students were expected not only to learn the content of various subjects but to present the results of their learning in an organized, attractive fashion.[22]

Having taken eleven different subjects during some years, the twins shared the common assumption that learning came in discrete packages. Only rarely did a gifted teacher like Maude Cate, through her field trips, make any effort to integrate subjects. One of Ethel's few expressed regrets about her own teaching was that she made little effort to integrate subjects like English and history.[23]

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[20] For an explication of this pattern, see David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), Part II.

[21] Letter from Ethel to Clayton Wallace, 2 November 1920.

[22] The various notebooks and folders had much in common with the portfolios now increasingly used in assessment.

The twins knew that teachers were expected to deal with a range of ages and abilities in their classrooms. Pickering teachers had a more manageable challenge, with only two grades per room, than the twins would later have with four grades each. However, the Pickering teachers had larger classes than the twins later did.

The twins' own grammar school experience was no doubt the most influential factor in shaping their own later—and similar—work as teachers. John Rury has recently written that "innovation in instruction is especially difficult because most teachers mold their behavior on the teachers they themselves have had."[24] Or, to put the issue more positively, as the optimistic twins might have done, they would have shared in Erica Jacobs' recent expression of gratitude to her teachers: "Thanks. When I've plowed my way through school, I will teach as my favorite teachers have taught."[25]

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[23] Ethel said this in the interview noted above. One of her other regrets was that the twins did not get more involved in the activities of the South Wolfeboro community.

[24] "*Transformation*" in Perspective: Lawrence Cremin's *Transformation of the School, History of Education Quarterly*, 31 (Spring, 1991): 74.

[25] Erica Jacobs, "Signals Sent Back," *Teacher Magazine* (November-December, 1991), 55.

Information for Contributors:

The Midwest History of Education Society meets annually in late October or early November. Since the society's inception these meetings have been hosted by Loyola University at its Watertower Campus. Membership in the Society is open to anyone interested in the history of education.

The Vice-President announces calls for papers in late spring. Any paper presented at the annual meeting may be considered for publication in the journal.

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The Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society is devoted to the reflective examination of educational issues and problems from the perspective of diverse disciplines. The Journal strives to encourage communication among scholars of varied disciplines, nationalities, and cultures and it treats the most comprehensive issues and problems confronting education throughout the world.

The Journal has published authors from disciplines ranging from political science to philosophy to marketing to instructional technology to adult and continuing education. Its editorial board consists of a diverse group of professionals who referee articles according to their expertise. The main criteria for acceptance consists in a well articulated argument or point of view concerning an educational issue.

Authors are required to follow *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Papers must be submitted on a disk (3 1/2" or 5 1/4") accompanied by two (2) copies of a print out. Please specify the word processing program you used. Papers not submitted on readable disks will be billed at $15/hour for keyboarding.

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Editor:
Joseph Watras
School of Education
University of Dayton
Dayton, OH 45406-0510

Associate Editors:
Robert C. Hanna
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

David Lewis
University of Dayton

Editorial Board:
Edward E. Gordon
North American Training Institute

Lucy F. Townsend
Northern Illinois University

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Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in HISTORICAL ABSTRACTS and AMERICA: HISTORY AND LIFE.

From the Editor

It is with pride that I assume the editorship of the *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* and acknowledge the support of the dean of the School of Education at the University of Dayton, Dr. Ellis Joseph, in this endeavor. The satisfaction that I feel in producing this journal comes from the high quality of the papers that appear in these pages. They are well written, carefully reasoned, and scholarly. At the same time, I wish to recognize the capable assistance I received from the editorial board and from the associate editors, Robert Hanna and David Lewis, who worked diligently forming address lists, translating computer disks, correcting manuscripts, and proof reading. The University of Dayton Printing and Design set the format of the journal and arranged for the printing. They were pleasant and efficient helpers.

The *Journal* offers an important outlet for mature scholars and for students beginning professional careers. In these pages, as at the annual meeting of the Society, papers of all types appear together each reinforcing the other. The articles in this volume come from the 1992 and 1993 meetings of the Society. These proceedings are combined because unexpected problems in the transition of the editorship prevented the timely publication of the 1992 issue of the *Journal*. In the future, the *Journal* should include the proceedings of that year's meeting and the quality of the papers will remain high.

Joseph Watras, editor
Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society

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The Influence of Educational Policies on the History of a People: Native Americans in Transition

Charles E. Alberti, Ph.D.
Bemidji State University
Bemidji, Minnesota

When the Europeans arrived in the "New World," one of their goals was to educate and Christianize the native "savages" that they encountered. Most of the education that the Native Americans received came at the hands of missionaries. Some statements about the perspective of educating the Indian people during these early years reflect a somewhat demeaning attitude. For example, one report of the day said its "educational policy . . . is based on the well-known inferiority of the great mass of Indians in religion, intelligence, morals, and home life."[1]

In order to better understand the history of Native Americans, there needs to be an interwoven discussion between the chronological oral and written traditions from the periods associated with this group of people and the white settlers.

The chronology of Indian education can, according to Rhonda Lankford and James Riley, be divided into eight periods: 1)Traditional, prior to 1492; 2)Mission, 1492–1897; 3) Treaty, 1776–1871; 4) Allotment, 1885–1934; 5) New Deal, 1930–1950; 6) Termination, 1950–1970; 7) Self-determination, 1970–1980; and 8) Education Today, 1980–present.[2]

The Traditional Period

In the time before the Europeans came to the Americas, the Native Americans taught their children using folklore and legends. This was also their way of passing on the knowledge and behaviors of their society.[3] During the Traditional period, education was a positive force in Native American lives. The purpose of this traditional education was to prepare the child for whatever way of life he or she was to lead. Perhaps more important than the purpose of education was the form of education. The people brought about the unity of tribal life through visual memories and personal dreams, songs and tales. Native people used oral tradition (storytelling). The stories were looked upon as a tool for educational purposes, and in this education explicit content was learned and the rules for behavior and belief were shared. This tradition covered every aspect of life. The children learned that through patience and watching they would acquire the skill perfectly, and then they would try it themselves, but only when it could be done to perfection; it was in this way the children learned the necessary skills to aid them in their everyday lives of survival. Education was more casual, informal, and unstructured than that of the dominant society.[4]

From quoting their oral history, to teaching their children the culture and discipline, to setting appropriate boundaries for behavior within a tribal system, to telling stories just for the pure enjoyment, storytelling was the education of the people. These stories were the people themselves. They were a rational way of explaining the way the people were and about the things around them.

Stories and legends often had highly symbolic meanings and involved intricate relationships. To teach these complex concepts, symbolism, anthropomorphism, animism, and metaphor were extremely effective and sophisticated methods.

This traditional form of education has been handed down from generation to generation and is still the basis for Native American learning styles. However, this positive force was nearly terminated during the ensuing generations because it was not thought to be of merit, because it was different, and just because it was Indian.

Mission Period

During the Mission Period, education was a concern of missionaries representing various religious denominations.[5] These missionaries attempted to transform Indian education. This systematic destruction of Native culture and identity through the educational system has a long history in North America, and the methods of education changed little over time. Assimilation remained the dominant approach used by authorities. The early civil and religious authorities worked on the assumption that the Native people of North America were without religion or that they were pagans or devil worshippers. The missionaries set up rudimentary schools to teach the Indians basic tenants of Christianity, elementary reading and writing, prayers, hymns, and a few trades and agricultural skills. Schooling, however, meant more than just teaching new skills. It was to be a major instrument for the destruction of Native culture and for grooming the Native population for a lower place in society.

Among various educational approaches used by early missionaries were those that attempted to remove Indian children from their families and communities. The purpose of this was to facilitate the assimilation process by separating the children from their cultural roots. Generally, the mission school of this period had little influence in the lives of Indian people. Most of the schools operated briefly and met with little success. Nevertheless, seeds were planted for the future efforts to transform Indian education.[6]

In 1802, Congress passed a bill to provide money to "promote civilization." In 1819, President Monroe received congressional sanction to employ teachers to teach Native Americans agricultural techniques and reading, writing, and arithmetic.[7]

Treaty Period

The traditional Indian education drastically changed when the U.S. government made numerous agreements with sovereign tribal governments. These agreements were inspired by a desire to acquire Indian lands. Education was a function of the Federal Land Policy.[8] Under this policy these things happened: first, the Indian tribes were thought of as separate nations and dealt with by treaties; second, as a separate nation, the internal affairs of an Indian tribe were the responsibility of the tribal authorities and were not to be tampered with by the states; and third, relations between nations were to be handled by the Federal government and not by the state.[9]

The United States citizenry wanted to secure the possession of Indian land and natural resources. The role of the Federal government reflected this desire in its handling of the treaties. The Native Americans wanted the assurance of their survival in the matters of health, welfare, community life and education of their children.

In 1842, the government created the Bureau of Indian Affairs (B.I.A.). Its education policy was an extension of Indian policy in general, i.e., forced assimilation and expropriation of Indian land. The goal was to undermine their culture by uprooting them from their homes and imposing a different educational process.[10]

Under the United States, the role of the religious organizations would be the basis of bringing "civilization" to the Indians, and education for Indians was left largely to the churches until the end of the "treaty period" in 1871. Teaching the rudiments of agriculture was considered part of the "civilization" and "education" process.[11] Denial of certain educational and cultural rights became an acceptable part of government policy. Indian culture and education were totally ignored. Because of this, the conflict between government policy and Indian education only increased.

Allotment Period

By the 1880's, a different view was evolving by the U.S. government, that Indians should be incorporated rapidly into American society, whether they desired it or not. The Dawes Act of 1887 and the Curtis Act of 1898 formally defined the means for achieving this, expanding on earlier directives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs aimed at the complete replacement of Indian cultures. The Dawes Act gave 160 acres to each family head and 80 acres to both single persons over eighteen and orphans under eighteen.[12]

Several events occurred during this period, shedding further light on government policy as it relates to the conflict between school and the Native American community. First, the territories covering North and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington were admitted as states. Second, the allotment act had begun to take effect, transferring millions of acres which had been guaranteed to Indians by treaty into the hands of non-Indian farmers, ranchers, and timber companies.[13] Indian families were separated as they were relocated on allotments, and adults were taught to be farmers while children were sent to day or boarding schools. The establishment of the Carlisle Indian School in 1879 marked a new era in Native American education and began the boarding school tradition.[14] These schools were staffed by non-Indian people who were not expected to encourage Indian children to further their education. Boarding schools had become a way of life for many Indian youth. Two aspects of an Indian boarding school were a military discipline and a climate of deculturalization.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs made a serious attack on the use of Indian languages in schools, and by 1990 the languages were proscribed on entire reservations. This caused a severe social disorganization for the Indian family. Many families resisted the assault of the Federal government on their lives by refusing to send their children to school. Congress responded by authorizing the Secretary of Interior to withhold food or subsistence from those Indian families whose children did not attend.

The boarding school system came under criticism by elements of the government itself, but not until much later. In 1926, the Brookings Institute launched an investigation of Indian Affairs for the Federal government. The educational sections of the report were under the direciton of Lewis Meriam of The University of Chicago. The Meriam Report of 1928 exposed the poor conditions in the boarding schools. The Report found the schools not only to be overcrowded, but also unsanitary; moreover, the children were undernourished, overworked, and severely disciplined. As a result of the Meriam Report, the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was passed, which stated that Indians should not be coerced into discarding their cultural traditions.[15] The passage of this Act might have paved the way for Native Americans to restore the positive influences of early Indian education had it not been for the events that occurrred during the following period.

The New Deal Period

In 1934 the Wheeler-Howard and Johnson-O'Malley Acts were passed by Congress. The Wheeler-Howard Act provided a basis for formalizing tribal self-government under the supervision of the Secretary of the Interior. This Act also clarified the powers of reservation governments. The Johnson-O'Malley Act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to contract with States to provide education, agricultural assistance, medical services, and social welfare services to Indians.

During the 1930's, President Franklin Roosevelt, Secretary Harold Hickes and Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier provided strong leadership in an ambitious effort to shape a "new deal" for American Indians.[16] Under this administration, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act, defining a new type of Indian policy. It aimed to reverse the affects of the Allotment Act and the numerious B.I.A. regulations designed to force cultural assimilation. The provisions of the B.I.A. were far-reaching in their implications regarding the place of Indians as an ethnic group in American society.[17]

John Collier's adminstration also sought to define new goals for the federally administered school system. Day schools on the reservations were emphasized over boarding schools. In both, an effort was made to change the content of teaching so that Indian cultures were dealt with positively rather than ignored. These changes also included the teaching of Indian languages and culture, adult basic education, and training of Indian teachers. These types of changes, however, were not popular with Congress, and there was little change in the schools by 1945, when Collier resigned in frustration.[18]

Termination Period

Cultural termination became the sanctioned policy of the U.S. Congress when, in 1944, a House Select Committee on Indian Affairs offered recommendations for achieving "the final solution to the Indian problem."[19] The Committee felt real progress would be made only when Indian children of elementary school age were again taken from their homes and placed in boarding schools, deeming that the goal of Indian education making the Indian child a better American rather than simply a better Indian. By 1954, ten termination bills were introduced. Fortunately, this period ended in 1958 when Secretary of Interior Fred Seaton announced the end of a formal termination policy. Nevertheless, the fear of termination threatened Native Americans throughout the 1960's.

With the assistance of civil rights activists, Indian educators became increasingly active during the 1960's. They began to recognize the need for unity. The National Indian Education Association was formed in the late 60's, while the Coalition of Indian Controlled Schools organized in

1971. At the same time there were radical groups forming, such as the American Indian Movement in 1972 that took over the B.I.A. headquarters building in Washington, D.C. and villages of Wounded Knee.[20]

Under President Johnson's administration the Economic Opportunity Act was enacted. This gave Indians the opportunity to control their own governments and programs. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 was also enacted.[21] It provided funds for improving the education of disadvantaged children; however, Indian education was still highly vulnerable to outside political pressure. The events of the latter part of this period again revived the potential for Indian control of their education. The Economic Opportunity Act was terminated in the early 1970's, but the spirit in which it had been formulated continued.[22]

Self-Determination Period

During President Nixon's administration, the new policy was to allow Indian people to control their tribal destinies. On July 8, 1970, Nixon announced a new policy whereby "Self-determination among Indian people can and must be encouraged without the threat of eventual termination ... To strengthen the Indian sense of community autonomy without the sense of community ... we must assure the Indian that he can assume control of his own life without being separated involuntarily from the tribal group."[23]

During this period other events were enacted which allowed for better Indian policies: The Indian Education Act which provided Federal funds for Indian Education; job opportunities within the B.I.A. which gave Indian preference; and the B.I.A. "Project Tribe" program, which invited particular tribes to become entirely responsible for their school program and to arrange for an Indian "takeover" on a contractual basis. A set of guidelines was developed for the transfer of Bureau Schools to local Indian boards of education and a national Indian Education Advisory Committee to Bureau Schools was established.[24] For the first time since the time of contact, Indians had direct input in the educational programs of their children. The potential for Indian control of Indian education was never greater.

Education Today

Native American Education is currently in a growth period. This can be seen in the increased programming for Native American people and in increases in Native American content in the curriculum. This growth period is accompanied by the surge within Indian communities to maintain their identities and to make efforts to regain control of their lives. Within the past fifteen years, however, Indian education has made progress. Many Native Americans have become educators, curriculum has been developed, and new research in Indian education has occurred. These changes are the result of concentrated efforts by Indian educators to solve the overwhelming problems of Native American education.

When reviewing the historical foundation of Indian education, one can see how these events have had the effect of diminishing the autonomy that Indians once had in the education of their children. Despite some gains in control of Indian education, it is apparent that the quality of this education is still not what is possible.

Public schools have come a long way in recent years to include curriculum on Indian culture and language. This has been a result of pressure from Indian educators and leaders. However, problems still exist. Some of the major obstacles Indian education is up against today are cultural and value clashes, poverty, curriculum and textbook bias, and lack of Indian teachers and support staff.

The U.S. Department of the Interior's Bureau of Indian Affairs is not the only agency that assists Native Americans. Over the years Native Americans have come to participate in a wide variety of social service programs administered by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Labor, and other agenices, some of which are state funded.[25]

Native Americans today look with great interest upon each Presidential election. History has taught them not to trust what has been, but what will be the policy of the next administration. Will governmental decisions allow them to be a collective whole and rekindle their values and culture, or will the government take steps to overturn the progress Native Americans have made in reclaiming their identity?

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Things Beyond Us: A Freirean Analysis of Jane Addams' Seminary Education

Lucy F. Townsend
Linda O'Neill
Northern Illinois University

Few American women have received the number of accolades that have been bestowed on Jane Addams. The subject of numerous laudatory articles and children's books, she was hailed as a leading American Progressive social reformer and was often compared to Joan of Arc. She was perhaps best known for founding and developing the influential settlement house, Hull House of Chicago, where she and her colleagues worked to liberate immigrants living in the urban ghetto from class-based oppression. They were also instrumental in the passage of both laws limiting the working hours of women and children and other legislation to prevent their exploitation. Addams lectured widely and wrote ten books and some five hundred articles. In 1931, after working for years in the cause of international passivism, she, along with Nicholas Murray Butler, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

Jane Addams slipped into obscurity after her death in 1935, but in recent years she has become the subject of a plethora of scholarly articles and books. While most historians have focused on her career, a few have examined her education at Rockford Female Seminary, Rockford, Illinois, the school from which she received her B.A. in 1882. Generally, they have placed the seminary in the context of the larger nineteenth century female seminary movement characterized as Puritan, domestic, and conservative. Viewed from this perspective, Rockford Seminary was a repressive institution which Addams resisted individually and heroically.[1] More recently scholars have begun to view the rigorous women's institutions, such as Rockford, as moderately enlightened schools where gender inequalities were resisted by women faculty and students.[2] These scholars have focused primarily on group resistance. In the case of the Rockford Seminary, the middle class faculty and students have been viewed as collaborating in a successful struggle against the all-male board of trustees to gain something of the status of their brother institution, Beloit College, eighteen miles away in Beloit, Wisconsin. What is still missing from the Rockford analysis is an adequate conceptualization of the dynamics which fostered group resistance.

In the 1960s, a powerful conceptualization of resistance to oppression was articulated by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. Freire's philosophy of liberatory education has had a profound influence on literacy programs throughout the world and has laid the foundation for what is called critical pedagogy in the United States. This essay explores the seminary women's discovery of their voices, their increasingly radical dialogue, and their engagement in liberatory action. In addition, it examines the role of the seminary ethos in the development of these radicalizing activities.

Finding a Voice

Paulo Freire's philosophy and practice evolved out of his literacy work with impoverished Brazilian adults who had been denied even the most rudimentary education. His experiences between 1948 and 1963 led him to envision the world divided into two categories: subjects and objects. Freire defines subjects as those having power, prestige, and privilege; objects are those who are means to the subjects' ends. For Freire, this uneven distribution of power is intolerable. He believes that the oppressors, corrupted by privilege, cannot free or empower the oppressed. However, the oppressed can and must free both themselves and their oppressors. To begin this transformation, the oppressed must reject the world as interpreted by their oppressors, and "name" it for themselves. For Freire, to "name the world" is to identify contradictions in a given situation which prevent the oppressed from developing autonomy. In this way, the oppressed "unveil" societal structures that prevent their development and attribute their powerlessness and poverty to these structures rather than to their own personal failures. Finding a voice to "name the world" is the first step in developing a critical consciousness capable of sustaining continuous cultural revolution. This revolution is the process by which the oppressed become Subjects, actively engaged in their society's political and historical processes. In Freire's ideal world, no one is reduced to the status of object.[3] In the real world of ninteenth century Rockford Seminary, women were relegated to object status.

Anna Peck Sill founded Rockford Female Seminary in 1849 to provide advanced educational opportunities for women of every social class who, by virtue of their gender, had been denied all but the most rudimentary literacy skills. She never used Freire's terminology of oppression. She did say that only men had been allowed to pursue advanced education and that women had been denied a fundamental right to do the same. Women needed this opportunity, she argued, in order to evangelize and uplift their families, their local communities, and the world.[4] When she arrived in Rockford, she had a diploma from an unprestigious female seminary in frontier New York and little to fall back on should her women's seminary fail. Through her personal and professional contributions she garnered considerable support from the local community.

Hoping to gain long-term financial stability and institutional permanence, she relinquished some of her autonomy by affiliating with a group of Presbyterian-Congregationalist ministers and civic leaders who had recently founded Beloit College in Beloit, Wisconsin. These men formed a board of trustees for Rockford Female Seminary and elected one of their number to serve as president of the board. Although the president of Beloit College also served as president of the Beloit College Board of Trustees, the Rockford trustees did not allow Sill to be a board member or even to attend meetings without an invitation.

Such gender inequalities were not unusual. Women could not vote in local or national elections. They could not hold political office. Married women lacked the legal right to buy and control property, their wages belonged to their husbands, and they were required by law to reside wherever their husbands lived. Women were barred from lucrative occupations and were usually paid around one-half the wages of men. They were not admitted into most institutions of higher learning, and if they acquired any formal instruction it was usually limited to a smattering of reading, writing, and arithmetic. They were censured for speaking in public meetings; it was argued that such activity was masculine and antithetical to woman's nature. Women could sing, recite poetry or play a musical instrument, but they could not take part in debates because they were seen as incapable of expressing original, carefully reasoned arguments.[5]

But do such inequalities indicate oppression? Freire addressed gender inequalities first in the 1970s and more fully in the 1980s. At a retreat in 1979, he said that after the publication of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, he had received a number of letters from feminists all over the world who objected to the exclusion of gender from his analysis. Freire responded, "I wrote this book as a man with the ideology of a man inside of me. Since I received these letters, I think about men and women as human beings."[6] He also stated that gender was not as important an issue as class. By the end of the 1980s, however, issues of gender and race had gained a more prominent place in his philosophy. "If we really want to reinvent society in order for people to be more and more free, more and more creative," he said, "this new society to be created by men and women cannot be racist, cannot be sexist."[7] A society is oppressive when it grants privileges to one group on the basis of gender while denying them to another.

One key privilege granted to the male trustees of Rockford Female Seminary and denied the women was public "voice." In the early years of the seminary, the trustees served as mouthpieces for the seminary women at most major academic occasions. They delivered commencement addresses and spoke in the local and eastern churches on the school's behalf. They even suggested that a trustee deliver the seminary women students' commencement essays, rather than allowing the students to deliver their compositions themselves. This was perhaps the first occasion when the students found their own voices in rebellion against male hegemony, and their threat to boycott the ceremony resulted in their first successful assault on male dominance.[8] By the time Jane Addams entered the seminary in 1877, the students had expanded their vehicles and topics for expression. In the 1850s students had established two literary societies, and in the early 1870s they began to invite the Rockford community to attend their debates. They published several literary magazines, but none of these flourished until the decade of Jane Addams's arrival, when the *Rockford Seminary Magazine* was founded. In this magazine, the students and faculty found an increasingly radical voice. For example, they questioned why seminary women had to perform domestic duties, when Beloit College men had no such chores. They wondered if amiability is a woman's greatest virtue. And they asked why women were not able to vote. While the students glorified the traditional low-paid work of missionary and teacher, they also proudly reported the number of women in the professions of medicine and law.[9]

Addams led student efforts to find even more opportunities to express their opinions publicly. While her efforts to hold a public German colloquy were unsuccessful, she was instrumental in instituting a number of other public performances in which students could express their views. She worked toward the establishment of class day exercises and a book burning celebration, both of which drew large crowds from the Rockford community. As a junior, she represented the seminary in its efforts to join the Illinois Inter-Collegiate Oratorical Association by attending its annual meeting. As a senior, she was editor-and-chief of the *Rockford Seminary Magazine*, publishing 384 pages of copy in one year.

Her essay, "Cassandra," appeared in a new seminary publication, a collection of all the essays of the graduating class of 1881.[10]

That she had found her own voice was perhaps most obvious in Addams's public address to the Rockford community as president of the Class of 1881. This was the first time in the history of the seminary that students had presumed to hold a class exhibition like those held by male college students. In her speech, Addams began by assuring the audience: "We are not restless and anxious for things beyond us." But she went on to say that while in the past women were educated to please men, now they were being educated to develop their own intellectual power and their own capacity to labor in the marketplace. "[Woman] wishes not to be a man," she said, "nor like a man, but she claims the same right to independent thought and action."[11] While Addams reassured her audience that she did not intend to usurp male prerogatives, she also asserted that she would use her voice and her life as she saw fit. A Freirean subtext might read: The oppressed wishes not to be the oppressor nor like the oppressor, but claims the same right to independent action and reflection.

Developing a Dialogue

Another key element of Freire's vision for liberatory education is dialogue. Rather than dispensing prepackaged knowledge, a process Freire calls the "banking method,"[12] the teacher initiates a dialogue with students in which societal problems are posed and examined critically. Dialogue implies co-learners who create new knowledge, as opposed to students who receive pre-collected and pre-interpreted knowledge. "The pleasure of living is not studying the world," he said, "but in creating the world."[13] It is dialogue that makes this creation possible; true dialogue, in turn, requires voice. Thus, voice and dialogue are interdependent. True dialogue requires authentic voices, and these voices are both strengthened and refined by the dialogic process.

Jane Addams, as we have demonstrated, had developed such a voice by the time she gave her "radical" junior exhibition speech in 1881. She did not develop this voice in a vacuum but in an environment which sparked a lively dialogue centered around pressing social, educational, and political issues. The students at Rockford Female Seminary edited and published articles exposing the unjust treatment of Chinese immigrants and the exploitation of hundreds of sewing women. They debated educational issues such as the content of the college curriculum and the role of co-curricular activities in students' social and academic development. Ignoring the popular notion that only males should learn the techniques of debate, they devoted a series of articles to the utility of these techniques. Despite the popular view that politics was a masculine preserve, they discussed the presidential election of 1880 and polled the senior class, asking them whether they supported James Garfield or General Hancock; the reasons for their choices were published in the seminary magazine. They also explored the oppressive political structures of previous centuries and argued that their own century was moving "toward political freedom and equality." They questioned the practice of electing only males to political office and suggested that it would be better to have a strong woman president than a weak man. Catharine Waugh, in her graduation address of 1882, catalogued women's advancements over the century and said that she hoped that women would someday gain the vote.[14]

The setting in which these activities occurred was a frontier society, an ideal context for experimentation. Established at a place where covered wagons crossed the Rock River, the village had quickly expanded into a bustling city. By the 1870s Rockford was emerging as an important industrial center where entrepreneurs were inventing, manufacturing, and shipping products on the Rockford Central Railroad line, which had been laid along the edge of the seminary campus in 1871.[15] At the same time that the community was poised for further growth and innovation, so women's higher education was in its own frontier phase of development. There was no tradition of higher female education on which women's educators could rely.[16] In this time of flux, women had to demonstrate inventive not simply reproductive capacities. Their inventiveness arose out of need since there was no tradition of women's higher education to bolster or constrain them.

Freire identifies such periods of social transition as opportunities for cultures of silence to find their own voices. Those who have been dominated find themselves in the midst of changes so pervasive that their oppressors lose, for a moment, the ability to impose a fixed version of reality on them. At this point, the oppressors also lose their power to silence the oppressed. "Silence is no longer seen as an inalterable given," Freire writes, "but as the result of a reality that can and must be transformed."[17] In Freire's view, when the oppressed begin to speak in their own voices for the first time, they may be forced back into silence by coercion or manipulation. To resist, the oppressed must continue to identify societal problems, redefine them at a fundamental level and develop solutions that require a total restructuring of power relationships. While Freire notes that dialogue depends on an openness to recreating the world, it also requires a supportive environment.

In many ways the Rockford Female Seminary campus was a place where dialogue could occur without reprisals. It was eighteen miles away from the male campus; thus, Jane Addams and her peers could speak radical thoughts without fearing ostracism by male students. Their seminary administrators and faculty were predominantly female, so students were free from the pressure to please male authority figures or censor any remarks remotely offensive to males. Although the "banking" method was used in classroom instruction, there were many opportunities for dialogue outside the classroom. The campus had only two hundred women, fewer than half of whom lived in the dormitories, and they could not leave the campus or receive male visitors without the presence of a chaperone. This environment fostered intimate relationships in which students and faculty could safely express personal feelings and develop the kinds of intense female friendships so characteristic of the Victorian era.[18] Seminary students felt free to explore views that challenged gender power structures. Anna Peck Sill nourished and reinforced this dialogue which expressed the frustration she was unable to convey to the trustees directly. Feeling humiliated by her second-class status, she was furious that the trustees were blocking her efforts to transform the seminary into a college. Refusing to give her credit, the trustees attributed the founding and success of the seminary to the first president of the board.[19]

Yet gender was not the only topic of dialogue. The faculty and students probed issues related to wealth and poverty, the ascendancy of science, social problems in American society, current politics, the ideal collegiate curriculum, and controversial social theories. The one topic which was sacrosanct for Anna Sill and therefore closed to dialogue was Puritanism, the belief system which permeated every aspect of seminary life.

Even Anna Sill lacked sufficient power to stifle all unorthodox dialogue. Some students were from upper middle class backgrounds, and a few, like Jane Addams, had fathers on the board of trustees. In contrast, Sill and many of the teachers were from lower middle class backgrounds. Addams's status, bolstered by her social class and connection to the board of trustees, seemed to have contributed to her confidence in resisting Sill and the other teachers who pressured her to make a commitment to evangelical Christianity. Despite this pressure, Addams kept her own voice, carrying on a sustained but private dialogue about the meaning of Christianity with her close seminary friend, Ellen Gates Starr.[20]

Although the seminary environment fostered spirited dialogue, there is no evidence to suggest that it was as radical a dialogue as that proposed by Paulo Freire. For Freire, dialogue ultimately leads to the dismantling of all dehumanizing structures with their accompanying privileges rooted in class, race, or gender.[21] In contrast, the seminary women had no single vision of the world they wanted to create. Some envisioned an enlightened Christian democracy growing out of the frontier. Others, like Addams, were still casting about for a guiding vision. What the seminary women did have in common was the conviction that their sex needed the intellectual preparation and the power to play a primary, not subordinate, role in creating a better world.

Praxis

For Paulo Freire critical and liberating dialogue presupposes action. He believes that a dialectic develops as the oppressed begin in dialogue to reflect upon the ways in which societal structures determine their conditions. These reflections lead to efforts to dismantle dehumanizing structures in order to re-create society. Freire calls this process "praxis." It is the continuous dialectic of action and reflection upon the world for the purpose of transforming it, and it comprises a third element in his vision of liberatory education.

In a similar fashion, the seminary women strove to move beyond dialogue to dismantle the structures which dehumanized them. The central obstacle for them was the belief that women were incapable of reflection and were expected to consume without question the prepackaged knowledge produced by males.[22] Women were warned that if they presumed to attempt intellectual challenges beyond their capacities, they would endanger their health, lose their attractiveness to men, and risk becoming barren. Rather, they were supposed to preserve their energies for reproductive and nurturing tasks. The seminary women were supposed to use what they learned to enhance their performance as supporters of the very structures which dehumanized them.[23] They did do two things to transform the institutional structures based on these questionable presuppositions.

First, they sought to achieve in academic subject areas believed to be too challenging for their limited powers. This vision was inspired by Anna Sill. Although she instituted courses of study designed to appeal to the less ambitious, she was careful to offer more demanding programs generally believed to be far too rigorous for the female mind. To master this rigorous curriculum was a political act. Jane Addams was energized by the opportunity to challenge the conventional wisdom and flaunt the intellectual achievement she was presumed to be incapable of. She had not been a brilliant student in her hometown school, but at Rockford she soon came into her own. See scored 9.9 in Cicero and 9.9 in Tacitus. In four Greek courses, she averaged 9.6. She sailed through university algebra (10.0), trigonometry (9.9), solid geometry (9.8), and sperical trigonometry (9.9). She also made outstanding grades in the courses considered less rigorous: with an average of 9.931 out of 10, she graduated valedictorian of her class.[24]

Second, Sill, faculty, and the students joined forces to convince the community and the trustees that they had evolved beyond seminary status into an institution worthy of legal recognition as a college. Jane Addams also played a key role in this endeavor. Three months before she matriculated, the trustees had voted down the possibility of changing the name of the institution to Rockford College. They explained that its course of study did not contain enough ancient languages and higher mathematics to warrant the change. New courses were added to the the curriculum while Addams was a student. Furthermore, Sill formed a coalition of students and faculty to combat any other delaying tactics the board might use. They built community support by orchestrating highly visible seminary celebrations matching the traditions of their male college counterparts.

What did Jane Addams gain from this process? In 1881, the trustees decided that if a few minor changes were made in the seminary curriculum, they would award bachelor's degrees the following spring. Thus, on June 21, 1882, Addams stood among the first group of seminary students to receive their college degrees.[25] In her hands she held a credential that represented intellectual equality with men. In the students' work with the community, their academic accomplishments, and their pressure on the trustees, they had become actively engaged in political and historical processes.

These students may have been able to work together at the seminary, but would they be able to translate their activist experiences into post-school praxis? Jane Addams certainly did. Her classmates did as well. An analysis of the 1879-1888[26] graduates' later life choices reveals that the Rockford students were far less traditional in their occupational choices than were other American women of that decade.

Rockford graduates did not deviate sharply from the general population in their decisions to marry: 66% of U.S. women age 14 and older were married in 1890 while 59% of the Rockford graduates (1879-1888) were married by 1904. However, while only 11% of U.S. females 10 years and older were employed in 1880 and 13% were employed in 1890, 49% of Rockford graduates held jobs, 12% of which were professional positions. In addition, 73% of the graduates held voluntary positions in the more traditional women's clubs and churches as well as the more radical labor unions and abolition societies.

Some Rockford graduates dedicated their lives to unconventional careers. Like Addams, they made significant contributions to the public dialogue: Eva Munson (Class of 1864) published 40 musical compositions; Mary E. Holmes (Class of 1868) edited and published the *Freedman's Bulletin*; and Minnie B. Fenwick (Class of 1886) served for 14 years on the staff of the *San Antonio Daily Express*. Others broke through barriers of professional status and political power: Annie J. Ellers (Class of 1881) was a medical missionary who served as medical attendant to the Queen of Korea; Augusta Scott, M.D. (Class of 1863) became one of the first fully credentialed women physicians in the United States; and Harriet Rosencrans (Class of 1865) was elected twice to the Colorado legislature. Other graduates dedicated their lives to social reform: Joanna Moore (Class of 1863) traveled throughout the South establishing schools and literacy programs for freed slaves; Anna Nicholes (Class of 1884) worked for the Chicago Neighborhood House Settlement and edited *The Union Labor Advocate*; and Rose Marie Gyles (Class of 1891) served as Hull House gymnasium director and was one of the faculty of the Chicago Froebel Association. From Addams's graduating class of 1882, Kathryn Waugh McCulloch was admitted to the Illinois bar and became the legal advisor to the American Woman Suffrage Association.

Conclusion

The philosophy which arose from Paulo Freire's Brazilian context provides conceptual illumination of Jane Addams's experiences at Rockford Seminary in the late 1870s and early 1880s. The school she attended was a predominately female community whose formal power structure relegated her sex to an inferior status. However, the seminary women refused to accept their inferior rank in the gender hierarchy; they questioned not only their own subservient position but also that of other groups. These questions were publicly debated, both in oral and printed form. Once the women had initiated these dialogues, they experimented with political and social strategies to gain greater equality with males. This radicalizing process emerged in a period of rapid social change. The seminary was a young institution, having been founded in 1847 when Rockford was a tiny village in frontier Illinois. By the 1870s, however, the community had mushroomed into a prosperous industrial city. Just as the industrialization of the Midwest was in its infancy, so women's higher education was in its own frontier phase of development. This phase was marked by heated debate, experimentation, and flux. As Freire has argued, in this type of environment voices emerging from cultures of silence begin to pose new questions.

Jane Addams attended Rockford Seminary during this interesting era. Several of her friends transferred to elite eastern colleges like Vassar, Smith, and Wellesley. They wrote letters telling about the joys and rigors of the "real" collegiate institutions they were now attending.[27] When Addams compared her Rockford Seminary bachelor's degree with theirs, she probably wished that she had gone east as well. Ironically, her collegiate experiences may have been much more valuable than those of her peers attending elite eastern colleges. A Rockford degree signified an education Addams herself had helped to define. The strait-laced Puritan female seminary had nurtured her development into a leader whose settlement house would foster empowerment across socioeconomic and ethnic lines. She had learned that women working together could find their voices, develop a dialogue, and translate their insights into humanizing action.

ENDNOTES

1. The view of the female seminary movement as repressive is perhaps most clearly articulated in Keith E. Melder, "Mask of Oppression: The Female Seminary Movement in the United States," *New York History* 55 (July 1974): 261-279. Sarah Robbins, "Reviewing Jane Addams' Learning at Rockford Seminary as Prefiguring and Preparing for Hull-House Teaching," Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Midwest History of Education Society, 30 October 1992.
2. See, for example, Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's College from their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984); Rury and Harper used a similar approach in their discussion of women students' resistance at coeducational Antioch College; John Rury and Glenn Harper, "The Trouble with Coeducation: Mann and Women at Antioch, 1853-1860," *History of Education Quarterly* 26 (Winter 1986) : 481-502; see also Lucy Townsend, "The Gender Effect: The Early Curricula of Beloit College and Rockford Female Seminary," *History of Higher Education Annual* 10 (1990): 69-90.
3. For a comprehensive discussion of critical consciousness, conscientization, and cultural revolution, see Paulo Freire, *Education for Critical Consciousness* (New York: Continuum, 1990); Paulo Freire, *Cultural Action for Freedom* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review, 1970); Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970).
4. See "Alumnae Reunion," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 7 (March 1879): 76.
5. A nineteenth century catalogue of male privileges and female restrictions is found in "Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions, adopted by the Seneca Falls Convention," 19-20 July, 1848, reprinted in *The Ladies of Seneca Falls: The Birth of the Woman's Rights Movement*, ed. Miriam Burko (New York: Macmillan, 1974), 307-309.
6. Paulo Freire, "In Dialogue with Paulo Freire," School of Education, University of Michigan, July 1979.
7. Ira Shor & Paulo Freire. *A Pedagogy for Liberation: Dialogues on Transforming Education* (Granby, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1987), 167. See also Kathleen Weiler, "Freire and a Feminist Pedagogy of Difference," *Harvard Educational Review* 61 (November 1991): 449-474.
8. Anna Peck Sill recalled this incident in "Alumnae Reunion," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 7 (March 1879): 76-77.
9. See, for example, Jerusha Jane Jones, "Is John Smarter Than I?" *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 3 (October 1875): 300 ff.; "Amiability," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 12 (January 1884): 31. Review any of the issues of this magazine for other examples.
10. For discussions of these events, see Sill Scrapbook , a collection of newspaper articles about the seminary from its founding until after Sill's death, Sill Papers, Rockford College Archives, Rockford College, Rockford, IL (hereafter RCA), 95, 107; "Editorial," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 11 (July 1883): 223; *Rockford Seminary, Thirteenth Commencement, Essays of Graduating Class, Wednesday, June 22, 1881* (DeKalb, Ill.: "News" Steam Press, 1881).
11. "Bread Givers," Sill Scrapbook, 108-109.
12. For a discussion of the banking method, see Ira Shor and Paulo Freire, *A Pedagogy for Liberation: Dialogues on Transforming Education* (Granby, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1987);

Paulo Freire, *Education for Critical Consciousness* (New York: Continuum, 1990); Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970); Paulo Freire and Donald Macedo, *Literacy: Reading the Word and the World* (South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1986).

13. Paulo Freire, "In Dialogue with Paulo Freire," School of Education, University of Michigan, July 1979.

14. See Ellen Gilbert McLean, "The Chinese Problem," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 7 (November 1879): 219-226; Leigh Lake, "Our Sewing Machines" *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 1 (November 1873): 20-21; See "Home Items," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 9 (November 1881): 234; "Editorial Miscellany," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 3 (June 1875): 199; "College Societies," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 8 (January 1880): 17-19; "Home Items," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 8 (December 1880): 267-268; "Editorial," Rockford Seminary Magazine 8 (December 1889): 280-282; "Home Items," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 10 (July 1882); "Editorial," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 8 (May 1880): 158-159. These women were not monolithic in their thinking. Alongside the radical articles listed above were those which conservatives would applaud.

15. "Rockford in 1874," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 3 (February 1875): 75.

16. Mary Lyon, "New England Female Seminary for Teachers," *Pioneers of Women's Education in the United States*, ed. Willystine Goodsell (New York: McGraw Hill, 1931), 265.

17. Paulo Freire, *The Politics of Education* (South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1985), 76.

18. For a study on the richness of women's separate culture, see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs* 1 (1975): 1-29. See also Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); The supportiveness of the female culture of Hull House is explored in Kathryn Kish Sklar, "Hull House in the 1890s: A Community of Women Reformers," *Signs* 10 (1985): 658-677.

19. Joseph Emerson, "Quarter Centennial Address," in Sill Scrapbook, RCA, 84-85.

20. See letters between Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, 1879ff., Jane Addams Papers. Special Collections, The University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago.

21. Ira Shor and Paulo Freire, *A Pedagogy for Liberation: Dialogues on Transforming Education* (Granby, MA: Begin & Garvey, 1987), 165-168.

22. An examination of the 1880-81 Rockford Seminary classical course of study reveals that all textbooks with authors' names included were written by males, a majority of whom were leaders in higher education, e.g., Mark Hopkins, James Dwight Dana, Charles Eliot, and Erasmus Otis Haven. Women authors such as Emma Willard and Catharine Beecher were avoided because they lacked elite credentials. Last names of textbook authors are listed in the *Thirtieth Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Rockford Seminary, Rockford, Illinois, 1880-81* (Rockford, Illinois: Daily Gazette Steam Print, 1881), 21-22. Further information was found in *New Century Cyclopedia of Names* (New York: Appleton, 1954).

23. For a full discussion of this issue, see Lucy Townsend, *The Best Helpers of One Another: Anna Peck Sill and the Struggle for Women's Education* (Chicago: Educational Studies Press, 1988), 101-113, 147ff.

24. Jane Addams Transcript, 1881, RCA.

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25. Minutes of the Board of Trustees, 10 June 1881, Trustee Files, RCA; "Home Items," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* 10 (June 1882): 234-37.

26. We selected the decade 1879-1888 because a similar study was done of Smith College graduates during the same decade. Since Jane Addams later wrote that she wanted to attend Smith rather than Rockford and since John Rousmaniere has asserted that Smith was a more radicalizing institution than female seminaries, we sought to compare the life choices of graduates of the two institutions during the decade in which Addams was a student. Defining professionals as doctors, professors, college deans, and architects, Sarah Gordon found that 11.5 per cent of the 1879-1888 Smith graduates became professionals. Having defined professionals as indicated above, we found that 12 per cent of 1879-1888 Rockford graduates became professionals. See John P. Rousmaniere, "Cultural Hybrid in the Slums: The College Woman and the Settlement House, 1889-1894," *American Quarterly* 22 (Spring 1970): 45-66; Sarah H. Gordon, "Smith College Students: The First Ten Classes, 1879-1888," *History of Education Quarterly* 15 (Summer 1975): 164.

27. See, for example, Mary Ellwood to Jane Addams, 16 September 1881, The Jane Addams Papers, Special Collections, the University Library, University of Illinois at Chicago.

Rereading the History of Nineteenth-Century Women's Higher Education: A Reexamination of Jane Addams' Rockford College Learning as Preparation for her *Twenty Years at Hull-House* Teaching

Sarah Robbins
Kennesaw State College
Marietta, Georgia

I. *Addams' Textual (Mis)Representation of Female Education*

In December 1880, almost a decade before beginning her settlement house community education program, Jane Addams crafted a discreetly political editorial for the *Rockford Seminary Magazine* that prefigured key elements in her later Hull-House pedagogy. Though her piece opened with a description of the seminary's young women students as safely ensconced within the late nineteenth century's middle-class feminine domestic role, Addams' anecdote progressed to an indirect call for a reconfigured social position for American women—one including female suffrage and the broader social activism it would facilitate:

> Election day dawned on a community of excited girls who are supposed to be retired from the world, and to

> be wholly absorbed in scholastic studies. The excitement was manifest at the breakfast-table, and steadily increased until chapel, when their feelings found vent in singing "America" with a vim which was deafening as well as patriotic. The polls were open from nine to three [for a mock election], and the ballots were deposited with each voter's leading motives attached. Among the Home Items we have printed some of the reasons given; not that they are very profound or wise, but we wonder if they are widely different from those which actuated the stream of men who were steadily voting but a few rods away from us.[1]

In this conflation of private school with public electioneering, domestic images of the "breakfast-table" give way to vocal political enthusiasm, and feminine "feelings" merge imperceptibly with masculine "reasons." By using such highly charged vocabulary, Addams' editorial embodied and anticipated her future pedagogy, both in Hull-House classes and in a wide array of popular teaching texts. Thus, though "supposed to be retired from the world" while attending the seminary, Addams was already in 1880 questioning the exclusionary boundaries between private and public, which were so often being invoked in discussions of the proper role for nineteenth-century middle-class American womanhood (Sies 1988, 193-210; Kerber 1988; Brown 1990). She was also already suggesting that educational institutions could strategically and constructively position themselves in a dynamic space overlapping both so-called spheres, thereby undermining any theoretical separation and giving the women of her day an entrée into empowered citizenship without threatening their femininity.

Tentative and implicit, the call for suffrage here (via the suggestion that the young women's selection criteria were probably identical with those of men who *could* vote) is radical in its goal but conservative in its rhetoric. According to Addams, these young ladies make no plea to abandon their domestic duties. Rather, they wish to extend their feminine influence, as embodied in both their enlightened breakfast-table discussion and their even more powerful, emotionally patriotic chapel singing of "America," into the larger society.

Within its careful imagery of purportedly cloistered female students entering the sociopolitical realm through education, this brief *Rockford Seminary Magazine* editorial foreshadowed the process by which settlement women like Dr. Alice Hamilton, Florence Kelley, and Julia Lathrop would later become powerful agents of social change (Bryan 1989). Similarly, though certainly not clearly formulated yet in 1880, the origins of Addams' Hull-House program—initially contained within a single house on Halsted Street, eventually stretching outward to construct several other buildings and to reach, through a variety of sociopolitical campaigns, into the very public streets themselves (Hayden 1991, 163 ff.)—were evident in nascent form within this college article's discreetly outward-reaching language.

Throughout her autobiographical account of the settlement written years later, Addams would draw on the key imagery associated with her women's college education to gain support for her activist pedagogy. As in her earlier writing at Rockford, she would emphasize the supportive, nurturing (i.e., appropriately "feminine") qualities of the Hull-House activities, thereby couching subversive moves—such as claiming the right for women to serve as public officials—within the accessible and seemingly unproblematic context of middle-class domesticity. To this end, Addams linked her program to the idealized, feminine, domesticated pedagogy long associated with names like Sarah Josepha Hale, Catharine Beecher, Emma Willard, and Zilpah Grant (Robbins 1993). Nonetheless, in seeking to claim a more empowered space within the traditionally masculine sociopolitical world of civic leaders like her home's former owner (Hull) and her own father, Addams also needed to present her settlement teaching as self-consciously extending beyond the sphere of those earlier feminine models. With this complex positioning in mind, her portrayal of her Rockford Seminary learning experience as simultaneously inadequate and stimulating was a complicated yet appropriate choice.

For today's reader, Addams' critique of the limits of seminary learning is probably more obvious than her acknowledgment of its strengths. For example, the closing passages in Addams' oft-quoted "The Snare of Preparation" chapter are representative of the negative tone her text often used when discussing her Rockford experience. Announcing her intention to leave behind the kind of life promoted by attending a women's school and touring Europe afterwards, Addams described a personal turning point. Determined at last to intervene directly in society's problems, she declared, "I had confidence that although life itself might contain many difficulties, the period of mere passive receptivity had come to an end, and I had at last finished with the everlasting 'preparation for life,' however ill-prepared I might be" (53). Addams went on to depict herself as about to move from mere "longing to construct the world anew" (53) to direct action: "The next January found Miss Starr and myself in Chicago, searching for a neighborhood in which we might put our plans into execution" (54). Reinforcing this dichotomy, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* repeatedly emphasized such contrasting associations as the unproductive "snare" of schooling and touring versus the "January" new beginning aimed at actual "execution." Along those lines, Addams' text often posited a binary opposition of (false) culture-seeking and (genuine) life-doing, condemning the former, which she associated with her Rockford education and European travels, but praising the latter, which she associated with the settlement. She became, she says, "much disillusioned. . . as to the effect of intellectual pursuits upon moral development" (47) and eventually realized she must "learn of life from life itself" (51).

Accepting Addams' words as a reliably literal record of factual events rather than re-visions of experience re-shaped to promote her complex pedagogical philosophy, a reader tends to interpret her seminary schooling reductively, merely as symptomatic of the kind of "passive receptivity" and excessive "study" (53, 51) she critiqued for preventing young middle-class American females from being able to "learn of life from life itself" (51). The search for culture embodied in the women's seminary/college attendance and the complementary European tour, then, could be seen as reinforcing the restrictive gender-and-class-based roles Addams finally rebelled against when she moved to Halsted Street with Miss Starr.[2] Indeed, Addams' *Twenty Years* backward-looking record of her seminary/college experiences included many deprecatory comments about the school's confining emphasis on routine, its "little" library, an inadequate economics and science curriculum, and the women students' tendency to avoid connecting literature with philosophy (29).

But Addams' dichotomizing moves in her "Boarding- School Ideals" and "The Snare of Preparation" essays may be better understood as astute rhetorical strategy rather than objective reporting. In that context, Addams choice for ending the "Boarding School" chapter provides an apt example of that strategy in action. After graduation from Rockford, Addams indicated, between 1881 and 1889, she was "clinging only to the desire to live in a really living world and refusing to be content with a shadowy intellectual or aesthetic reflection of it" (39). The implication here, of course, was that Rockford had shut her away from that "really living world" she longed to enter. Similarly, Addams' autobiographical text constructed a critical distance between her "self" as current narrator and her "self" during boarding school days. For instance, in one episode she made fun of her own silly attempt, with several friends, to try "to understand De Quincey's marvelous 'Dreams' more sympathetically, by drugging ourselves with opium" (28). She also skewered her pompous tendencies in composition: "Whenever we had chances to write, we took of course, large themes, usually from the Greek because they were the most stirring to the imagination" (29). And she described her reading habits in equally humorous but self-critical terms: "Of course we read a great deal of Ruskin and Browning, and liked the most abstruse parts best; but like the famous gentleman who talked prose without knowing it, we never dreamed of connecting them with our philosophy" (29).

Nonetheless, Addams' rhetorically effective protestations aside, the very success of the settlement itself suggests she must have been able to shape her education at Rockford toward creating a new, less restrictive social role for herself as a middle-class American female. In fact, a more complicated picture of the boarding school years than Addams herself painted in her autobiography does emerge from close, historically contextualized reading of archival records from her enrollment at the school. Texts she wrote *while still a student at Rockford*, carry traces of a complicated cooperative effort by Addams and her classmates to re(de)fine the institution's model of feminine teaching and learning. These artifacts suggest that, rather than being a restrictive environment forcing rigid conceptions of female middle-class identity on passive students, Rockford promoted the early shaping of the author's sense of her self as a social being, and of her educational philosophy, by providing sites for trying out cooperative teaching and learning strategies she would further develop in the settlement later.

Recovering this partially obscured record of the positive aspects of Addams' shared seminary/college learning can help account for what might otherwise seem an inexplicable contradiction—her continued active support of Rockford throughout her life. (Addams served as a member of the school's board of trustees, replicated specific elements of her own curriculum there within various study courses at the settlement, and used the Rockford campus as site for summer institutes for learners from the Hull-House neighborhood.) With the aim of highlighting links between Addams' women's seminary/college learning and her settlement teaching, in the remainder of this essay I will 1) clarify the school's identity, during Addams' enrollment, within the context of the nineteenth-century women's college movement; 2) describe the collaborative nature of her learning there and outline the bread-giver role Addams and her fellow students developed together; and 3) characterize the creative reshaping of feminine middle-class subjectivity achieved by Addams and her classmates through their sometimes-resistant Rockford learning.

II. Dynamic Moment: Rockford's Changing Institutional Identity in the 1870's-80's

For the author and her classmates, learning at Rockford became a shared, reciprocally-nurturing and outward-reaching experience, partly because they mounted a collaborative effort to change the seminary's identity and purpose, so that the relationship between institution and students became more interactively dynamic than a too-literal reading of

Addams' own account would indicate. Like the interactions of Hull-House residents and neighbors with other Chicago institutions would often be, Addams' learning within the paradoxically constrained yet empowering site of Rockford was discreetly oppositional. Initially, in fact, Addams had been unenthusiastic about attending Rockford Seminary at all. Her older sisters had preceded her there, and her father was a trustee, but she had expressed a clear preference for Smith College, which had just opened in 1875. Her 1877 enrollment at Rockford represented a reluctant surrender to family pressure: she had visited Smith, taken an entrance exam, and been admitted—only to have her father veto that choice (Barker-Benfield 1979, 408).

Anyone familiar with the program Addams eventually established at Hull-House can sense the appeal Smith's emerging philosophy would have had for her. Under the direction of John Morton Greene, the college was conceived "in two prominent particulars" as a reaction *against* the system employed by Rockford and other female seminaries: instead of using one large dormitory-like structure, it would distribute students among several small, home-like cottages; instead of shutting away enrollees, it would promote student involvement in the community to keep women bound to what Greene called "real practical life," and "free from the affected, unsocial visionary notions which fill the minds of some who graduate at our girls' schools" (Horowitz 1984, 70 ff).

In contrast, Rockford was (according to Addams herself) the "'Mount Holyoke of the West'" (HH 27-28), modeled on the seminary system developed by Mary Lyon. Central to that philosophy, Lyon had explained, was the sequestering of female students in a "building shaped like a dwelling house," where young women could find a safe haven for "study, prayer, work, and rest" (Horowitz 1984, 12. See also Davidoff 1979, 64). So, with a conception of "house" quite distinct from Smith's community-connected homes, founder Anna Sill structured Rockford's learning environment to include domestic chores, a rigid schedule, a closed campus, and strict adherence to rules. Details in the "boarding Arrangements" portion of the catalogue published during Addams' enrollment underline this element in the institution's philosophy:

> Punctuality at the commencement, and daily attendance during each session of the year, are indispensable to a high standard of scholarship. If education is worth anything, it is worth what it will cost to make it thorough. It is therefore expected that every pupil will be in her place at the appointed time, even at the expense of personal sacrifice and inconvenience (*Rockford Seminary Catalogue* 1878, 27. From Rockford College Archives; used with permission of Rockford College, Rockford, IL. Subsequent references will use *RSC*).

At least as important as the seminary's regimentally domestic setting was its inspiration in the ideology of the asylum. Besides basing the dwelling design for her model seminary on the typical asylum building, Mary Lyon's system rested specifically on her interpretation of the program of Hartford Hospital for the Insane, where her sister had been treated for a nervous collapse. The controlled discipline of the asylum cure, Lyon felt, was exactly what was needed to give educated women strength. A reader versed in Addams' biography can see the appeal such an educational setting and program would have had for her family, always concerned about her mental health. In fact, her family might have argued later that her collapse after one term at medical school and her subsequent stay at the famous Weir Mitchell clinic/asylum only served to confirm her need for just such a protective (learning) environment (See HH 40). After all, as Dr. Edward Clarke had argued, an excessively rigorous, unregulated academic program could be dangerous for women's health.

Addams' own preference for Smith, in contrast, is consistent with her later work as a Hull-House learner and teacher. The distinctive differences in the philosophies of the seminary she actually attended and the college she had aspired to give added force to her images in "The Subjective Necessity" chapter. The "educated young people" who were "shut off from the common labor by which they live" (68) and "shut...away from that half of the race life" (69), "restricted" with "no recognized outlet for their active faculties" (71), would only worsen their situation if they returned to college for "second degrees" (72). In the stifling environment typical of many such schools, Addams explained, they would be "buried beneath" the "mental accumulation" and denied meaningful action (72).

The sequestered environment of the seminary, however, may have been only one element that Addams was resisting in its stated program. Davis, for instance, has suggested that the 1870's Rockford curriculum may have matched her father's conception of a proper female course of study more closely than her own. Davis stresses the link between the seminary's mission and John Addams' personal views on education for women, who "should be taught to become better wives and mothers, not scientists or professors." Specifically, Davis notes, Jane's stepbrother George was "encouraged to become a doctor or scientist," while she "was quietly discouraged from any such ambition" (1973, 9. See also Hurt 1990).

If Jane Addams were, indeed, seeking to prepare for a professional career other than teaching or missionary work, Rockford would have seemed on the surface to have little to offer. The seminary catalogue published during her enrollment emphasized goals for its students consistent with the ideology of domestic teaching as middle-class women's rightful identity. Besides the most desirable choice of wife/ mother, the catalogue observes, "there is a great demand for liberally educated Christian women, in social life, as teachers, and in the various benevolent fields of labor. How can wealth be better applied than in the aid of those whose life work promises such a reward to the giver?" (*RSC*). Setting forth such nurturing plans for its female students, Rockford positioned itself somewhat ambivalently along the boundaries of nineteenth-century expectations for middle-class women—encouraging students to set noble work aims, but limiting those goals to traditional concepts of middle-class womanhood.

In particular, by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the restrictions and powers associated with the middle-class feminine role of domestic pedagogue had been firmly recognized in principle but were still being debated in practice. Educated American women were "more than helpmeets"; they were, Helen Horowitz explains, "the Mothers of the Republic" who "nurtured the future electorate and representatives of the polity." The "keepers of the nurseries of the new nation," they "needed not only the virtue necessary for moral guidance" and the accomplishments associated with earlier finishing schools, but also the ability "to understand the world of political discourse." In this context, the rhetoric of Rockford's catalogue signaled its affirmation of what Horowitz characterizes as the increasing "seriousness" of women's education, since more "professional" conceptions of female roles like teaching, missionary work, or "Republican motherhood" necessitated it (Horowitz 1984, 12 ff.; Sklar 1973, 180; Robbins 1993). Thus, although the publication reflected traces of the finishing school, the tone and context for presenting these aspects of the curriculum were clearly connected to images of the seminary students as future pedagogues—at least in their own homes—rather than husband-catchers. For example, the "excellent advantages" of "Musical Education...Drawing and Painting, with special reference to teaching" were highlighted on one page of the curricular guide, just after the announcement of a "Collegiate education of young women" and a charter "with full college powers, and teachers of reputation" (*RSC*, 17). With the seminary already on its way to becoming a college, then, Addams may have enrolled reluctantly, but she and her classmates at least found Rockford a learning environment somewhat receptive to challenge and change—supportive, in fact, of collaborative or, more specifically, sororal social learning.

That other students shared Addams' concerns about the institution and joined her in resisting some of its philosophy and teaching practices is clear, in fact, from some of their letters. For example, correspondence from former classmate Mary Ellwood, who had enacted Addams' own wishes by moving on from Rockford to Smith, provides corroboration for speculations about what Addams found lacking in the seminary curriculum. In a June 1882 letter, Ellwood warned Addams that trying to achieve classification as a Smith junior by examination might prove difficult, given the less rigorous course work at the seminary. A similarly critical tone marks a later letter from Helen Harrington, who had enrolled at the University of Michigan as one of the first women students there, after matriculating with Addams at Rockford. Harrington and Addams had been invited to return to their alma mater to receive its first B. A. degrees, and both were evidently uncertain about accepting. Addams was reluctant, partly because she was still intent at that point on joining Ellwood at Smith, although she never did. Significantly, Helen explained her own hesitancy by noting that, compared to the rigor of her current work at Michigan, she did not set much store in a Rockford B. A. Nonetheless, indicating that she would probably come to Rockford for the ceremony if Addams joined her, Helen implied an enhanced value for the experience if it were a shared one. (By April, Addams had evidently written back, as Helen sent along another letter enthusiastic about the commencement, in which they both participated.)

In much the same way, Addams herself had earlier used references to shared learning to try persuading Eva Campbell to come back to Rockford when, in a June 1879 letter, Eva reported she might not return. Addams' 23-page response letter was full of details about the intellectual and social life at college that Eva would miss if she failed to re-enroll, and included the plea:

> Don't give up the idea of coming back, Eva, I beg of you, for it seems to me that we can both do better work at Rockford next year than anyplace I know of, let's go to work & do it, helping each other all we can & not make all our resolutions at the end of the year, I have been thinking my friend that what we need is a more systematic plan of recreation, that we want to recreate as hard as we study, we can do a good deal more & better study if we try it that way; we will make the experiment. (Addams 1880)

In its emphasis on "helping each other" to "work," and on including a "systematic plan of recreation," Addams' argument not only foreshadowed her Hull-House program. It also represented how, for her and her classmates, their Rockford experience was emphatically social, and how, even though bound by institutional constraints associated with the seminary model, they were able to "experiment" toward shaping their own learning. Addams' letter did not dissuade Campbell from leaving school to marry.

Taken all together, although these letters from/to Addams and her friends reveal mutual doubts about the quality of their school experience, they also exemplify one of its paradoxical strengths. By seeking to sequester young women away from the larger society, Rockford may have precluded some kinds of knowledge-enhancing experiences in the larger world. Yet, as proponents of single-sex educational institutions today continue to point out, the supposedly closed setting can foster a different kind of supportive community, withdrawn temporarily (even if only theoretically) from the mixed-gendered competition of the larger world in preparation for more effective later interaction with it.

Significantly, this very ideal was clearly epitomized in a Class of '81 song written by Addams, Eleanor Frothingham and Martha Thomas for their Junior Exposition. Several stanzas commented on the potentially creative tension between seclusion and action. Examples include the following:

Within a cloister old and dim,
These seventeen maidens heard the hymn
Of a wailing world, both starved and old,
Awaiting the fate already foretold,
For the year of '81.

O, may we all, in years to come,
Ennoble duty, but never shun
The work for us long set apart,
To give bread wrought for mind and heart,
Bread-givers of '81 (Programme, Junior Exhibition, 1880.
From Rockford College Archives; used with permission
of Rockford College).

Casting themselves as the "Bread- givers of '81," Addams and her classmates announced their motto, which was also engraved on special stationery and figured prominently in other publications and speeches through the remainder of their school careers and beyond. Several speakers, for instance, drew on the motto for their graduation speeches the next year.

In her own valedictory address remarks to her classmates in 1881, Addams herself signaled the importance of both the motto and the sororally supportive learning/teaching model it embodied during her time at Rockford and afterwards. Labeling her group "the glorious seventeen," Addams reminisced about how they "worked and planned and studied for four years." Because they had "touched and stirred" each other so often, the class members had been able to express "to each other higher and nobler things than [they had] probably ever said to any one else." If ever "tempted to flag and grow weary of 'bread-giving,'" then, the "girls of '81" would remember each other and be strengthened to achieve "higher things."[3]

A year earlier, in her Junior Exhibition welcome address to "Friends and citizens of Rockford," she had offered still another affirmation of the bread-giving female ideal, through which "young women of the nineteenth century" could "proudly assert" their "independence," yet

> still retain the old ideal of womanhood—the Saxon "lady" whose mission it was to give bread unto her household. So we have planned to be "bread-givers" throughout our lives...and thus happily fulfill woman's noblest mission.[4]

Addams' nineteenth-century woman, she explained at the Junior Exhibition,

> wishes not to be a man, nor like a man, but she claims the same right to independent thought and action. Whether this movement is tending toward the ballot box, or will gain simply equal intellectual advantages, no one can predict, but certain it is, that woman has received a new confidence in her possibilities and a fresher hope in her steady progress (110-111).

Downplaying female political aspirations while nonetheless acknowledging them, and advocating an independence built on collaborative study, Addams was already in 1880 describing a brand of activist education as conceived and practiced within the female seminary context.

III. Constructing a Counter-Curriculum

In several strategic ways, what the official core program of the seminary would not provide or fully affirm during Addams' enrollment, the "bread-giving" students created together for themselves. Working along the blurred border between formal curriculum and informal social groups, Addams and her peers actively shaped their own learning, and, in so doing, helped reshape the institution toward a less authoritarian, more cooperative style of learning.

Sharing common interests, informing each others' writing and thinking, is, of course, not unusual for students in any college setting, and historians of institutionalized learning like Arthur Applebee and Gerald Graff have taken note of the especially vital role social learning societies played in nineteenth-century American colleges (Applebee 1974, 12 ff.; Graff 1984, 44-45). But while the general histories by Applebee and Graff provide a useful context for examining the shared seminary/college "extracurriculum" literacy of Addams and her classmates, those studies tend to focus on male-dominated institutions and/or treat students as genderless. In fact, what is especially notable in the many records of Addams' interaction with her school peers through their society-associated activities is their self-conscious attempt to foster a distinctively *feminized* reciprocal intellectual development through a social learning experience. Ironically, however, though the middle-class, single-sex student body at Rockford was clearly more homogeneous than the diverse mix that woulzd share in the Hull-House educational programs, Addams found much in the feminized social learning of her seminary/college that she could adapt later to settlement-house education. A key element in that adaptation process was realizing that, just as she and her friends had especially enjoyed and profited from sharing texts by and about women, the immigrants needed to have their own culture represented in Hull-House's curriculum. As Holli has noted "To reach the immigrants, Jane Addams worked through the matrix of an old world culture to win their confidence and make the newcomers receptive to advice from Hull-House. Italians might be invited to the settlement house on Saturday for readings from Mazzini's works or to celebrate a folk holiday; Germans might be treated to folk leader or Schiller on Tuesday night..." (1989, 8).

The seeds of the settlement's carefully negotiated social learning experiences are evident in records of Addams' own sororal learning at Rockford. Some of the artifacts useful for tracking this ongoing collaborative process at the seminary/college include notes from club debates, multiple drafts of compositions, and articles from the student-managed magazine. Perhaps most important for Addams was her membership in the literary/social Castalian Society, a collegial, sometimes oppositional site for debate and discussion about such issues as defining the most productive social roles for women in society and questioning the potential conflict between institutional expectations about learning and individual needs. In goal, content, and method, the Castalian Society foreshadowed the social study clubs so crucial to Hull-House pedagogy. For example, the Society staged an elaborate debate on the following question: "Resolved, that the French women have had more influence through literature than politics." Addams championed George Sand as a model of direct intervention into society through literature-writing. Corinne Williams, from the class of '80, on the other hand, argued for the Mme. de Stael brand of indirect sociopolitical influence via the salon. Addams' title page denoting the debate as intended for publication in *Harper's* may represent a schoolgirl's over-ambitious goal for the particular piece at hand, but it also signaled her serious commitment to the topic. The specific arguments marshaled by both sides in this particular debate—one of many sponsored by the club during Addams' time at Rockford—clearly reflect competing ideologies for ideal womanhood that the students were striving together to critique and, in Addams' case at least, to synthesize.

Williams, promoting the de Stael model, hypothesized a specific cultural tradition for its practice.

> The French women have not the solid, home-like qualities of their English sisters. They live *in* and for society, and in France more than anywhere else, they rule. From the French girl's earliest childhood the leading idea in her education has been to make her fascinating and through that fascination powerful. Thus the ambition to be influential was early instilled into her mind and to acquire power the aim of her life. She knew that this could be accomplished only through her influence over men, for as a *direct* ruler, a woman has never controlled France.[5]

Addams, on the other hand, began her presentation by insisting that traditions barring women from both politics and literature should be regarded as relics of the past:

> The question then is not what it might with propriety have been twenty years ago, does woman exert an influence, for that is proven without a doubt, but in which of the two great spheres of action is her influence felt the most?[6]

Seemingly determined to move beyond arguing the specific case of Sand versus de Stael to an apology for woman's "intellect" being "as vigorous in power as her charms are persuasive in society," Addams moved from a chronicle of Sand's dramatic self-representations in life and literature to an insistence that she wrote primarily to and for women. Mainly, Addams asserted, quoting an unacknowledged source, "'For the first time in the history of the world woman spoke out as a woman, not as the plaything, the pupil, the satellite or the goddess of man.'"

Within the fairly extensive body of available texts from Addams' Castalian Society debates, the de Stael/Sand notes may be unusual in their highly emotional tone, but not in their focus on gender issues. If Barker-Benfield is right that Addams' father "supplied her with masculine models and she...reciprocated by modeling herself on him" (1979, 398), in the formal and informal women's college literacy activities like this debate and her letter exchanges with classmates, Addams was seeking out, with their help, appropriate alternative feminine ones. Sororally constructed rather than paternally or maternally imposed, these tentative models helped Addams reconceive and transform her own middle-class female subjectivity toward a new social role. Whether Addams' unbridled praise for literary female influence or her opponent's plea for the salon model convinced more audience members on the day of the debate itself is probably not as important to understanding the evolution of Addams' personal and pedagogical identity as the fact that the debate occurred, and that it occasioned such extensive collaborative preparation. In this particular case, three different drafts survive, the longest at sixteen pages. (One of the drafts has extensive margin comments in another hand.) In its high degree of cooperative learning, then, the debate, like so many other informal literacy experiences the Rockford women shared, contrasts the less dialogic nature of official responses Addams elicited from teachers reading her assigned compositions. While the teachers tended to put only "excellent" or "very good" on her papers, Addams was receiving far more detailed and specific feedback from other students.

Addams herself understood, exploited, and attempted to replicate these cooperative learning ventures in her later Hull-House teaching. The shared reading, debates and drama of her college literary society all would have their counterparts in the Hull-House clubs program. Especially in the evening, the settlement's club activities ranged widely, with everything from serious study of grammar or shared reading of Dante, to more hands-on learning like clay modeling, to more lively oral debates sponsored by groups like the Social Science Club (Moore 1990, 48). For instance, the Hull-House Players wrote and performed their own productions—often far more elaborate than playlets Addams had helped produce at Rockford, but similar in the enthusiasm of participants.

So too, Addams' main settlement publication, the *Hull-House Bulletin*, was anticipated in both form and content by the *Rockford Seminary Magazine*. Both publications were monthlies containing a mixture of news, features, and unabashed editorials written from virtually identical, almost stubbornly didactic perspectives. For instance, Addams' own Rockford magazine article about an upcoming presidential election (November 1880) has its counterpart in the bulletin's series of pieces on the Chicago aldermen's race. Equally significant, though both publications always included news specific to the site, both also printed a substantial amount of material about and from the larger world outside. Addams herself was "Clippings and Exchanges" editor of the *Rockford Seminary Magazine* her junior year. With regular mailings of newspapers and magazines circulating among a variety of schools all over the country, she had a wealth of material to draw on for her column. Sometimes she would join other collegiate authors in a dialogue running over several issues, as when she reported in the Rockford paper about reading a Yale reviewer's positive reaction to one of her earlier pieces. With plenty of opportunity to carry on lively journalistic "conversations" among a wide range of far-flung students, Addams' assertion in a March

1880 "Clippings and Exchanges" article that "we do not believe in coeducation" may not be surprising (94), since the literary magazine was helping insure that her seminary experience was not really cloistered at all (From *RCA* in *JAP*, microfilm edition).

IV. Commencement: A Retrospective View of Addams' Address in Context

Perhaps the best example of the complicated collaborative Rockford learning process that was leading Addams toward her settlement concept is provided by the interactive commencement speeches her class delivered in 1881. Taken as a group, these texts encapsulate the young women's shared concerns about the middle-class feminine social role and prefigure some of Addams' upcoming efforts to refine it. Contextualizing her speech with her friends' efforts once again shows Addams to be a product of, resister against, and adapter of the specific culture of the nineteenth-century woman's college.

Unsurprisingly, the main theme for the commencement addresses was "influence," with graduates praising and situating it in varying degrees of proximity to the home setting. Most class members concentrated on advocating abstract qualities associated with female influence—charity, economy, promptness, thoughtfulness, love of culture. Many speeches basically echoed the college catalogue's pronouncements, but their tone was uniformly enthusiastic and sincere.

What seems to have been the most impassioned presentation besides Addams' own was Kate Tanner's. Tanner argued that "woman's realm is home," since "at home she fills the mission of the Saxon lady who was a 'Bread giver' and feeder of the poor," who has "fulfilled woman's noblest work on earth." In fact, Kate Tanner warned, when woman forgets that she "has already all she can successfully accomplish at home" and in "the social and literary circles without constantly striving for more avenues to power, more opportunities for employment and more gates to wing out upon into the political world," she betrays her true destiny. After all, Tanner insisted, "At home is where woman's influence is needed, and not in the public assemblies." Clearly distressed by the efforts of some women to expand their influence beyond what she saw as its rightful boundary, she marveled that these confused females could say "they want power, political power, and yet the world is entirely what their home influence has made it."[7]

To juxtapose such a speech with Jane Addams' own commencement address is to better understand the cultural context for her reformulation of feminine social identity and pedagogy. Trying to achieve a synthesis that would not undermine her more conservative sisters like Tanner would be a challenge indeed. Addams' solution was represented in her commencement address by a refigured, nineteenth-century Cassandra character. Drawing a parallel between Homer's time and her own, Addams predicted a similar difficulty for any nineteenth- century female prophet, since "men with hard research into science" were still dominating over "intuition," the more feminine brand of understanding which must struggle to make itself "intelligible" and thereby gain "auethoritas."[8] In depicting a refashioned Cassandra, Addams offered hope of imaginative change for woman through appropriation of male knowledge into female understanding. Significantly, however, she set the initial stage of transformation within the domestic setting, where "love" and its "ministering spirits" have fostered "woman's insight." In a charge at first glance ironic given Cassandra's childlessness, Addams urged women to continue carrying out their maternal role. But she followed that request with a plea to do more than "sit and dreamily watch" one's child. Through domestic-based but outward-looking scholarship ("accurate study" of life, perhaps via "one branch of physical science"), combined with experience in "the active, busy world," Addams argued, the new prophetess would acquire social power. She would, then, find a way to "test for the genuineness of her intuition." Thus, by safeguarding the traditional values of nurture, developing a knowledge of science through study, and pursuing an "active labor" in the larger world, she would gain authority to speak and to be believed.

By the time Jane Addams wrote *Twenty Years at Hull- House; with Autobiographical Notes*, the century of her Rockford education had given way to another, but the sometimes-competing ideologies of middle-class femininity represented by her seminary's official curriculum and by the students' collaborative efforts to interrogate and reshape it were still powerful forces in American culture. In this sense, despite its 1910 publication date, and especially with reference to its subtitle, Addams' book was clearly more a nineteenth than a twentieth-century text. So too was the Hull-House settlement's education program. Though well prepared by the collaboratively sororal learning atmosphere of Rockford to assume a role of intellectual (as well as sociopolitical) leadership, Addams clearly believed she should not try to claim too much, should not overemphasize the radical aspects of her pedagogy. So, to help develop and promote her settlement education program, she drew on her similarly constrained yet out-reaching learning at Rockford. Understanding those ties between her schooling and her teaching, therefore, can clarify her textual representations of Hull-House, especially in the *Twenty Years* retrospective, as a conserving/conservative force, even as she also showed it empowering marginalized city-dwellers and the settlement residents by linking shared learning to social action.

ENDNOTES

1. "Editorial," *Rockford Seminary Magazine* (December 1880): 280-82. "Home Items" was a regular column of recent quips, quotes, and general Rockford gossip. From Rockford College Archives (RCA); used with permission of Rockford College, Rockford, IL. For these and other references from the archives, I used the microfilm edition of the Jane Addams Papers (JAP), edited by Mary Lynn Bryan. That edition is available as part of the Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Special Collections, The University Library, The University of Illinois at Chicago.

2. One body of counter-evidence to this kind of interpretation of Addams' view of European travel is the notable number of contemporary representations (by Addams herself and by others) of the Hull-House founding as directly inspired and guided by her visits to England's Toynbee Hall. Several 1890 entries in the Hull-House scrapbook speak to this point. (See scrapbook, volume 1, page 2). For example, an article entitled "Work of Two Women" has as one subtitle "Old London's Toynbee Hall Used as a Model by Miss Jane Addams and Miss Ellen Starr." Several scholars have already done much to debunk the myth of the sudden inspiration to found Hull-House. See Davis (1973) Crunder (1982).

3. *Rockford Seminary Magazine* (July 1881): 221-22. From RCA in *JAP;* used with permission of Rockford College.

4. *Rockford Seminary Magazine* (April 1880): 110-11. From RCA in *JAP;* used with permission of Rockford College.

5. Corinne Williams, "Negative—Resolved: that French Women Have a greater influence through Literature than Politics." November 13, 1878. [*JAP*, Microfilm Edition, Ed. Mary Lynn Bryan. UIC, University Library, Special Collections].

6. Jane Addams, "Positive—Resolved: That French Women Have a Greater Influence through Literature than Politics." November 13, 1878. [*JAP*, Microfilm Edition, Ed. Mary Lynn Bryan. UIC, University Library, Special Collections].

7. Kate Tanner, "Too Many Gates to Swing On," *Essays of Class of 1881, Rockford Seminary* (Rockford: Rockford Seminary, 1881): 19-20. From RCA in *JAP*, used with permission of Rockford College.

8. Jane Addams, "Cassandra," *Essays of Class of 1881, Rockford Seminary* (Rockford: Rockford Seminary, 1881): 35-39. From RCA in *JAP*, used with permission of Rockford College.

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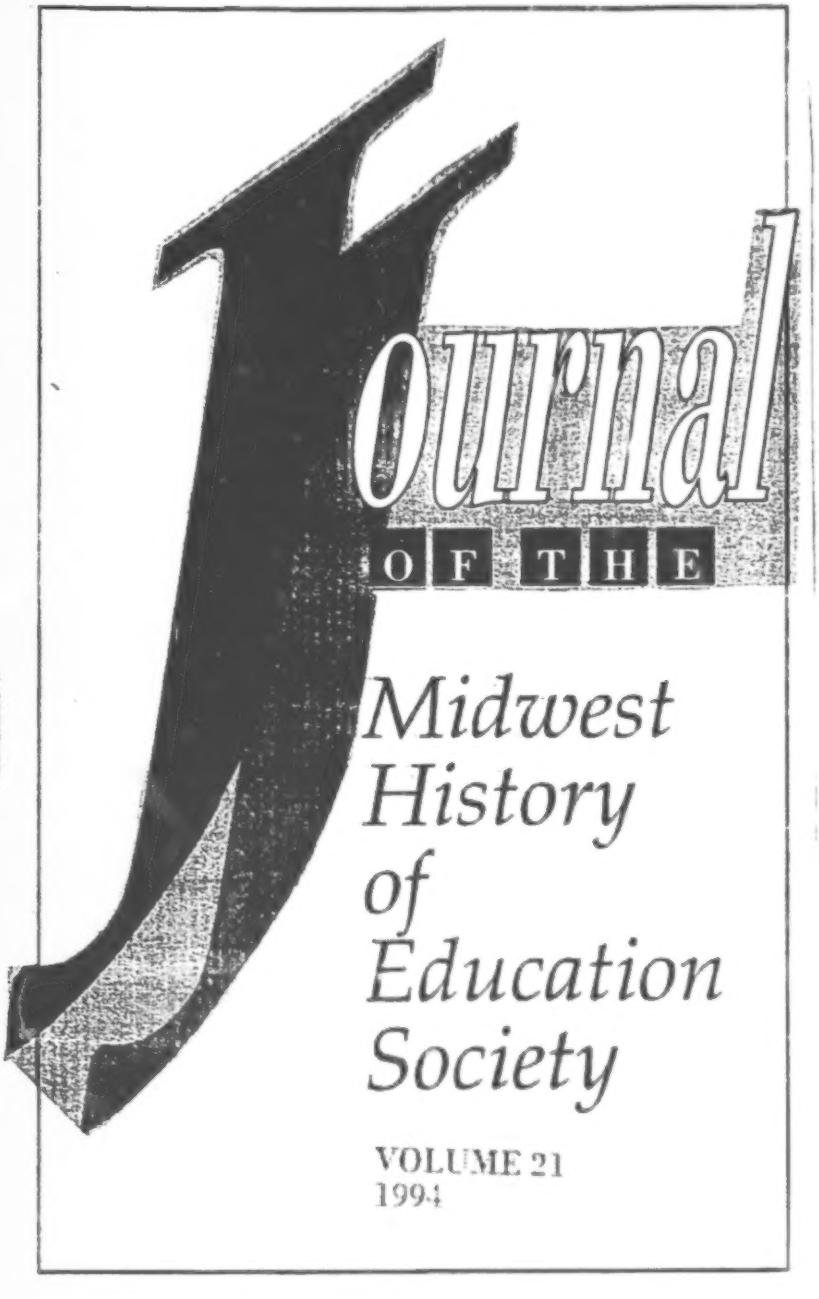

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The Limits of Education Reform: Public Debate over School Finance in Michigan, 1968-1973

David V. McGuire
Washtenaw
Community College
Ann Arbor, Michigan

In the late 1960s, when Michigan residents and officials were beginning to discuss seriously education reform, fledgling Governor William G. Milliken used a vivid analogy to describe his frustration with trying to improve the state's school-finance system. Such efforts were, he said, like trying to fill a group of pans spread across a football field by using a fire hose. No matter how hard he tried, or how much water he used, he was simply unable to fill the pans with equal amounts — some overflowed, while others stood almost empty. The same applied to schools across the state — although some were abundantly endowed, others struggled to provide minimal educational services (Mich. Exec. Ofc., 1972).

Milliken's analogy, although accurate in its characterization of the wide financial disparities between school districts, incorrectly implied that the way the state distributed its school aid was a random process. Rather, as Milliken would come to understand in his more than four years of active involvement in school-finance reform efforts, such clearly inequitable funding schemes were the result of wider sociopolitical conditions. This paper will discuss those conditions in terms of the public debate over school finance reform in Michigan in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a time when such debate was at a peak in the state and nationally. As with other educational initiatives, public perceptions of school-finance reform limited the possibilities of that reform.

Most scholars discussing American efforts to reform public school systems from World War II to the 1970s generally divide them into three main time periods, each identified with a decade. In the 1950s, attention was focused on racial desegregation as mandated by the *Brown v. Board* *of Education* decision and on improvement of math and science instruction after the Soviet launch of Sputnik. In the 1960s, events such as the passage of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act spurred efforts to improve schooling for pupils with special needs. And in the early 1970s, beginning with the California Supreme Court's 1971 *Serrano v. Priest* decision declaring the state's school-financing system unconstitutional, school-finance reform became a widespread concern (See Ravitch 1983; Spring 1976; Augenblick 1986; Graham 1979). Yet such a nationally oriented view does not fully explain the reform of an institution as decentralized as education. Underlying the major events and government activity was a public discourse in the individual states that defined and delimited the prospects of reform. In order to see how reform came to take the shape it did, therefore, an understanding of the context in which the issues were being framed from state to state needs to be had.

Since the early 1960s, scholars who have sought to understand education in terms of its relation to the political realm have mainly concerned themselves with political-feasibility studies and analyses of the institutional forces that influence education (See Bailey et al. 1962; Masters et al. 1964; Kirst 1970; Campbell and Mazzoni 1976; Mueller and McKeown 1986). Others have discussed the limits of reform of a publicly funded institution in a capitalistic, meritocratic society (See Carnoy and Levin 1976; Weaver 1982). There have been no in-depth studies, however, of how educational reform is influenced by the public debate that surrounds it.

Similarly the literature on school-finance reform offers little in the way of analysis concerning how public perceptions define possibilities of reform. If, as one author puts it, we need to view school-finance reform "as only one manifestation of a much broader movement for social reform which manifests itself through the public schools," (Hickrod 1983) then it would seem that we should understand how that movement and its opponents influence the debate. Yet very few writers concern themselves with this level of discussion. Instead, most studies of the politics of school-finance reform almost exclusively focus on how reform efforts are manifested in state courts and legislatures (See Berke et al. 1984; Elmore and McLaughlin 1982; Lehne 1978; Meltsner et al. 1973; Mulkeen 1984; Garms et al., 1978). Some scholars have discussed the ideological foundations of the debate over school finance, but only in general terms that are detached from the kind of rigorous analysis characterizing studies of political feasibility or legislative voting behavior (See Hickrod 1974; Hickrod 1987; Ward 1987).

On the basis of such impressionistic studies, however, a framework of analysis can be formed to understand how the terms of public debate constrain school-finance reform. James G. Ward, in his discussion of the normative foundations of public school finance, identifies five main values that advocates and opponents of school-finance reform support to varying degrees at different times: *adequacy* of funding, *efficiency* in the use of funds, *equity* in either or both the raising and distributing of funds, *liberty* in terms of local control over schools and/or the ability to control one's educational activity or financial support, and schools' *legitimacy* or accountability as public institutions (Ward 1987, 474-475). In the 1960s and 1970s, liberty and equity were the two strongest values debated in American education. Liberty, usually discussed in terms of local control over schools, "ha[d] on its side the staunch allies of tradition and political inertia" stretching back to the earliest days of American public education (Jones 1976, 110-112). By the 1960s, however, many people began to dispute the value of local control, especially to the extent that it perpetuated inequities of wealth and race. This clash of liberty and equity advocates best characterizes the debate over school finance in the late 1960s and early 1970s, but each side also incorporated other values that Ward describes into their debate as well.

Liberty advocates in particular widened their base of support through their emphasis on issues other than local control. In his 1991 book *Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools*, Jonathan Kozol claimed that the roots of the current inequities lie in the ability of liberty advocates to constrain the terms of the debate by incorporating issues of efficiency and accountability of schools in order to overrun the issue of equal funding:

> At every level of debate, ... the argument is made that more efficiency accrues from local governance and that equity concerns enforced by centralized authority inevitably lead to waste and often to corruption. Thus, "efficiency" joins "liberty" as a rhetorical rebuttal to the claims of equal opportunity and equal funding. "Local control" is the sacred principle in all these arguments. (Kozol 1991, 210-211)

The debate over liberty and equity has recurred throughout American history, with the 1960s version of this argument effectively ended by the 1973 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez*, which upheld the Texas school finance system as constitutional despite gross disparities in per-pupil expenditures (Kozol 1991 213-214). The *Rodriguez* decision, writes one historian, "headed off a revolution in the funding of public schools in America" (Kluger 1977, 769) and provided liberty advocates with a resounding victory.

In Michigan, as in many other states, this liberty versus equity argument reached a fever pitch in the late 1960s and early 1970s. From the publication in 1968 of a report describing the inequality of educational opportunity in the state to the passage in 1973 of an act reforming the school finance structure, Michigan and officials engaged in a consistent and sometimes fever-pitched debate over the role of the state in the financing of public education. While Kozol's division of the participants of the debates into "liberty" and "equity" camps is helpful in trying to understand the situation in Michigan at the time, it oversimplifies the matter. In Michigan twenty to twenty-five years ago, those who opposed school finance reform favored retaining local control over education, yet at various times issues of higher taxes, cross-district busing, and aid to parochial schools were important factors for the opposition.

Advocates of differing views about reform also made strange allies. Those who wanted property tax relief favored certain types of reform, while those who wanted greater equity or overall increases in school funding favored others. Thrown onto the political battleground, such disparate interests could form only the most tenuous alliances. In fact, studies of Michigan educational coalitions conducted in this era all characterized them as "fragmented."

As concern for restructuring school finance increased in the late 1960s, however, the battle lines seemed clear. In Kozol's terms, those who favored greater equity in school finance were opposed by those who wished to retain local control over schools. Only as the debate progressed, issues bifurcated, and participants polarized would it become clear that any reform would be minimal at best and designed to appease as many different interests as possible.

Like most states up to the late 1960s, Michigan supported its public schools chiefly through a combination of state aid and local revenue. The state provided aid to schools through "foundation" programs, which were designed to ensure a minimum level of funding for schools, and local revenue was derived from property taxes. Because local voters had to approve property-tax increases, and because of the wide disparities in different school districts' property-tax bases, substantial variations existed in the amount of local revenue available. These varying tax rates and tax bases translated into gross disparities in funding between school districts. In 1965-66, for example, per-pupil expenditures ranged between $400 in the poorest district to $741 in the wealthiest. Michigan attempted to compensate for these differences by giving poorer districts larger amounts of state aid, but wealthier districts still held a distinct advantage because of the relative ease with which they could raise their levels of funding (For technical aspects of Michigan's school-finance system prior to 1973, see Thomas 1968; Caesar et al. 1974; Brazer and Anderson 1976).

Education costs in Michigan began to skyrocket in the mid-1960s, sent upward by the Legislature's passage of an act authorizing public employees to bargain collectively. Teacher organizations began negotiating for higher salaries and improved benefits, leading to a large number of strikes over the next few years. From the 1964-65 to the 1972-73 school year, the average teacher's salary in Michigan increased 78.9 percent. Combined with a 14.4 percent increase in the number of pupils, school district expenditures rose 159 percent during this eight-year period. State expenditures for education were increased substantially in the period, generally compensating for the higher costs, but a large portion of the growing burden continued to fall on local property taxes (Caesar et al. 1974, 8, 35).

In addition to the growing cost of education, many school districts were facing decreased local revenue. In Detroit, for example, schools' income from local taxes had been dropping steadily for several years because of a declining tax base. This led to a "crisis" situation in 1966, when the Legislature had to give the Detroit school board $12 million to shore up its budget, under the stipulation that Detroiters increase their property-tax rate for schools (*DFP* 1 Jan. 1967, 4A).

By 1968, changes in public perceptions of the state's role in the control and financing of public education were apparent. *Ann Arbor News* columnist William Cote caught this new mood:

> The winds of change blowing through Michigan's schools are stirring growing murmurs of things hardly whispered before. For one, might the state take over control, if not outright operation, of the public schools? The idea seems almost subversive to many citizens because it has become a near-sacred concept that local people and local school boards should run their schools, with some financial aid from the state. But now the increasing property taxes, state and city income taxes, potential federal income tax increase and inflation are driving some residents and officials to begin seriously thinking about a basic change in who finances and operates our schools. (*AAN* 27 Jan. 1968, 4A)

Significantly, it was financial constraints, not a concern for schools themselves, which began to convince many that the school-finance system was in dire need of an overhaul.

The education lobby helped to bring reform concerns into the public eye. There were two major teachers' unions in Michigan — the Michigan Education Association (MEA) and the Michigan Federation of Teachers (MFT). The MEA, one of the most influential major professional education groups in the state, had 512 local chapters in 1968, a number which increased to 561 (out of a total 650 districts) in 1971. Representing suburban and outstate districts, the union prior to 1965 had been "the spokesman of educational professionalism," but with the advent of collective bargaining, it became much more concerned with representing teacher interests. Although it only represented between 20 and 30 districts in these years, the AFL-CIO-affiliated MFT represented the huge Detroit district as well as some of the larger suburbs. Because of this more urban base, the MFT tended "to pay particular attention to the social problems of schools in urban areas." In addition to the teacher unions, there were groups of administrators and various citizens' and business groups that concerned themselves with education. There was also what one observer termed a "Trojan horse operation" of ex-teachers and ex-administrators in the Legislature — fully two dozen of 147 lawmakers fit these categories (*DFP* 18 Aug. 1968, 3A; Pinner et al. 1971, 52-56; *DFP* 16 April 1967, 3B; Masters et al. 1964, 183-201).

Public concern for reform was bolstered by the January 1968 release of the report on school finance that the Legislature had commissioned in 1966. This study, conducted by J. Alan Thomas of the University of Chicago, identified a number of problems in school finance — most notably, "great variation in the educational opportunities available" to Michigan schoolchildren. Thomas characterized the problems in the financing of education as historically based: "A procedure which was appropriate for financing education in an agricultural era ... hardly meets the needs of an industrialized, mobile society, which is largely urban in nature." Thomas cited the decentralization of both school administration and school financing as the reasons for this inequality of educational opportunity, and offered several proposals for remedying it. The "most effective" way to guarantee equal opportunity, Thomas wrote, would be through shifting more of the responsibility for school finance to the state level (Thomas 1968, 323-347). The Thomas report generated considerable interest, including the formulation of several proposals for school-finance reform (Pinner et al. 1971, 2).

In his first State of the State message in January 1969, Gov. William G. Milliken picked up the mantle of education reform:

> We must develop a vastly improved state aid formula to help equalize educational opportunity, and we must do it as quickly as possible. We must improve our system of financial support to take undue pressure off property taxes. We must devise a means of more effectively spreading the industrial tax base. (*DFP* 10 Jan. 1969, 1A, 4A)

Milliken's decision to make educational reform the "major thrust" of his administration was, in the words of one observer, "most likely based on a combination of personal commitment to improve education and a calculation that educational reform was an issue that could be politically advantageous to him." Combined with the atmosphere for educational reform in 1969, Milliken's personal commitment did much to make school-finance reform an official concern (Pinner et al. 1971, 3, 12-13).

In April, Milliken called for "solid and total reform" of the state school system, appointing a blue-ribbon Commission on Educational Reform to devise a "more-equitable and more-adequate system of financing education." Using the Commission's report, Milliken, in October, made recommendations to the Legislature, including a call for a constitutional amendment to be submitted to the voters that would move from primary reliance on the property tax to state-levied non-property taxes. The plan also would have abolished the state Board of Education and replaced it with a director of education appointed by the governor; eliminated intermediate school districts and replaced them with 10 to 15 regional authorities; consolidated local districts to a total of about 250 (from over 600); increased aid to parochial schools (parochiaid) to 2 percent of the total public school budget; and established a centralized budgeting system for distributing school aid (*DN* 1 Oct. 1969, 1A, 8A). One observer called the proposals "the most radical restructuring of school financing ever officially backed on the U.S. mainland" (Pierce 1972, 426, quoted in Campbell and Mazzoni 1976, 222).

However, as one critic of Milliken's proposals remarked, the plan was "a winner-take-all gamble" (Columnist Will Muller, *DN* 6 Oct. 1969, 14A). Indeed, the plan's inclusion of the hot-button issue of parochiaid would prove to be its fatal flaw. Milliken clearly thought that he would not be able to get an education-reform package through the Legislature without the inclusion of aid to parochial schools, which was high on the agenda of many Democrats, including Senate Majority Leader William Ryan (*DFP* 7 Dec. 1969, 2B). As debate over the plan proceeded in the following months, however, it would become clear that issues of tax reform and funding equity could not be considered adequately when parochiaid was involved. In one observer's words, parochiaid became "everyone's tool in the education fight" (*DN* 3 Dec. 1969, 24C).

Issues of local control, tax relief, and funding changes were secondary to this polarized debate over the role of the state in supporting private schools, but they were present. Democrats and labor advocates opposed the increased state role in education in the proposals (*DN* 10 Oct. 1969, 9A; *Mich. AFL-CIO News* 22 Oct. 1969, 3). Fear of higher taxes or of continued inequitable taxation was another major reason for opposition to the Milliken plan, with Democrats and other opponents charging that the financing features of the plan would hit low-income individuals too hard and favor corporations (*DFP* 26 Oct. 1969, 6A). Also, many people were opposed to establishing a statewide taxing scheme. As on resident wrote to the *Free Press*, "It all boils down to this: The people should be allowed to support the type of educational program they want. ... I don't think the taxpayers in one area should be forced to pay more to bail out another district which won't spend more" (Ronald C. Lucas, *DFP* 23 Oct. 1969, 8A).

Supporters of Milliken's proposals clearly favored an increased state role in education, in order to provide more adequate and equitable services. The *Free Press*, for example, called attention to the state's constitutional obligation to "maintain and support a system of free public elementary and secondary schools," a provision which the paper said was being violated through the perpetuation of inequities: "The Legislature is the agency obligated to provide for education. It is well past time it faced up to that. Otherwise, that high blown constitutional guarantee and those fancy legal requirements simply add up to mockery" (*DFP* 5 Sept. 1969, 4A).

Also involved in the debate were issues of racial segregation and urban problems that would become important issues in school-finance reform. Detroit School Board President A.L. Zwerdling took Milliken's plan to task for its failure to "give adequate recognition to the costs involved in providing a decent education for the large percentage of Michigan's public school children who reside in this city" (*DFP* 3 Jan. 1970, 8A). State Senator Coleman Young of Detroit was more direct in claiming that the reason the public school funding crisis had been allowed to fester for so long was that it had been obscured by race problems, since the first districts to run into major financial trouble were predominantly black (*DFP* 13 April 1969, 1A).

In January 1970, recognizing the problems his plan was encountering and facing a softening economy, Milliken scaled back the amount of money requested and asked the Legislature to drop consideration of an income-tax increase. He did not, however, call for a change in his approach to parochiaid, which the *Detroit News* noted would likely have helped his plan immensely (*DN* 15 Jan. 1970, 1A; 16 Jan. 1970, 14A). But while parochiaid was an important issue, opponents of the plan were also critical of the extent to which it would centralize taxing and administrative authority (*DN* 16 Feb. 1970, 11A). In response to these concerns, House Democrats offered an alternative plan that would have increased funds to poor districts while retaining the local option of increasing funding and moving from reliance on the property tax to the income tax for funding schools.

In summary, the 1970 session "ended in disarray for educational reform." Milliken was maligned for seeking to "grab" centralized power, parochiaid dominated and derailed the debate, the House Democrats' plan was enacted without taxes to fund it, and fears of higher taxes were encircling reformers' efforts. In 1971, however, a renewed mandate for

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reform would arise. In April, Milliken renewed his plea for a state takeover of education in a 15-point program presented to the Legislature that included complete elimination of the local property tax. And in September, the California Supreme Court ruled in *Serrano v. Priest* that the state's system of financing schools violated the state and federal constitutions because it made the quality of education dependent on the wealth of a school district.

In 1972, this renewed mandate turned public attention away from statutory reform and toward constitutional reform. Proposed constitutional amendments were developed by both parties in the Legislature and by the Governor's office, but because of partisan wrangling none of these proposals were able to garner the requisite support to be placed on the ballot. At this point, early 1972, the Michigan Education Association undertook the circulation of petitions to place two amendments on the November ballot. The first amendment, which Governor Milliken soon joined with the MEA in supporting (not insignificantly because it borrowed from many of Milliken's 1969 proposals), would have required the state to assume primary responsibility for the financing of public education and to reduce reliance on the local property tax for school-financing purposes. Known as Proposal C, this amendment would have left to the Legislature what tax or taxes to impose at the state level to replace lost property-tax revenues and included a formula to distribute funds to local school districts "to assure equal and quality educational opportunity for all students." The second amendment, known as Proposal D, would have rescinded the state's ban on a graduated income tax, in order to give the Legislature the option to replace school revenue lost through Proposal C (*TV* 27 March 1972, 3; *DFP* 13 Oct. 1972, 3A; Citizens Research Council, 3).

In addition to Governor Milliken, early endorsements of the MEA petition effort came from the Michigan Chamber of Commerce, the Michigan Farm Bureau, the Michigan Retired Teachers' Association, and the Michigan Association of Elementary School Principals, among other groups. Much of the reason for this support probably came from the MEA's emphasis on tax reform and from its claim that the proposed amendments would preserve local control over schools, rather than from any concern for equalizing school funding. The MEA petitions made these emphases clear. The petition for Proposal C read "Give the PEOPLE of Michigan A Chance to Vote on PROPERTY TAX RELIEF AND IMPROVED LOCAL CONTROL OF SCHOOLS." In smaller type, the petition continued "Break the strangle hold that the present local property tax system has on local efforts to provide good schools and quality education" (*TV* 10 April 1972, 3; 15 May 1972, 3). In no uncertain terms, the MEA was appealing to politically palatable concerns for tax relief and local control.

Significant opposition also developed, however. In October, the state AFL-CIO, which included among its member unions the Michigan Federation of Teachers, came out against Proposal C because of "its disastrous effects on taxpayers and education in Michigan." (*Michigan AFL-CIO News* 18 Oct. 1972, 1; 1 Nov. 1972, 3) Meanwhile, other opponents, such as Republican Senator Harry DeMaso, chairman of the Senate Taxation Committee and an expert on tax issues, warned that the proposal would lead to increased taxes and a loss of local control over schools: "The fact is that when the general school operating funds are administered and controlled by 148 legislators, the control is no longer local. It is in the hands of the state" (*Michigan AFL-CIO News* 1 Nov. 1972, 5).

To proponents of Proposal C, two issues were of paramount concern: reforming the state's system of taxation and improving the methods of funding the schools. As the *Free Press* argued, passage of C and D would be "a major step toward ending the terrible inequities that exist in school financing in Michigan and an end to reliance on a tax that is not based on ability to pay" (*DFP* 15 Oct. 1972, 2B; 22 Oct. 1972, 2B).

On the local educational level, opinion was mixed. In fact, even though the State Board of Education supported the Governor's proposals, a survey made in August 1972 and published in the *Michigan School Board Journal* showed that a majority of school boards in the state opposed Proposal C, primarily because they thought it would bring higher taxes and because they were dubious of its stated benefits (*DFP* 4 Nov. 1972, 6A). Delegates to the Michigan Association of School Boards convention in early November voted 159-73 against supporting Proposal C, with the major consideration being fear of the loss of local control over salaries and curriculum. As one delegate said "[Proposal C] is asking us to give up local control of our schools and put our faith in the Legislature. We have been crawling to the Legislature on our hands and knees for years to beg and we got nothing. Why should we think we would get anything now?" Yet while local control and a lack of faith in the Legislature were the main objections discussed publicly, a *Detroit News* reporter perceptively noted that "private conversations frequently were concerned with a fear of cross-district bussing." In the reporter's words, school board members thought that "uniform support of schools — as tax reform is supposed to provide — would remove one strong objection to widespread bussing, that some children would be sent to schools which are inferior to the schools they now attend." This fear was reflected by the votes of association delegates from suburban districts around Detroit, who "almost solidly" opposed Proposal C (*DN* 2 Nov. 1972, 3A).

As an extension of the argument that Proposal C would bring the loss of local control, the busing issue proved volatile. Two months before the referendum, the *Free Press* recognized the danger of voters associating Proposal C with the busing issue:

> The great hazard is that zealots will succeed in entangling the busing issue, which is also heading for a climax in the courts this year, with the question of school financing. If the busing issue has not beclouded the sense of justice of the people of Michigan completely, the voters will surely recognize that, whatever happens on busing, change must come on school financing. To say no to greater equity in school financing is to forsake any pretense of a concern for justice. (*DFP,* 6 Sept. 1972, 7A)

Although never a primary issue in the public debate, some residents did conflate the loss of local control with a fear of busing. Writing to the *Detroit News,* Alfred R. Kelley made the connection clear: "With all funds centered in Lansing it will be a simple step for advocates of school bussing to zero in on these funds in Lansing for the purpose of more social experiments so that we will find our money being spent for school buses rather than educational purposes" (*DN* 27 Oct. 1972, 18B). Another letter writer (Mrs. J. Wietech) was more succinct: "Let's vote to keep our schools supported by property taxes and keep our children from being bussed" (*DN* 26 Oct. 1972, 12B).

Up to three weeks before the November referendum, passage of Proposal C seemed likely. *Detroit News* polls showed support for the amendment rising from 58 percent of a representative sample of 798 residents polled on September 1 to 65 percent of those polled on October 11. In fact, the *News* polls showed that every subgroup of the Michigan population favored Proposal C through early October, and that the proposed amendment was gaining in Wayne County (which includes Detroit), among blacks, union households, and middle-income residents (*DN* 3 Oct. 1972, 1A, 14A; 17 Oct. 1972, 1A).

In the end, however, both Proposals C and D failed, the former by a 58-42 percent margin (out of 3.1 million votes). What seemed to be a comfortable level of support for Proposal C faltered in the final weeks of the campaign, primarily because of a negative campaign on the part of the amendment's opponents. The AFL-CIO, the UAW, and other labor groups continued to charge that passage of the amendment would mean a windfall for business, which undoubtedly had a strong impact on the union vote. Meanwhile, Senator DeMaso charged that Governor Milliken was misleading voters in claiming that the income tax would go no higher than 6.2 percent if proposal C was passed. He claimed that they would go as high as 10 or 11 percent. An opposition flier that was circulated prior to the election quoted DeMaso's figures, charged that the proposal would not cap property taxes, and predicted that it would erode local control over schools: "Can you imagine 148 partisan legislators doling out billions of dollars without strings attached?" (*TV* 27 Nov. 1973, 7) The *Free Press* claimed that on issues involving taxes and schools, voters across the country seemed to be saying: "Don't tamper with my pocketbook and don't mess around with my kids." Proposal C held out the promise of tax relief for millions of Michigan property owners, the paper said, but such a "promise" seemed to be insufficient to convince people (*DFP* 9 Nov. 1972, 1A).

In addition to the threat of higher taxes, another reason for Proposal C's failure was voters' fear of the loss of local control as manifested in mandatory busing. The *Free Press* reported that in the final days of the campaign, some opponents of the amendment ran radio advertisements charging that its passage would remove legal barriers against cross-district busing (*DFP* 9 Nov. 1972, 1A). Speaking to the closing session of the annual meeting of the Michigan Association of School Boards, Lieutenant Governor James H. Brickley claimed that the reason Proposal C failed was that feelings about school busing was high and that it was a presidential election year (*DN* 19 Jan. 1973, 9A). Lacking "the kind of consensus such fundamental changes really ought to have," as the *Free Press* observed, and buried on a ballot that was generally conceded to be overly long and confusing, the measure again seemed doomed to failure (*DFP* 8 Nov. 1972, 6A). The MEA also thought that in addition to "confusion," "selfishness" on the part of voters from wealthy districts, and "political partisanship," voters acted out of a "distrust of legislators and fear of loss of local control, of busing, and of more taxes." In fact, one-half of those who voted against Proposal C lived in the tricounty area surrounding Detroit, where busing would have had the greatest impact (*TV* 27 Nov. 1973, 6-7).

In the aftermath of Proposal C's defeat, a growing sense of urgency combined with a realization that school-finance reform would be much more difficult than previously thought. The urgency derived from financial crises in many school districts, most notably in Detroit but in many others as well. In the midst of this growing state crisis, many opponents of Proposal C came out in favor of greater state control over education financing. The AFL-CIO pledged to help solve the school-finance crisis, with President William C. Marshall now in favor of statewide funding: "We're going to have to go to state financing. We're not going to be able to rely on the property tax. We've got to have state equalization. The heat has got to be put on the Legislature to work out an equitable solution" (*Michigan AFL-CIO News* 13 Dec. 1972, 1). The *Detroit News*, praising the state plan to aid the Detroit schools, said it would "begin the overdue process of placing all the state's 600-odd school districts on an equitable funding basis." Calling on the state to "assume a larger role" in collecting and distributing funds for education, the newspaper said education reform must be viewed as a "gradual change"; it would take years to "shift the funding burden and resolve the delicate issue of state-versus-local control." Proposal C would not have done this, the *News* editorialized, because it was "laden with deceptions and promises" (*DN* 8 Dec. 1972, 10B).

A state Supreme Court decision also helped to create an atmosphere for reform. In late December 1972, the court ruled in *Milliken v. Green* that the state's system of school finance was inequitable and therefore violated both the state and federal constitutions. Adopting the *Serrano* reasoning, the court stated that there was "no logical connection between the asserted justification of local control and the amount of school funds the state distributes in a school district based solely on the fortuitous circumstance that the district has more or less valuable properties per pupil within its borders." The ruling did not throw out the property tax as a method of funding schools or offer remedies for improving the system, but it effectively directed the Legislature to prepare a new formula for distributing school taxes equitably (*DN* 29 Dec. 1972, 3A; 30 Dec. 1972, 5A).

Another reason for the urgency of reform in 1973 was that taxpayers were exhibiting increasing reluctance to approve property-tax increases. As Albert DeStefanis wrote in a letter to the *Detroit News*, taxpayers were at a "saturation point." DeStefanis associated the development not just with higher taxes, but also with a fear of busing: "Many [taxpayers] have indicated that as long as there is a possibility of tax dollars being used to provide bussing in any future court-ordered mandate — a mandate which may well go against the will of the majority of people — they would never support any millage proposal" (*DN* 16 Dec. 1972, 4A). A few months later, another resident attributed voter rejections of property-tax increases to be "a lack of confidence in the system," dubious of the schools' accountability and efficiency (*DN* 27 March 1973, 6B). The Michigan Chamber of Commerce made the argument more explicitly; in the words of Chamber President Harry R. Hall, "internal reforms are mandatory before a tax-burdened public is going to agree to more taxes for education. ... Education needs to assure increased results commensurate with increased costs. Education needs to become result-minded, not just finance-oriented" (*Michigan Challenge* April 1973, 4, 6-7).

Such calls for improved efficiency in the use of school funds could not elude the basic problem of widespread distributional inequity, a problem which the U.S. Supreme Court squarely thrust in the states' domain in its March 1973 decision in *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez*. In this ruling, the court ruled that the Texas school finance system did not violate the federal equal-protection clause despite huge disparities in funding between school districts (*DFP* 30 March 1973, 5A). In public reaction to the *Rodriguez* decision, busing was once again of prime concern. The *Free Press* reported that the ruling upset the reasoning of those "who had feared the high court would use equal financing of poor city and suburban school systems as a trade-off for school integration." That kind of trade-off had been "implicit in much of the debate over busing, and the opponents of busing have found solace in the views of those blacks who are more interested in black control of black schools than in integration." In the view of Lynn Townsend, Chrysler Corp. chairman and retiring president of New Detroit Inc., "cross-district busing would not have been an issue" in Michigan "if we had moved to equalize the financing of our schools four years ago." No one "really wants their children bused miles away from their homes," Townsend continued; busing advocates were "trying to point out the inequality of educational opportunities for their children in the present situation." The *Free Press* reporter stated that this view did not reflect accurately the pro-integration position, "but it is the view that many white leaders hold." The *Rodriguez* decision, therefore, was a "jolt" to these white leaders, "who had hoped a favorable court decision on education finance would be an easy solution to the school integration problem"(*DFP* 30 March 1973, 5A).

Into this general atmosphere of court mandates, school-funding crises, tax revolts, and fears of busing, legislative reform advocates reentered. Once again, however, the legislative battles centered around plans that tried to outdo each other in appealing to tax equity, not to fundamental improvement of the school-finance system. In late 1972, Republican Senator Gilbert E. Bursley proposed a bill that worked on the principle of "equal (revenue) return for equal (taxing) effort," in other words guaranteeing each school district the same total amount of funds per pupil for each unit of locally determined taxation (Caesar 1974, 11). The plan allowed for local control without increasing taxes(*DFP* 18 Dec. 1972, 3A). Demonstrating the politicization of the school-finance issue, Democratic leaders immediately came out in opposition to the Bursley plan. House Speaker William Ryan of Detroit expressed "considerable misgivings" about Bursley's statutory solution, calling for a constitutional amendment to avoid the "fiscal chaos" of a continued year-to-year approach to the problem (*DFP* 18 Dec. 1972, 3A). Supported by the AFL-CIO, House Democrats also called for "more equity" in the tax system, such as by instituting a graduated income tax (*Michigan AFL-CIO News* 31 Jan. 1973, 1). The MEA, meanwhile, took a more tempered position, supporting the Bursley bill but only as an "interim step" toward a financing arrangement "that will be fair and equitable both to Michigan's children and taxpayers" (*TV* 5 Feb. 1973, 3).

In his State of the State address in January 1973, Milliken made education reform his main concern. Calling such reform the state's major failure in 1972, Milliken expressed his goals in much more mediated terms than he had used in 1969: "Our challenge now is to develop and achieve a legislative solution which recognizes the public will but still provides more equal educational opportunity for Michigan children, whether they live in rural areas or the central cities." Further demonstrating his more moderate approach, Milliken said that financial equity must be "phased in" to avoid inflation, that school districts must show they are spending money effectively, and that "equity must be achieved not by robbing financially strong school systems, but by aiding financially poor school systems." To achieve this, Milliken proposed limited property-tax relief, supported the Bursley plan, and called for a $108 million increase in education funding — the highest percent increase in per-pupil aid in state history. While providing *more* equity, Milliken's plan still allowed local voters to increase taxes for schools. This inequity, Milliken claimed, was acceptable to meet the standards of the December 1972 Michigan Supreme Court ruling. Milliken's plan was a much more gradual approach to school finance reform than he had followed in the past, tempered by concern for accountability and efficiency, featuring a tax cut for some property owners, and bereft of any suggestion of increasing state responsibility for funding education. He clearly had learned some lessons about the limits of education reform (*DN* 11 Jan. 1973, 1A, 10A).

Legislative Democrats, especially those from Detroit, were quick to criticize Milliken's plan. House Majority Leader Bobby Crim of Davison said the plan would actually increase property taxes. In response to Milliken's insistence that Detroit residents increase their property-tax rate for schools, Detroit Representative George Montgomery evoked the busing issue by claiming that the city's voters were unlikely to approve more taxes "as long as the district is polarized by the question of busing." Senator Coleman Young of Detroit claimed that Milliken was ignoring tax-base disparities between districts: "This is a classic Republican blind spot, the area of ability to pay: It's like inviting an ADC [Aid to Dependent Children] mother into taxing competition with Henry Ford." Young also criticized the governor for "making Detroit the whipping boy for the state schools" by neglecting to mention the problems in other districts across the state. Generally, the Democrats favored an alternative to Milliken's plan that would mandate a low property-tax ceiling, a steep income-tax hike, and perhaps a new tax on business — basically following the intentions of Proposals C and D (*DFP* 9 Feb. 1973, 3A, 10A).

In June, after months of partisan positioning, the Legislature began debating the relative merits of two bills representing different approaches to school-finance reform. The Bursley plan, offering more aid to districts with high property-tax rates, had passed the Senate, while an alternative Democratic plan, which provided more money for lower taxing districts, had passed the House. The *Free Press* called the ensuing debate "the biggest fight of the 1973 Legislature. ... The outcome will determine who gets the best school aid deal — taxpayers of rich districts like Ann Arbor and Grosse Pointe who already pay high school property taxes, or taxpayers of poorer districts like Detroit who pay a lower rate." The paper said that a party-line vote was not expected; rather, legislators would vote on the basis of which approach benefitted their districts (*DFP* 13 June 1973, 3A, 12A).

In late June, the House rejected the Democrats' approach to reform, seemingly clearing the way for the Bursley bill. But in a "political power play," the Democrats managed to squeeze their additions to the plan through at the last minute without a vote to spare, sending the bill back to the Senate. House Speaker William G. Ryan managed this by threatening to resign and throwing in a $4.8 million tax relief bonus for high-taxing school districts, in order to win back the support of suburban Democrats who had voted against the plan a few days earlier (*DFP* 28 June 1973, 3A). In the *Free Press*'s words, Ryan's threatened resignation had a "sobering effect" on the wayward Democrats. Ryan said the threat "was riding on the Democrats' willingness to work out a well-balanced plan to benefit all school districts — not just the ones they represent — and they came through with flying colors" (*DFP* 30 June 1973, 3A). Others considered the Democrats' action as much less altruistic: "They sold out for 4.8 million pieces of silver," complained Minority Floor Leader Dennis O. Cawthrone (*DN* 30 June 1973, 3A).

In an editorial printed while debate was proceeding, the *Free Press* lamented that school finance reform was caught in a "political crossfire":

> What is needed now in Lansing is less politics and more reason, fewer brickbats and more compromise. Gov. Milliken and Speaker Ryan, jointly if necessary, should take the lead in promoting negotiations and preventing politics from damaging what can be significant improvement for Michigan's schools. (*DFP* 4 July 1973, 8A)

But the damage had already been done, developed through months and even years of polarization on the issue of school finance. As *Free Press* columnist William Grant noted, in a "textbook world" the problems in Michigan school finance could easily be solved, but "school finance reform is not a question of what is right or wrong, but a question of what can get enough votes to become law." In resigned tones, Grant lamented the loss of an opportunity:

> This was to have been the year that Michigan got school finance reform. A year ago, Gov. Milliken had successfully completed his end run of the Legislature and put a reform amendment to the state Constitution on the ballot. A challenge to the state's system of school finance in the courts seemed certain to succeed, just as similar cases had been successful in other states. Now the hope for immediate and complete school finance reform is gone, blown away like a wisp of smoke in a gale. What is left is what we had all along: the Legislature trying to deal with the problem. And what we are likely to get is only a partial solution to the problem. (*DFP* 13 July 1973, 6A)

In the end, partial reform is what Michigan got. The Republicans won the main points in the conference committee, so that the act basically followed the Milliken/Bursley plan with some concessions to the Democrats. The *Free Press* complained that the act did not "adequately answer Michigan's long-range problems in public school financing" such as eliminating dependence on local property taxes (*DFP* 4 July 1973, 8A).

In an analysis of legislative voting on 1973 Michigan school-finance measures conducted a decade later, Robert Palaich and others demonstrated the overwhelming predominance of political paries as the main factor determining how a legislator voted, although it disappeared with the final vote on the conference committee's report. Acknowledging that Michigan "has a reputation as a strong party state," the authors contend that economic self-interest, interest groups, and median income had only secondary importance in determining voting behavior. Furthermore, Palaich and others showed that the political party of the representative of a House district was closely related to the characteristics of the constituency of that district. Finally, after controlling for political party, the authors concluded that median income of the lawmaker's district was the only other factor that explained variation in the vote: "Relatively higher income districts, which were not necessarily benefitted but also were not taxed by the proposal, supported it" (Palaich et al. 1983).

The 1973 Michigan school aid act was the culmination of years of concern over the issue. In later years, analysts would conclude that the effect of the bill on the equalization of school funding levels was minimal, although it did help to equalize property-tax levels (Brazer and Anderson 1976; Carroll and Park 1983). That is not to say, however, that the effects of the public debate were similarly minimal. Indeed, the way the debate was framed in the late 1960s and early 1970s has severely constrained the possibilities for true school-finance reform to this day. As one analyst noted in 1975: "Political and sociological philosophies that exist in Michigan have established certain 'givens' which quickly reduce the endless varieties" of school funding. Recognizing the constraints of these philosophies, as well as their historical roots, helps one to understand the limits of school-finance reform in Michigan (Wegryn and Andrews 1975, 1).

In that vein, this study has shown how the way supporters and opponents of school-finance reform in Michigan from 1968 to 1973 framed their arguments had a strong influence on defining the possibilities of that reform. Equity advocates, such as Governor Milliken and the MEA, focused their attention on garnering support by appealing to residents' desire for tax relief and trying to appease their concern for local control, but by doing so they played into the hands of their opponents. The opponents of state taxation and increased state control over schools, led by Democrats and the AFL-CIO, were able to frame the debate as one of local control versus higher taxes and/or mandatory busing, with parochiaid serving as a roadblock in the early years of the debate. Certainly, none of these divisions were fixed. Many opponents of parochiaid, for example, moved to support school-finance reform as soon as that debate subsided. But supporters of real reform in school finance, which would have provided equity and adequacy in both taxation and distribution, never garnered enough of a consistent backing to bring their agenda to the forefront of concern. Local control advocates in all their guises, on the other hand, were numerous, outspoken, and represented enough to limit the possibilities of reform.

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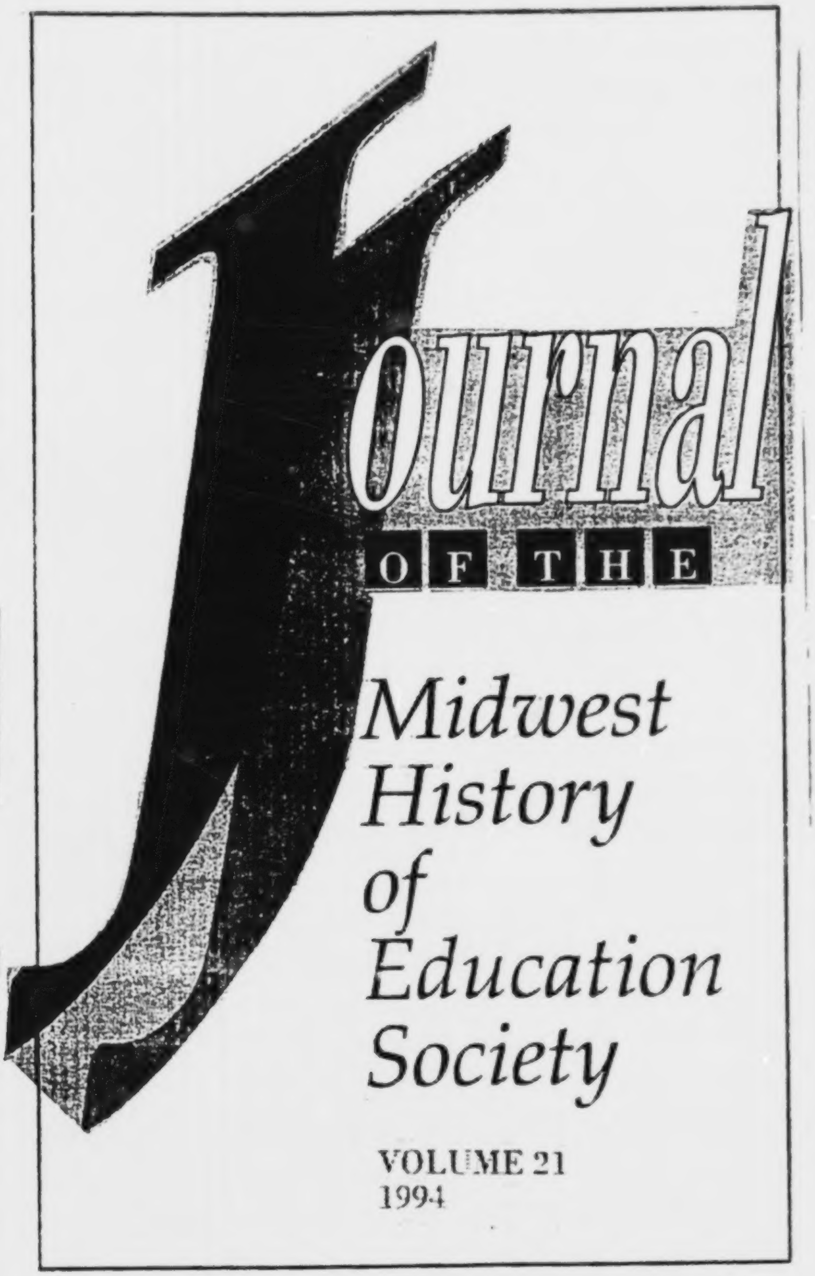

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The Limited Experience of Bona Fide, Participatory Democracy for the Common Man/Woman in American History

Richard Brosio
Ball State University
Muncie, Indiana

This paper can be best understood within the conceptual framework which features institutions, including schools, as subject to the conflicting imperatives of capitalism and democracy. My own interpretation of this conflicting imperatives model is the power of capital has always been significantly stronger than its opponent. In spite of the realities of constitutional liberties and the right to participate politically with a good deal of personal freedom in this democracy, the lived experiences of most ordinary men, women, and children have not been of participatory, bona fide, de facto democracy. In all too many instances, persons and groups have been excluded; furthermore, throughout its history, the United States many battles conducted by ordinary persons have occurred in order to translate the promise of democracy into actual policies. Democratic decision-making is relegated often to comparatively unimportant issues, while those in command of corporate power, as well as their allies within the class-state, develop the issues and priorities which ordinary citizens are allowed to decide upon democratically . The argument featured herein is that democracy, such as we have had it, is mainly the accomplishment of ordinary persons who have participated in the political process—and sometimes in the streets and workplaces—in order to make democracy meaningful to their own fears, needs, and aspirations. It is especially important to focus on these historical facts and trends when many celebrators of the Cold War victory and the "New World Order" have been seemingly successful at equating the victory of the "free market" and privatization with bona fide democracy. Our students must have the opportunity to study about the struggles waged by popular, subaltern forces against the direct and hegemonic power of capital, as they occurred throughout much of this country's history.

This paper is taken from a larger study in which three examples of democratic mass movements are emphasized. The first is the industrial workers' movement of the 1930s. The second is the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The third is the New Left movement of the 1960s[1]. The important point is by the time the heterogeneous American working class began to show promise of collective action and class politics at the polls, they suffered a massive defeat at the hands of capital and the class-state. The use of firepower, the misuse of the courts, the denial of the ballot to many, and the blackballing of workers, as well as other tactics, paved the way for capital's overwhelming victory by the late nineteenth century, and it lasted until the early New Deal.

American democracy in the pre-Civil War period was limited to participation by white males; moreover, this form was not a threat to those who exercised economic power at that time. As the industrial revolution, under capitalist aegis, developed post 1840—and especially after the Civil War—a (mostly) bloodless coup was executed by capital and its allies, resulting in the defeat of organized labor's attempt to challenge seriously the emerging new order. Capital had successfully seized control of the State by the 1890s, making it very difficult for working men and women to oppose effectively the transformation of work, the economy, and American life itself. The election of 1896 resulted in one-party rule in both the North and South; furthermore, the size of the electorate was reduced significantly by "reforms." The working class threat to capital and property had been, momentarily, contained.

Staughton Lynd's *Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism* has provided a useful organizing framework with which to discuss the record of democratic aspirations, accomplishments, and failures in the United States. Near the end of his book, Lynd tries to summarize the American revolutionary tradition. He points out that the coalition which won independence from British imperialism failed to clarify whether natural rights applied to the human condition itself, because this would have forced the coalition to face-up to the terrible institution and practice of slavery. The Civil War settled the question of slavery as the great exception to inherent human rights, at least in the de jure sense, through the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution; however, it took the struggle by organized workers after the Civil War to begin to establish more definitive rights between men and women on one side and property on the other. The "third revolutionary movement" (after the War for Independence, and the abolitionists doing the Civil War) "prepared to be critical, not just of property in man, but of private property in all its forms."[2]

Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis have stated, in *Democracy and Capitalism*, that a central dynamic of liberal democratic capitalist societies is the clash between personal and property rights. The authors explain that this clash is much older than the coming of the Industrial Revolution, industrial capitalism, and the proletariat; in fact, they refer to the Putney Debates of 1647 in England. Obviously the conflict between personal and property rights has occurred increasingly during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. According to Bowles and Gintis, the clash of rights which came to dominate contemporary, liberal democratic, capitalist societies is rooted in "the expansionary logic of personal rights, progressively bringing ever wider spheres of society—the management of the economy and internal relationships of the family, for example—under at least the formal if not the substantive rubric of liberal democracy. The second tendency concerns the expansionary logic of capitalist production, according to which the capitalist firm's ongoing search for profits progressively encroaches upon all spheres of social activity, leaving few realms of life untouched by the imperatives of accumulation and the market."[3] Tom Bottomore has written that since the 1880s the development of large-scale capitalism and the consolidation of the class structure in American society brought into existence opposing forces. "These diverse groups of intellectuals and activists engendered, in the first decade of the present century, a rapidly growing socialist movement through which, despite many differences of ideology and political practice, the essential ideas of Marxism about the conflict of class interests and the opposition between capitalism and socialism as forms of society began to be clearly expressed. At this time it seemed possible, and even likely that the divisions in American society would result in the formation of a political movement on a scale similar to that which already existed in many of the European countries."[4] As we shall see, the owners in the capitalist North and the wealthy agricultural interests in the South acted successfully in concert to counter the growing threat against a regime of socially irresponsible property.

David Montgomery has written, in *The Fall of the House of Labor*, that "modern America had been created over its workers' protests, even though every step in its formation had been influenced by the activities, organizations, and proposals that had sprung from working-class life."[5] Sidney Lens explains that the labor wars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries occurred because of working peoples' need to respond someway to unbridled capitalist greed. "There existed on the one hand an ambitious entrepreneurial class ... which brooked no interference with its expansion, and respected neither the human rights of the lower classes nor their juridical ones. And, on the other hand, there was a new proletariat, self-exiled from Europe or torn from small … villages, which had no place to go for support, neither the courts, the government, nor the major political parties. In other words, there … was no mechanism for easing the class struggle, and consequently, on innumerable occasions, it turned … violent."[6]

Before the advent of the Industrial Revolution in the 1840s, and even after the Civil War, politics in the United States was unusually democratic for white males. Because of the franchise and the resulting need for leaders to be re-elected, the nineteenth century featured the gradual elimination of property, religious, and literary qualifications for voting rights—as well as increasing the number of government posts depending on popular election. It is important to remember that white Americans were armed when the Revolutionary War ended. From this revolutionary experience and tradition, popular forces, workers, small farmers, et al., forced increasing democratization on the rich and powerful. This was an important achievement by the lower classes. The rich and powerful resisted, because they understood that democracy is inherently redistributive. Frances Piven and Richard Cloward write about the reaction to democratization — especially in the United States: "Everywhere in the West, the hopes of peasants, artisans, and the urban poor were fired by the essential democratic idea … that if ordinary people had the right to participate in the selection of their state leaders, their grievances would be acted upon. For just that reason, the propertied classes feared that the vote would give the 'poor and ignorant majority' the power to bring about a more equitable distribution of good things of this world.' The right of ordinary people to vote [in the United States by the late nineteenth century] was … sharply contested. "[7] According to Piven and Cloward, by the beginning of the twentieth century, at the very historical moment when the working classes in other Western countries were gaining the franchise and contesting for State power, "a series of changes in American electoral arrangements sharply reduced voting by the northern immigrant working class and virtually eliminated voting by southern blacks and poor whites."[8] This diminution of the electorate by the forces of capital occurred because genuine, inclusive, participatory democratic politics had come to mean class and radical politics aimed at challenging the emerging capitalist hegemony.

The United States was unique in that it was the only country which was a democracy (albeit limited) before the development of industrial capitalism. In most other countries industrialization and the modernizing elites were insulated from popular politics. However, as has been noted, the kind of democracy practiced in the United States during the early and middle nineteenth century did not effectively challenge the most powerful economic forces and developments. The Anglo-core, male, American democracy of the pre-industrial period could afford broad participation and raucousness because the real citadels of economic power were not yet threatened by such a politics. Adolph Sturmthal tells us that because the issue of equal franchise was more or less settled by the time a modern labor movement was formed, it was comparatively easy to integrate workers, who had not achieved a keen sense of class-consciousness, into the national community.[9] Jerome Karabel is convinced that American workers valued popular sovereignty; furthermore, they did not have to fight to secure the franchise as the European proletariat did. He says that "the lower classes in America won the right to participate in parliamentary democracy well before the Industrial Revolution and the emergence of modern proletariat."[10] American workers allegedly remained loyal to the political system even during the period of full brutality under early, unrestrained capitalism. There is truth in what Sturmthal, Karabel, and others who hold this view write; however, after 1865 a "series of wrenching economic transformations strained … methods of incorporating working-class voters and poor farmers … Increasingly, popular demands were directed to the states and even to the national government for action on economic grievances."[11] But, as Piven and Cloward argue, after 1896 the franchise was systematically taken from many who would have challenged capitalism, and in this sense America was a very flawed democracy indeed.[12]

Eric Hobsbawm explains that the European ruling classes learned to manage the potentially dangerous appearance of the working class upon the political stage. He argues that between 1880 and World War I democracy was tamed so that it was more or less compatible with the capitalist regimes. Marx and Engels had seen democratic republics as "ante-chambers" of socialism—in spite of bourgeois limitations. This hope existed because it was thought that the political organization and mobilization of the proletariat as a class were unintentionally permitted through the participation of workers in regular elections. Furthermore, Marx and Engels were quite certain that worker political participation as a class would lead eventually to socialism.[13] The American Socialist Party believed this as well. The failure of socialism to come as a result of democratic politics caused Leftists to analyze the State, political participation, the rationality of the "masses," and the roles of propaganda and hegemony. This failure also led to a brand of radical action on the Left which eschewed democratic tactics altogether. In spite of the failure of the working class to come to power, many people came to realize that the State was nonetheless interventionist, and not laissez-faire; therefore, the central government was still the main prize to be focused upon. The recognition of the State's importance by workers and radicals caused capitalists, other members of the ruling classes, and their government allies to turn back the clock on voter participation. Piven and Cloward write about the decisive American election of 1896 and how, in its aftermath, the winners "facilitated the introduction of a series of sweeping changes in American electoral institutions that made possible the near domination of the Republican party by business in the North and of the Democratic party by planter interest in the South ... The system's [the system of 1896] most important and long-lasting feature was the ... decline [of voter eligibility and turnout] that with relatively minor variations has persisted throughout the twentieth century."[14] As voter participation declined, the needs and grievances of poor workers and small farmers became less well-known and consequently not crucial to political priorities. Business rhetoric dominated American politics from 1896 until the New Deal. According to Piven and Cloward, between the presidential elections of 1896 and 1920, turnout fell from 79 to 49 percent.

The industrial proletariat created after 1865 was best represented in the railroad and steel industries, and it was here that the labor wars, as Sidney Lens calls the struggles between capital and labor, occurred most frequently and ferociously. The toughness and resourcefulness of workers' responses to attempts to control them, reorganize production, decrease wages, etc. alarmed the owners and America's upper classes. Predatory capital, in alliance with governments at all levels, tried to crush labor organization. Workers and farmers tried to find relief through the ballot during this period of industrial warfare. Populism is a good example of this phenomenon in its organized form. Piven and Cloward argue that it was the first political movement that insisted the federal government had some responsibility for the common good.

Howard Zinn has written that

> in the year 1877, the signals were given for the rest of century: the blacks would be put back [in 'their place']; the strikes of white workers would not be tolerated; the industrial and political elites of North and South would take hold of the country and organize the greatest march of economic growth in human history. They would do it with the aid of, and the expense of, black labor, white labor, Chinese labor, European immigrant labor, female labor, regarding them differently by race, sex, national origin, and social class, in such a way as to create separate levels of oppression — a skillful terracing to stabilize the pyramid of wealth.[15]

Alan Dawley claims that although the American working class has not been represented by a single philosophy, unified strategy, or political party, still a common thread runs through its activities, namely its attempts to organize, speak freely, and advance its interests against hostile employers and governmental authorities. The emergence of labor as a self-conscious entity necessitated a realignment of politics, which culminated at the end of Reconstruction in 1877. Northern businessmen and Southern planters put aside their differences in order to defend the property interests they held in common. According to Dawley,

> it was none too soon. Six months after the Compromise of 1877 when the Republicans got the presidency and pulled troops out of the South, the country was convulsed by the biggest strike ever, touched off by railroad wage cuts. Tens of thousands of people struck; dozens were killed, and millions of dollars in property was destroyed. The new Republican president, Rutherford B. Hayes, sent in federal troops recently withdrawn from the South to put down the strike. Then [the] ensuing realignment of political forces kept the working class isolated from national influence for the next quarter-century.[16]

Arthur Link explains how the Northern business interests began to emerge as the primary political power as early as 1861, upon the removal of Southern agrarian interests from the Congress that year. The passage of the Morrill tariff law (also in 1861) signified that control of the federal government had passed to the industrial, capitalist Northeast. The reconstruction of national politics which began in 1861 achieved its objectives by 1877. "Without altering the structure of American political institutions, the business classes had executed a bloodless revolution. They had ... wrested control of the political institutions from the agrarian majority and changed the character, but not the forms, of representative government in the United States."[17]

Despite of the capitalist *coup d'état*, vigilantism, repression of labor, and military and police violence there were many who still believed that the republic belonged to the common people — albeit a people divided by many classifications. The struggle by the working class in the period between 1865 and 1896 climaxed in the May 1886 strike for the eight-hour work day. According to Dawley, "nothing like it had ever been seen before. Upwards of a quarter-million workers took part, beginning May 1, in actions that combined the spontaneity of insurrectionary crowds with the discipline of industrial organization. Reaching the proportions of a nationwide general strike, it was the most significant American contribution to the international working-class. This event is commemorated in May Day."[18] This strike for the eight-hour day came to be epitomized by the Haymarket Affair, the bombing by alleged radicals, which killed some Chicago policemen, and the subsequent

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repression, including the execution of some accused and convicted "terrorists." Zinn explains that while the immediate result was the suppressing of labor, the long-term effect was to keep class anger alive. "After Haymarket, class conflict and violence continued, with strikes, lockouts, blacklisting, the use of Pinkerton detectives and police to break strikes with force, and courts to break them by law."[19]

Dawley thinks that although the socialists and anarchists defined the enemy as capitalism, the labor movement defined it as monopoly. Politics revolved around attempts to pass anti-monopoly legislation. There arose third parties such as the Greenback-Labor Party and the United Labor Party. The latter was a coalition of all the main currents of the labor movement. This unusual unity in 1886 was caused by "the special conditions of the moment—the strike wave, the major parties' subservience to plutocracy, the judicial lynching of the Haymarket anarchists, the assassination of strikers by Gould's mercenary army—all of which momentarily fused an inchoate class consciousness of the American workers into a unified movement."[20] Thus the nineteenth century labor movement reached its peak in the middle 1880s. One has to wait until the New Deal to see workers join a grand coalition, which in that instance gave them access to the highest levels of power. Labor's nineteenth century strategy of pressing its claims against capital through independent political action, such as third parties and massive strikes, did not succeed. The labor movement continued to search for tactics and strategy which would allow America's de jure democracy to become de facto as well.

Zinn has written that in the pivotal election of 1896, the Populist movement was "enticed" into the Democratic party, but its candidate Bryan lost to McKinley. One of the major reasons for the defeat was the corporate mobilization of the first massive use of money in an election campaign—a campaign which featured solid support from the mainline print media of that time. "Even the hint of Populism in the Democratic party ... could not be tolerated, and the big guns of the Establishment pulled out all their ammunition to make sure."[21] It could be said that in 1896 the economic elites unprecedentedly revealed their fears of ordinary people, who were armed with the franchise and with some idea of what was wrong with their society. The takeover of both parties by the rich after 1896 made it difficult for working people to identify with candidates; furthermore, the drive for voter registration resulted in complex barriers to voting. The old client-patron system of the earlier nineteenth century broke down under the hammer blows of industrial capitalism and urbanization so there was little connection between have-not voters and politics. Appeals based on class identity and interests became less possible, therefore, seemingly less real in American politics.

Once business realized the important role of government after the Civil War, it was motivated to control the central State. The emergence of class-based politics strengthened the resolve of capital to dominate government at all levels. It attacked the client-patron machine politics, which had been somewhat answerable to the needs of workers, immigrants, and the poor. The attacks on machine politics were done in the name of alleged efficiency, middle class expertise, and business values; the results were machine politicians had little remaining in terms of goods and services to deliver. The introduction of direct primary elections after 1896 reinforced one-party domination in both North and South. Most importantly perhaps, registration requirements restricted the suffrage. In the South, the Jim Crow laws and other efforts to exclude voters through difficult registration requirements allowed the re-establishment of a "quasi-feudal labor system." According to Piven and Cloward, these strategies evolved systematically over time in the various southern states after 1876, and the results were about three-fourths of the population — black and white — were stripped of the right to vote. The better-known southern strategy was not without analogy in the North. Limiting the suffrage in the Republican-dominated North was aimed at allowing "better people" to assume firm control of government. The voiced fear was that waves of immigrants would sever political power from property and "intelligence." Eleven states in the North and West established literacy tests between 1890-1926. These were aimed primarily at the lower class, and especially naturalized voters. Piven and Cloward quote from what William Riker wrote in 1953: " 'The real purpose, so artfully concealed, is to deprive of citizen rights certain minorities believed to have a low literacy rate. Eighteen states have adopted the test, seven to disfranchise Negroes, five to disfranchise Indians and Mexicans and Orientals, and six to disfranchise European immigrants.' "[22] It became increasingly difficult for working persons to register. The registrars would visit workers' home when they were at work; furthermore, there were other inconveniences. Formal and informal barriers tended to exclude those who were less well-educated and less confident. This systematic attempt to shrink the American electorate worked, and the result was the decline of electoral competitiveness. The politicians could, and did, ignore those citizens who could not, and did not, exercise the franchise.

Participation in the electoral process has never been enough to move the class-State in the United States, or elsewhere, to act on behalf of the masses of working people in the modern era of industrial capitalism. Additional activities have had to be undertaken outside the confines of narrow legality. Sidney Lens, Norberto Bobbio, Pietro Ingrao, et al., have understood the need for mass activities being conducted on work sites, in the streets, and elsewhere in order to pressure the class-State to act on behalf of the working class, people of color, women and other groups/persons who have been excluded from power. Lens writes that "had the workers abided by court injunctions against picketing and had they shown the expected respect for the organs of law and order—police, militia, federal troops [private armies]—unions ... would have been dwarfs in size [written in 1973] and impotent in influence."[23] Martin Carnoy has argued that the class-State has not, and will not, reform in a progressive direction in the absence of democratic popular movements pressuring it. Specifically, Carnoy writes didactically: "The correct political strategy is to organize at the base both outside and inside the State, bringing those organizations to bear on the society's dominant institutions to reform them."[24] In agreement with Charles Tilly, et al. (*The Rebellious Century 1830-1930* [1975]), Carnoy states that the potential power of organized and angry masses has been demonstrated in the twentieth century in strikes, the civil rights movement, battles over women's suffrage and various revolutions outside of the United States. Referring to their thesis in *Poor People's Movements* (1977), Piven and Cloward write, "our view ... was that poor and working-class people sometimes exercised powers when they mobilized in mass defiance, breaking the rules that governed their participation in the institutions..."[25] The right to vote serves as a "magnet" to which all activity is attracted; whereas, other forms of collective action are discredited. "Further, involvement in electoral politics exposes people to the fragmenting influences [where they can lose social class and other membership identities] associated with electioneering, and can thus weaken the solidarities that undergird political movements ... People are [sometimes] hypnotized by circuses of election campaigns ... In short, involvement in electoral politics channels people away from movement politics."[26] In a system that is a de jure democracy, electoral political strategies along with allied contestations on many sites and terrains are the best ways for working people, minorities, the poor, women, and other excluded groups to be considered in decisions which affect their lives. In the 1930s striking industrial workers of the CIO were successful in convincing and pressuring a hesitant Roosevelt administration to offer protection against the wrath of the owners, and then to pass legislation making collective bargaining possible. The same was true for the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The anti-war movement and the New Left, in some instances, attempted to use legal and extra-legal strategies in order to achieve their goals. The current attempt by organized women and their allies to force the federal and state governments to act on their behalf in order to secure fair treatment in paid labor and to control their reproductive conditions (among other issues) is similar in many respects to the strategies pursued by labor, civil rights and anti-war movements. It is too early to tell how this gender-defined mass movement will end in terms of legislative, judicial, and other legally secured victories. Perhaps success will depend upon the ability to form broad coalitions with other progressive forces which are committed to voting, as well as to direct mass action.

ENDNOTES

1. The contemporary women's movement in the United States belongs to this group of mass democratic movements, but is not analyzed in the larger work—nor in the work before you.
2. Staughton Lynd. *Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism.* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1968), 161.
3. Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis. *Democracy and Capitalism.* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers), 1986, 29.
4. Tom Bottomore. "Comment 1 to Clinton Rossiter's The Relevance of Marxism." In *Failure of a Dream? Essays in the History of American Socialism*, eds., John H.M. Laslett and Seymour Martin Lipset. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1974), 494-495.
5. David Montgomery. *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 7.
6. Sidney Lens. *The Labor Wars.* (Garden City: NY: Anchor Books, 1973), 396.
7. Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward. *Why Americans Don't Vote.* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1988), 4, 6.
8. Ibid,6.
9. See Laslett and Lipset.
10. Jerome Karabel. "The Reasons Why," review of Werner Sombart's *Why Is There No Socialism in the United States.* (The New York Review of Books, 26(1), September 20, 1984), 26.
11. Piven andCloward. (41).
12. Bowles and Gintis explain, in *Democracy and Capitalism*, how various reactionary "accommodations" have weakened participatory democracy. In their view, the Lockean accommodation reconciled representative government with capitalism by disenfranchising the working class through property qualifications, literacy requirements, etc. This first accommodation is described by Bowles and Gintis primarily in its European context. The second accommodation is the Jeffersonian one, which sought to harmonize private property and democracy through the generalization of property ownership in land rich America. This was undone by the closing of the frontier and conversion to capitalist production conditions, as well as the accompanying proletarianization of many American workers. The Madisonian accommodation "maintained that the few might be safe from the many even in a liberal democratic environment as long as society is marked by a large number of fundamental and cross-cutting cleavages, ensuring the lack of unity on the part of the majority ... [it] relied upon the heterogeneous economic and social situation of the major producing classes ... upon the strategic exclusion of some groups ... as well as upon racial, ethnic, and regional antagonisms, to forestall the threat to the structure of privilege posed by the extension of the suffrage." p. 52. The fourth accommodation is the Keynesian one. It assimilated the newly powerful class of wage and salary workers; although capitalist control over investment and production comprise an effective counterweight to the inclusion of workers into the State's area of responsibility for well-being. This accommodation depended upon comparatively prosperous times; although it was introduced during the Depression of the 1930s. Bowles and Gintis's analysis of the four accommodations can be found on pp. 41-62.

13. Eric Hobsbawm. *The Age of Empire: 1875-1914.* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987), 110.

14. Piven and Cloward. (53-4).

15. Howard Zinn. *A People's History of the United States.* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1980, 247).

16. Alan Dawley. "Paths to Power After the Civil War." In *Working for Democracy.* (See Buhle 1985, 44).

17. Arthur S Link. *American Epoch: A History of the United States Since the 1890s.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), 5.

18. Dawley. (See Buhle 1985, 46-7).

19. Zinn. (266).

20. Alan Dawley. "Paths to Power After the Civil War." In *Working for Democracy.* (See Buhle 1985), 48.

21. Zinn. (289).

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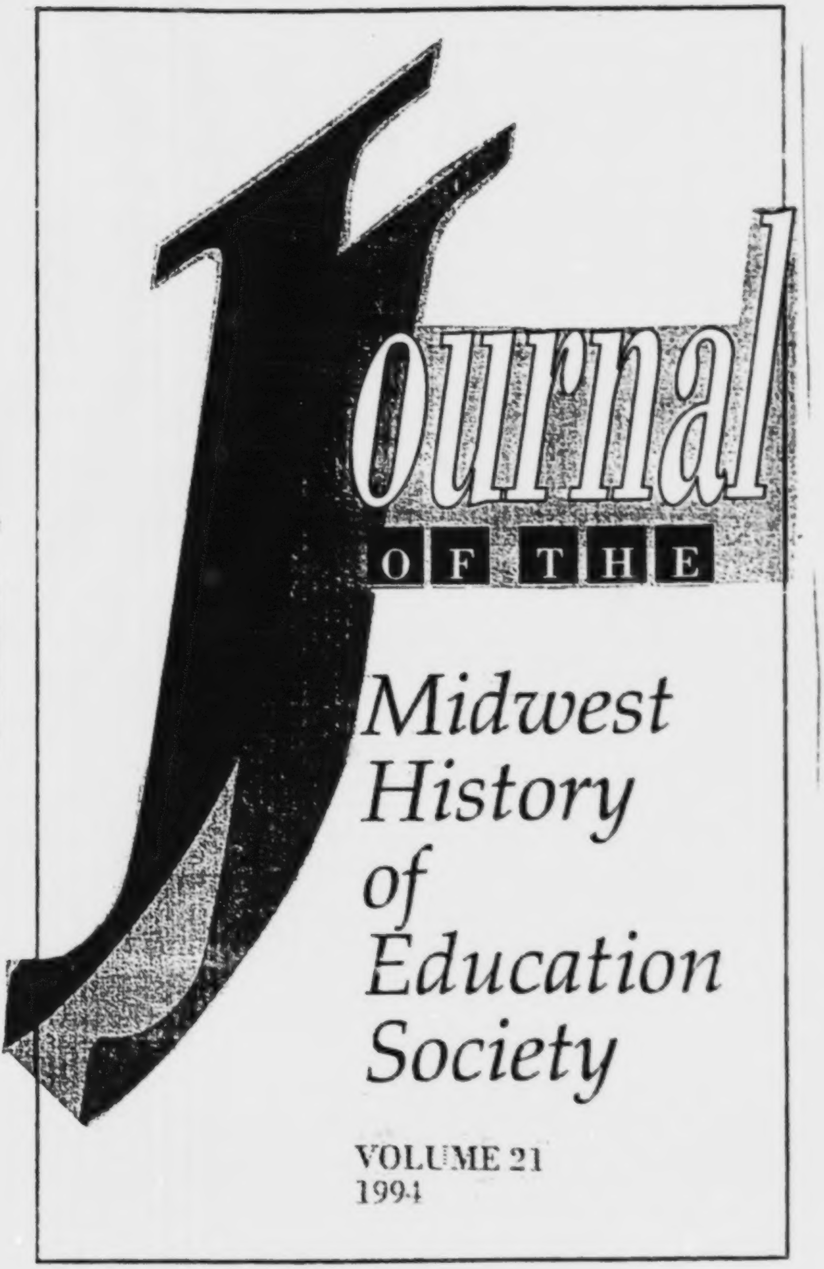

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Monopoly in the Academic Marketplace: Paul Nyden and the University of Pittsburgh

Steve Aby
University of Akron

Investigation into the academic freedom of Marxist and other radical faculty in the 1960s and 1970s reveals a number of unsettling trends. Though such faculty continued to be in jeopardy, as they had been from the turn of the century through the McCarthy era, their firings increasingly became couched in and justified by "neutral criteria." The overtly anti-socialist and anti-communist criteria of previous decades were replaced by subtler, yet just as ideologically biased standards. These new criteria were based upon conceptions of value-free science, dominant disciplinary paradigms, "professional" or technocratic standards of academic competence, and the marketplace-of-ideas. These four related concepts have their own inherent ideological biases and were invoked in the 1960s and 1970s to suppress and purge radical academics.

The academic freedom case of Paul Nyden, who was fired from the University of Pittsburgh, is a good illustration of these trends. In this paper, I will review the facts of the case, attempt to demonstrate the bias of the "neutral" criteria used in evaluating Professor Nyden, and briefly explore the issue of the relationship of knowledge and power.

Paul Nyden was an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh. He was hired before completing his doctoral dissertation, dealing with reform movements in the United Mine Workers, at Columbia University. The appointment was initially to the Applied Sociology Program as an instructor. Upon completion of his dissertation, the department promoted him to the position of assistant professor, with evaluation for tenure to come after completion of the second of two three-year contracts. This, however, was dependent upon the renewal of his first three-year contract. That renewal never materialized.

Toward the end of his second year as assistant professor in the department, Professor Nyden was notified that his contract would not be renewed:

> Dr. Paul Nyden was informed... on Tuesday that the department's steering committee had reviewed his academic and scholarly work and recommended in a confidential report his appointment not be renewed.[1]

Professor Nyden was refused access to the confidential report itself. Consequently, the specific reasons for the recommendation were kept secret.

Subsequent to the Steering Committee's recommendation, the department as a whole voted to terminate Nyden. Similarly, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences upheld the recommendation. It was not until Nyden's case reached the Faculty of Arts and Sciences Tenure and Promotion Hearing Board that an element of doubt was cast on the termination. The Board questioned and criticized the evaluation of Professor Nyden's work "because it followed by only 15 months a favorable review by the same department."[2] For this reason, and others, the Board recommended that an ad hoc committee, capable of evaluating Nyden's work, be appointed. However, this recommendation was ignored by the Dean, who said:

> The findings of the TPHB itself that reasonable grounds for the stated cause for non-renewal—Dr. Nyden's inadequacy as a scholar in the field of Sociology—exist in fact rule out the need for an ad hoc committee...[3]

This was a rather selective interpretation of the Board's report. In fact, the report said that it was possible that the Department's reasons for firing Nyden did exist. However, the Board said it could not conclude one way or the other.[4] Thus, they recommended that an ad hoc committee, knowledgeable in sociology, resolve the dispute. Nonetheless, no ad hoc committee was formed, and Nyden's termination remained. Also, the Dean "said it was not 'unreasonable' for opinions to change in that amount of time, and that the FAS had recodified its procedures for reappointment during the period between the reviews."[5]

It was not until Nyden's appeal of the firing reached the University Senate Council, the final step of his appeal, that he was given some vindication. This council said that Nyden should be reappointed because the evaluation criteria for reappointment had changed. This change had not been made clear to Professor Nyden. The implication was that Nyden might have changed his scholarly emphasis to meet the new standards. He had spent time revising his dissertation for publication.

It was after this report that the University relented and offered Professor Nyden a new contract. However, this contract was not for the standard three years. Rather, it was for 15 months.[6] Supposedly, this was to compensate for the equivalent period in which Nyden had operated

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under changed criteria. Furthermore, Nyden was moved out of the Department's main working area because of the hard feelings generated during the controversy. Professor Nyden was to be responsible to the Dean under this new arrangement.[7]

Nyden accepted the offer, but objected to the unusual contract, his removal out of the department, the nature of his next review procedure, and other details. The University took these objections or reservations to amount to a rejection of the contract offer. Consequently, Nyden was left fired. Professor Nyden protested that he had not rejected the offer, and he filed suit against a number of people. Subsequently, the University settled out of court with Professor Nyden.

This is a general overview of the Nyden case. However, it does not get to the real issues involved in the controversy. Professor Nyden was a Marxist and an active supporter of unions in general and the United Mine Workers in particular. He claimed that he was fired because of his politics. The Department and the University, on the other hand, denied these accusations. Although the Senate Council recommended that Nyden's contract be renewed, it did so on procedural, not political, grounds. Consequently, if we want to determine the possible political motivation of the firing, a more detailed study will be required.

The Politics of the Marketplace

The allegation that Nyden was fired for political reasons was not altogether a unique one for the University of Pittsburgh. The Student Committee to Defend Dr. Paul Nyden pointed out how the case was symptomatic of the general political climate on campus:

> But the Nyden case is a symptom of a much larger crisis at Pitt. Over 100 students, professors, and staff workers have race, sex, union, or political cases pending against the administration...[8]

The substantial number of cases involved here lends credence to the possibility that politics might have prompted Nyden's firing. Furthermore, it has been pointed out by Nyden's defense committee that

> Of the 36 trustees, the majority are heads of big corporations, like U.S. Steel, Consolidation Coal, Westinghouse, Gulf Oil and Mellon. There is no worker, one student, only two Black people, a few women, and a handful of educators...[9]

Clearly, the board was dominated by the area's large corporations, including coal and steel companies. One could argue that it was these interests that Nyden threatened both through his activism and his scholarship For example, in a pamphlet on the U.M.W., Nyden leveled criticisms at the anti-union politics of such entities as Consolidation Coal,

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U.S. Steel, Gulf Oil, the National Association of Manufacturers, Mellon corporate interests.[11] Each of these interest was represented on the Pittsburgh Board of Trustees when Nyden was fired. Furthermore, "Louis Antal, President of western Pennsylvania's District 5 (UMW), ...criticized corporate dominance at the University of Pittsburgh; he singled out the almost complete absence of pro-labor courses and professors, and Dr. Paul Nyden's firing in particular, at a university where half of its more than 30,000 students come from working-class families."[12]

The above data provide only circumstantial evidence with regard to the political overtones of the Nyden case. If the analysis were left here, a convincing case on behalf of Nyden would not have been established. However, there is more to consider. A conspiracy by, or pressures from, the Board of Trustees was not the only way in which political and ideological bias could have intruded in the case. Arguably, the very criteria used to evaluate Nyden's scholarship reflected a deep-seated ideological bias. Consequently, the criticisms of Nyden's work need to be analyzed in order to expose their assumptions and possible biases.

The primary stated reason for Paul Nyden's non-renewal was the alleged inadequacy of his scholarship. The Sociology department chairman, in a letter to the Dean, laid out the "fundamental principle" involved:

> In its final deliberations, the Steering Committee agreed upon a fundamental principle which is: If minimal competence in sociological scholarship cannot be demonstrated, then no other activity or performance, no matter how excellent, could be substituted. The force of the principle is this: If a "floor-level" of competence is not exceeded, a recommendation for contract renewal cannot be made.[14]

Nyden's work was not considered to have measured up to this "principle." The more specific reasons for this judgment can be culled from a number of sources. In the Department chair's letter of March 22, 1976 to the Dean, we find the following summary of Nyden's scholarly flaws:

> Nyden's scholarship had exhibited a pattern of decline in its adherence to general standards of scholarly work, particularly with regard to such matters as respect for evidence, consideration of alternative viewpoints, responsible study and use of scholarly materials germane to his fields of interest, and the grounding of any polemical claims in actual fact. These properties of his work had been blended with some impressive writing, moral commitment and thoroughness of preparation in

> the thesis. The SRC report noted that the later work, a paper entitled "Sociology of the Oppressed," exhibited primarily the most negative aspects to be found in the thesis. The general conclusion was that Nyden had shown promise of exciting future work in his thesis, but also signs of gross laxity in scholarship; the paper indicated the further development of the inadequacies rather than their reduction.[15]

The Dean, in a letter to Nyden, supplemented these criticisms with a few of his own. He said that "(t)he department hoped that you would show improvement in your analytical sociological work in distinction from journalistic efforts."[16] Consistent with these criticisms were those made by the Review Committee on Nyden's renewal. This Committee's "summary impression" was that Nyden was "extremely rash in his judgment, that he does not attempt conscientiously to conform to minimum standards of scholarly dispute, and that he has little interest in so doing. Indeed, we have the impression that Nyden, when pressed to do so, is unable to engage in a genuinely scholarly manner with positions with which he intuitively disagrees."[17] Even Nyden's dissertation, which had been highly acclaimed, was said to be "only intermittently sociological."

The sum total of these criticisms describes a professor whose work is polemical, journalistic rather than analytical, poorly supported, and too narrowly proscribed (re: a failure to consider alternative viewpoints). Is this so?

First, it should be pointed out that with regard to the dissertation, no specific criticisms were explicitly made. Consequently, the charge that it is "only intermittently sociological" is not documented. In fact, just the opposite conclusion could be reached. Professor David Montgomery, a renowned labor historian at Pittsburgh, was quite favorably disposed toward the dissertation. As an outside evaluator of Nyden's dissertation both for the Sociology Department and the University of Pittsburgh Press (which was considering publishing it), Professor Montgomery was as knowledgeable about the area as anyone. Furthermore, he made many criticisms and suggestions regarding the dissertation. Yet his evaluation of the work was undeniably positive. Professor Montgomery said he was impressed with the balance in Nyden's judgment, and, secondly that balance seemed to me to be no accident. It came about precisely because of the thoroughness of the field research that he had done, and the sensitivity that he had to what was being told him by coal miners.[18]

Montgomery further stated that Nyden's revisions of the dissertation had made it even stronger.[19] Based upon this evaluation, Montgomery recommended that the Sociology Department renew Nyden's contract.

Despite this, the Department ignored the recommendation and thereupon voted not to renew Nyden's contract.

Professor Montgomery was not alone in his praise of Nyden's dissertation. Professor Herbert Gans, a prominent Columbia University sociologist and a member of Nyden's dissertation committee, was equally impressed. Not only did he participate in the unanimous recommendation of the dissertation for distinction, but he testified as to its "sociological" merit. In fact, he said that it did contain sociological analysis,[20] and that he was impressed by the use of "qualitative methodology," which was "the same method essentially" that Gans himself used.[21]

Professor Richard Cloward, another prominent Columbia scholar and member of Nyden's dissertation committee, further supported the positive evaluation of Nyden's dissertation. He explicitly stated that he thought that it was a "sociological" piece of scholarship.[22] Furthermore, he commented on the level and degree of theoretical analysis in the dissertation, a point in the department's criticism of that work. Cloward disagreed saying that there were "different sociological styles," involving varying degrees of theoretical analysis.[23]

Finally, one of the most telling sources of support for Nyden's position was the behavior of one senior Sociology department member, who had also been a member of Nyden's dissertation committee. This faculty member wrote a letter, circulated in the Department, saying that Nyden's dissertation committee had taken two hours to decide to accept it. Additionally, he said the committee considered it to contain "little sociological analysis."[25] Yet these statements were contradicted not only by other dissertation committee members, but also by the faculty member's own evaluation as a committee member. Professors Gans and Cloward both stated that the dissertation committee was unanimous as to the excellence of the dissertation.[26] Their decision to approve it, to recommend its being given distinction, and to nominate it for a Bancroft award, took only 15-20 minutes.[27] And, in fact, this committee member concurred in all of these actions. Additionally, he wrote the letter of recommendation, on behalf of the committee, for the award. It stated:

> We all agreed that compared with our experiences with other dissertations, the present one far exceeds in amount and maturity of work almost any other dissertation any one of us had been sitting in judgment before.[28]

The above facts speak to many of the criticisms made of Nyden's work by the Department. It seems that the criticisms are at best debatable, and at worst severely biased.

A further source of bias, as noted by the Tenure and Promotion Hearing Board, was the undue emphasis placed upon the work "Sociology of the Oppressed." This emphasis might not have been warranted. Nyden undertook the paper at the request of a senior department member and did not "regard it as a major piece of work."[29] The paper had other problems for Nyden. The Tenure and Promotion Hearing Board summed up these difficulties, as well as Nyden's overall view of the article:

> Dr. Nyden, on the other hand, had from the start been troubled by the paper. It would appear in a volume associated with the Greystone conference and hence, directly or indirectly, with the Office of Naval Research, a circumstance which would violate his principles. Secondly, because the paper would be published in a volume edited by someone else, and had to conform to a prescribed format, he had much less freedom than he would have with an independent article in a journal. He was deeply involved in revising his dissertation for publication, and in an upcoming study of insurgent groups within the United Steel Workers. For him, in other words, "Sociology of the Oppressed" appears to have had little more significance than as a favor he was doing...his mentor.[30]

Professor Nyden further indicated that he thought this paper was supposed to be "quite critical and radical," and "that it was intended to be written very much on one particular point of view to balance out eleven or twelve other papers that were going to appear in a published book."[31]

The Department's emphasis upon the paper, "Sociology of the Oppressed," seems to have been unwarranted. Nyden's dissertation, and its revisions, constituted his major work. It was being prepared for publication. Furthermore, it was considered to be quite an excellent dissertation by all members of his dissertation committee, as well as by others. Beyond this, however, the criticisms of "Sociology of the Oppressed" may have been too harsh. Given Nyden's perception of his mission in the paper, the charge that it was "one-sided" is unfair. Was such a charge leveled at Nyden's other 11 or 12 papers?

Part of the criticism of Nyden was based on the alleged "narrowness of focus" of one of his courses, namely, the Marx seminar. Nothing was said about any of the other courses he taught. The departmental review committee on Nyden's renewal made the following comments concerning the Marx course:

> The latter course, as described in the syllabus issued to students and as elaborated orally by Nyden, is notable for the narrowness of its focus—which pivots upon certain aspects of the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. As far as we can tell, little or no attention is paid to the intellectual origins of Marx's work, nor to the possibility of there being differences between the work

> of Marx and the work of Engels, nor to any of the major expositional or evaluative works on Marx and Marxism (other than those of Lenin). What perhaps is most disturbing is that there seems to be no attempt to discuss Marx (or Engels or Lenin) in a way that relates to definitely sociological issues. Clearly Marx was much more than a sociologist; but this after all is a sociology department and in spite of the great heterogeneity of the discipline called "sociology" there **are** some problems of a definitely social and cultural nature which the vast majority of sociologists regard as being of central concern to sociology **qua** sociology. Our sense is that Nyden is not sufficiently sensitive to such matters.[32]

The validity of this charge of "narrowness" was responded to quite strongly by Nyden himself:

> The anti-Marxism of the department is sharply reflected in the SRC's secret 14-page report attacking my reading list, an attack first made by Mr. Robertson. He contended the lists—for a one-term course—should have included the *1844 Manuscripts* and the first volume of *Capital*. The further criticism that I did not include anti-Marxists (in a seminar on Marx!) is particularly bizarre in that I have never been allowed to teach the sequel to that course which I requested, a sequel designed specifically to examine twentieth-century Marxist and anti-Marxist thought.[33]

It should be further noted that distinctions between the "early" and the "late" Marx, as well as those between the work of Marx and Engels, are not universally regarded as important among Marxist scholars. Also, some sociology departments, such as SUNY/Buffalo, have devoted whole courses to the study of Volume 1 of *Capital* itself! Its exclusion from a one semester course on Marx is not exceptional. Other works, such as *Critique of Political Economy*, or the shorter *Wages, Prices and Profit*, could provide an introduction into Marx's political-economic categories and perspective. On the whole, the Department's criticisms are questionable.

At a deeper level, the critique of Nyden's "narrowness" is much more dangerous and insidious. In fact, the charge itself reveals a decided "narrowness" of focus. That is, the Department based its accusation upon an arbitrarily restrictive conception of sociology. These assumptions manifest themselves in many of the criticisms of Nyden's work.

A consistent theme throughout the attack on Professor Nyden was the charge that he was not "sociological." Of course, we have seen testimony to the contrary from prominent scholars. However, there is a flaw in the operative conception of sociology used by the Department. For example, the Department chair referred to Nyden's dissertation as "contemporary history."[34] The review Committee criticized Nyden's Marx seminar for not concentrating upon sociological problems, as distinct from other areas in Marx's work. The Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences referred to Nyden's work as "journalistic." The Review Committee considered Nyden's work on coal miners, including his dissertation, more in the line of public service, not scholarship:

> In our view Nyden is not likely to bring intellectual credit to this department, although there is some likelihood that his dissertation published in book form will not merely attract much attention but that he will indeed be praised in the terms that he himself intends—namely as an elegant plea for justice for coal miners. That we regard as falling, as here described, into the category of community service rather than contribution to scholarship.[35]

This is a cursory review of some pertinent criticisms and considerations. They betray the "narrowness" and possible ideological bias of the Department's conception of sociology. In the Department Chair's "contemporary history" remark, and the Review Committee's comment on sociology qua sociology in the Marx course, there is an implicit fragmentation of knowledge into discrete areas. Therefore, history is analytically separate from sociology, which is separate from economics, which is separate from philosophy, etc. To impose this separation on the work of Marx, for example, is arguable. These areas were necessarily fused in Marx's work and are essential to a Marxist perspective. Yet, the department made criticisms of Nyden based upon such assumptions. When Professor Montgomery praised Nyden's work and recommended him for promotion, this bias led the Department to reject Montgomery's advice:

> Finally, we dealt with the letter from Professor Montgomery. This letter contains both positive and negative judgments about the Nyden thesis. The negative comments are those bearing directly on those features of the work closest to Professor Montgomery's specialty, and the reason he was asked by us to comment on the use of historical materials on the U.M.W. prior to Nyden's period of first-hand observation. On the other hand, where Professor Montgomery is generous in his praise, he passes judgment on the more sociological aspects of

> the work, about which we fell competent to make our own judgments.[36]

Here the Department has rather explicitly separated disciplines into their respective compartments. It said that its concern was with the "sociological aspects" of the dissertation. What does that mean? Was it valid for them to segregate parts of an integrated whole? How can they consider the "sociological aspect" apart from its historical development? C. Wright Mills spoke to the more general issue at odds here, that is, the interconnection between history and social science:

> More important than the extent to which historians are social scientists, or how they should behave, is the still more controversial point that the social sciences are themselves historical disciplines. To fulfill their tasks, or even to state them well, social scientists must use the materials of history. Unless one assumes some transhistorical theory of the nature of history, or that man in society is a non-historical entity, no social science can be assumed to transcend history. All sociology worthy of the name is "historical sociology." It is, in Paul Sweezy's excellent phrase, an attempt to write "the present as history."[37]

An understanding and use of history is important to the practice of social analysis. This obligation cannot be fulfilled by having a sociological specialty known as "historical sociology." It is incumbent upon all sociological analyses to understand the historical development of social structures and institutions, so that "regularities or relations as may obtain among several features of society" can be understood.[38] For the Department to criticize Nyden's work as being "contemporary history" is to turn its back on the central importance of history to social analysis.

There is another area of criticism of Nyden's work that arguably reflects a narrow and biased conception of sociology. This is reflected in the statement that his writing on the coal miners is journalistic rather than scholarly. In fact, the review committee classified his work as community service. However, Professor Cloward, when asked if Nyden's work was journalistic, responded "Absolutely not."[39] There is, as we've seen, testimony as to the sociological character of Nyden's work. But beyond this, his choice of topic was quite unique. Professor Cloward suggested this uniqueness when he said the following:

> It was an extremely important case study of which there are all too few in either sociology or history, of the struggles of underclass groups for some small measure of social, economic and political justice in this society. It was finally, in my opinion, a creditable class analysis of

> American society and the struggle of a particular group of oppressed people.[40]

Professor Gans, in a March 18, 1976 letter to the department chair, further pointed out the uniqueness of Nyden's topic:

> I should add that Professor Nyden's dissertation was a comprehensive combination of sociological and sociological-historical analyses, dealing with important phenomena and issues that are too rarely studied by sociologists; consequently, his work will be a highly significant contribution to the discipline when it is published.[41]

Professor Cloward observed that sociologists get much "support from the corporations, from government, from the military, and elsewhere. There are few sociologists in America who have had close and intimate and daily contact with working-class groups, with oppressed groups, with struggles against injustice—whether the civil rights movement, or any of the other movements in our times."[42] One could argue that Nyden's work was both scholarly and a service to the community. Yet, the community he served was fairly unique among sociologists; it was a community of the exploited and oppressed. He treated the real, daily-life struggles of groups whose interests were infrequently represented in sociology. His scholarly pursuits stand in stark contrast to those of some of the other members of the Department. Of the 19 full or associate professors in the Pittsburgh Sociology Department at the time, "at least nine have done paid research directly for the U.S. military."[43] Included among these were the department chair, the former member of Nyden's dissertation committee, and a professor who worked on the infamous Project Camelot.[44]

The possible bias that becomes apparent in this picture involves the distinct ways in which these people practiced sociology. One could easily argue that Nyden was labeled as "journalistic" and a "public servant" not because his work was unscholarly, but because his work was totally at odds with the technocratically-oriented sociology practiced by many members of the department.[45] Nyden refused military or corporate research and studied instead oppressed and exploited groups. Both his subject and method were quite unique and controversial. Professor Cloward connected this case to the sociological field in general, and its relations to controversial issues:

> So the Nyden incident raised in my mind a question which had been raised by my whole experience with American Sociology, namely, that those graduate students who get into these more controversial areas are frequently dismissed as being polemicists, as being

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> propagandists. In other words, if you don't like a man's scholarship, you call him a propagandist. It is a typical academic strategy for dealing with people who think about and who care about controversial issues.[46]

The department's possible bias against radical sociology was accompanied, at least in some members, by a more explicit bias. One professor not only referred to radical sociology as "garbage, rubbish, and trash,"[47] but also referred to Marxist professor Herbert Aptheker as "nothing but a propagandist and a polemicist."[48] That same faculty member, who worked on Project Camelot, even accused Nyden of being "rigid" for not being willing to work for coal companies.[49] Another professor, in reference to the controversy over Nyden's firing, said that the Department was "the object of a well-healed, skillful, organized international assault of defamatory propaganda."[50] Since this does sound as if he is referring to a "communist conspiracy," he was asked to explain what he meant. When pressed, he said he was referring to a possible resolution on the Nyden case from the British Sociological Association. Is that really the "well-healed, skillful, organized assault of defamatory propaganda" to which he referred? This veiled allusion was made more explicit when he reacted to Nyden's dissertation. Here the professor objected to Nyden's "rigid" use of Communist Party sources such as William Foster and *The Daily World*.[51] As he put it: "I object to his basing important conclusions exclusively on one source and precisely a source that has a particular ax to grind as to the historical question discussed."[52]

The validity of Nyden's observations and analyses seems to have been less of a concern than his use of Communist Party sources. There is also the implicit, value-free assumption that if one has an "ax to grind," then one cannot engage in "objective" social science research. This faculty member, like Sidney Hook before him, has ruled out communist scholarship by definition.

Conclusion

The Nyden case is very important for at least one major reason: it suggests how political and ideological biases can be manifested in the "neutral" evaluation of radical faculty. The assumptions underlying the judgments on scholarship, collegiality, professional practice, objectivity and competence are at issue. These assumptions raise a number of questions: what is sociology?; what does it mean to practice value-free science?; does the alleged marketplace-of-ideas conceal disciplinary preferences and biases for models of practice and research paradigms? The University Hearing Board refused to consider these basic, "substantive" issues. Consequently, it found for Nyden on procedural grounds. Yet, the Nyden case is only really informative if these basic assumptions and questions are examined.

Paul Nyden was fired because he was alleged to be too value-oriented, partisan, and intolerant of other viewpoints. His work was considered journalistic and, because he worked on behalf of coal miners, biased and unobjective. His explicit and implicit criticisms of dominant political and economic interests in the coal industry, university, and department suggested that he lacked collegiality and was unsupportive of the marketplace-of-ideas. Ironically, these criticisms were used to remove him from the department and that same marketplace.[53]

However, the belief in and adherence to value-neutrality in the academy reinforces the existing constraints on and uses of the knowledge generated. In the 1950s, C. Wright Mills noted the increasing development of a "bureaucratic ethos"[54] in which social science practitioners concentrate upon narrowly viewed scientific method and techniques. The social and political context and consequences of the work are ignored and are supplied instead by the "bureaucratic clients":

> As it is practiced in business—especially in the communication adjuncts of advertising—in the armed forces, and increasingly in universities as well, 'the new social science' has come to serve whatever ends its bureaucratic clients may have in view. Those who promote and practice this style of research readily assume the political perspective of their bureaucratic clients and chieftains. To assume the perspective is often in due course to accept it.[55]

This analysis is certainly applicable. Nyden also was criticized by his department for being too value-oriented and biased in his research on miners. Yet many department members followed a technocratic model of sociological practice in which their research was conducted on behalf of "bureaucratic clients" in the military and defense industries. Nyden was criticized for refusing to practice sociology within this technocratic model. Because of their power, department members were able to implicitly define their model as "normal science" and Nyden's model, though no more partisan, as value-oriented and polemical. As Erik Olin Wright has observed,

> Marxist theorists within bourgeois universities are under tremendous pressure to ask questions structured by bourgeois problems, bourgeois ideological and political practices. Such pressures are often extremely direct, taking the form of tenure criteria, blacklisting, harassment, etc. But often the pressures are quite subtle, played out through the intellectual debates within professional conferences and journals. To publish in the

> proper journals one has to ask questions which those journals see as relevant, and such relevance is dictated not by the centrality of the questions to Marxism or to the revolutionary practice of the working class, but to the dilemmas and problems within bourgeois social science. Thus, the requirements of survival within the university necessarily push the theorist into a relationship of at least partial accountability to bourgeois class practices.[56]

Academic departments have the power to define, usually implicitly, the acceptable methods of acquiring knowledge, the theoretical perspectives used, the legitimate objects of study, and even the acceptable clients to be served. For Marxists or other radicals to practice within mainstream university settings, they may be forced to "cloak" their "discoveries, methodologies, and...culture in the guise of academic conventions."[57] Those objecting to and resisting this pressure, and who continue to propose a more activist and critically-oriented research agenda, may be seen as abrasive and not collegial. Here, the political becomes personal, and the radical faculty member's activism may be criticized as violating principles of the marketplace-of-ideas, value neutrality, and pluralism. In fact, such charges were leveled at Nyden, who was considered strident and intolerant of views with which he disagreed. This was used as evidence of his lack of fitness for a scholarly position. The same criticism was leveled at Angela Davis during her academic freedom case at UCLA.[58] Her critiques of Arthur Jensen, the university administration, and the Board of Regents were viewed as evidence of her lack of collegiality and disdain for a marketplace-of-ideas. However, there, too, the university system was involved deeply in partisan political and military research.[59] Ultimately, what these cases reveal is the way in which value-neutrality, pluralism, and the dominant, technocratic model of practice can be used to effectively exclude radical scholars from the marketplace.

As Aronowitz and Giroux argue, these examples indicate

> the degree to which academic departments refuse pluralist practices even as they oppose radicals on the same ground. Their dedication to normal science, in Khunian terms, is completely understandable; the problem is that they rarely tolerate those not engaged in research that conforms to the norms established by the 'scientific community.' Thus, exclusion from tenure is not often announced on overt ideological grounds, but on the quality of the research of the denied faculty member. The concept of 'quality' is articulated in terms of a prefigured conception of normal science. Under

> these circumstances, overt political repression becomes unnecessary. Anyone engaged in theorizing or research who adopts an antipositivist perspective or defines an object of knowledge in terms that vary or oppose conventional definitions may find herself out in the cold. Under these conditions the liberal self-perception of the pluralistic academic system is preserved.[60]

This analysis is echoed by Bertell Ollman, who argues that it is only when faculty are purged at the departmental level, using "purely professional criteria," that the illusion of objectivity or neutrality is preserved.[61] As university administrations or governmental bodies intercede, the political nature of the act of repression becomes more obvious. This was certainly the case with Ollman's academic freedom case at the University of Maryland. He was hired as Department head by the Political Science Department, only to have the offer overturned by the university president under pressure from the state legislature. The reason given by the president and the legislators was that Ollman was a Marxist, and therefore they opposed him to preserve academic freedom![62]

The 1960s and 1970s, then, saw the increasing obfuscation of the methods and criteria by which radical academics could be fired. Overtly political criteria became more covert. Ironically, the principles of value-freedom, objectivity, and the marketplace-of-ideas, when operationalized in ideologically biased institutional contexts, provided a rationale for excluding dissenting academics in need of protection. In the final analysis, the McCarthy era assumption that Marxists or Communists were incapable of pursuing the search for truth persisted.

ENDNOTES

1. *Pitt News*, 12 March 1976, p. 1.
2. *Pitt News*, 18 February 1977, p. 1.
3. Ibid.
4. *University of Pittsburgh Hearing Board, 1977, Paul Nyden vs. University of Pittsburgh, Jerome L. Rosenberg, and the Sociology Department, Transcript/Excerpt of Proceedings*. 3 vols. Record Group 3/1/1B-X File Folder 2, Special Collections, University of Pittsburgh, Vol. 1, 16 April 1977, pp. 42-43.
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6. *Pitt News*, 17 May 1977, pp. 1-2.
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8. *Pitt News*, 12 January 1977, p. 4.
9. Ibid.
10. For example, see Paul Nyden, "Miners for Democracy: Struggle in the Coal Fields" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1974); and Linda Nyden and Paul Nyden, *Showdown in Coal: The Struggle for Rank-and-File Unionism* (Pittsburgh: A Miner's Report Pamphlet, 1978).
11. Nyden and Nyden, *Showdown in Coal*.
12. Ibid., 7.
13. "Nyden Denied Department Report," *Pitt News*, 17 March 1976, p. 3.
14. "Letter from Burkhart Holzner to Dean Jerome L. Rosenberg," 22 March 1976, p. 8.
15. Ibid.
16. "Letter from Rosenberg to Nyden," 17 May 1976, p. 2.
17. *Report of the Reviewing Committee on Renewal of Appointment for Paul Nyden*, Department of Sociology, University of Pittsburgh, 1976, p. 2.
18. *University of Pittsburgh Hearning Board*, Vol. III, 563.
19. Ibid., 564.
20. Ibid., 637.
21. Ibid., 601.
22. *University of Pittsburgh Hearning Board*, Vol. II, 279.
23. Ibid., 270.
25. *Pitt News*, 22 March 1976, p. 3.
26. *University of Pittsburgh Hearning Board*, Vol. II, 274-275; Vol. III, 602.
27. Ibid., Vol. III, 636.
28. Ibid., Vol. II, 282.
29. *Report of the F.A.S. Tenure and Promotion Hearing Board on the Grievance Brought by Dr. Paul Nyden*, 21 January 1977, Record Group 3/1/1B-X File Folder 8, Special Collections, University of Pittsburgh, p. 7.

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30. Ibid., 8.

31. *University of Pittsburgh Hearning Board*, Vol. I, 31.

32. *Report of the Reviewing Committee*, 3-4.

33. "Statement by Dr. Paul J. Nyden," [publicly released] 8 October 1976 and 11 October 1976, 11.

34. It may be interesting to note that the Department chair's one book at the time was on phenomenology, a sociological perspective that is not noted for its historical analysis.

35. *Report of the Reviewing Committee*, 4.

36. "Letter from Burkhart Holzner to Dean Jerome L. Rosenberg," 22 March 1976.

37. C. Wright Mills, *The Sociological Imagination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), 146.

38. Ibid., 147.

39. Student Committee to Defend Paul Nyden, "Partial Transcript of March 19, 1976 Open Meeting," p. 8.

40. Ibid., 2.

41. Ibid., 4.

42. Ibid., 7.

43. Student Committee to Defend Paul Nyden, "Sociology for Whom," p. 2.

44. Ibid., 3.

45. Interestingly enough, the lawyer representing the University in the University Board Hearing stipulated that Sociology could have many valid definitions and that Nyden could therefore be considered to be engaged in Sociology by some of them. Nonetheless, the lawyer went on to say that the Department could apply any particular perrspective it wanted.

46. *University of Pittsburgh Hearning Board*, Vol. II, 313.

47. "Statement by Dr. Paul J. Nyden," [publicly released] 8 October 1976 and 11 October 1976, 12.

48. *University of Pittsburgh Hearning Board*, Vol. II, 372.

49. Ibid., 416-417.

50. *University of Pittsburgh Hearning Board*, Vol. III, 766-767.

51. Ibid., 773-775.

52. Ibid., 784.

53. In *Scaling the Ivory Tower: Merit and Its Limits in Academic Careers* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), Lionel S. Lewis argues that data on AAUP academic freedom cases through 1970 indicate that fired academics were no less meritorious in scholarhip, teaching, or collegiality than faculty who were not fired (p. 150). He further noted that the social activism of the late 1960s, and accompanying challenges to university authority and governance, generated double the challenged dismissals of the early 1960s and indicated that "the security of academics was greater during the right-wing vigilantism of the 1950s than in more recent times" (p. 153). As Lewis summarized it, "this increase in the number of contested dismissals may be seen as nothing

more than an administrative solution to a challenge to the existing distribution of power within the university" (p. 153).

54. Mills, *The Sociological Imagination*, 100-118.

55. Ibid., 101.

56. Erik Olin Wright, "Intellectuals and the Working Class," *The Insurgent Sociologist* 8 (Winter 1978): 16.

57. Stanley Aronowitz and Henry A. Giroux, *Education Under Seige: The Conservative, Liberal, and Radical Debate Over Schooling* (New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1985), p. 177.

58. "The University of California at Los Angeles," *A.A.U.P. Bulletin* 57 (September 1971).

59. See James Ridgeway, *The Closed Corporation* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1968); see also *The Uses of U.C. Berkeley: Research* (Berkeley: The Radical Student Union, 1969).

60. Aronowitz and Giroux, *Education Under Seige*, p. 178.

61. Bertell Ollman, "Academic Freedom in America Today: A Marxist View," in *Regulating the Intellectuals: Perspectives on Academic Freedom in the 1980s*, eds. Craig Kaplan and Ellen Schrecker (New York: Praeger, 1983), p. 52.

62. Ibid., 47.

The Expansion and Decline of Secondary Schools in the Archdiocese of Chicago, 1955-1980: A Historical Study

George V. Fornero
West Bloomfield, Michigan

Catholic secondary education in the Archdiocese of Chicago began with the College of St. Mary, which was established on June 3, 1844 by Bishop William J. Quarter. It was the forerunner of St. Mary of the Lake Seminary and University in Mundelein, Illinois. Since the establishment of the College of St. Mary, secondary education has continued, uninterrupted, in the archdiocese.

However, the period of expansion and decline of enrollment and facilities of Catholic secondary schools in the Archdiocese of Chicago from 1955-1980 is most important, in that this period witnessed the greatest change. This study focuses on the fifty-three schools which either opened during the High School Expansion Program or closed or merged with other schools. Twenty-five schools opened, and thirty-three schools closed. This includes three mergers and two schools which both opened and closed during the period studied. Historical documents were the basis for the research and writing of this paper. Most of the material was from primary sources. Published sources were used to provide an overview and to place the primary source material in a historical context.

Secondary education in the archdiocese expanded rapidly in terms of enrollment and facilities during the mid- to late 1950s and early 1960s, during a period of population increases in general and, specifically, among Catholics. Post-World War II economic readjustment had occurred and the nation was enjoying a period of economic prosperity.

Prior to 1950, the growth of facilities was minimal, apparently due to restrictions in availability of steel and other construction materials. Scarcities during the post-war years and the attendant high prices posed serious problems. Said then Cardinal Stritch: "The plain fact is that we simply haven't facilities adequate to our needs. We have some high schools planned, but the cost of construction is proving so much higher than our estimates that we are facing difficulties."[1] Cardinal Stritch assured parents of the archdiocese that "we are working and laboring to increase our Catholic high school facilities and that it is our hope to have in the archdiocese sufficient high schools to meet the demands of Catholic parents."[2]

Stritch's High School Building Fund and Cardinal Meyer's High School Expansion Program were responses to this unprecedented need for secondary facilities. With financial assistance from these funds, secondary school facilities expanded from seventy-two high schools in 1955 to ninety-one high schools in 1966. Catholic high school enrollment almost doubled, rising from 43,314 in 1955 to 76,491 in 1966.[3]

Reaching a zenith in 1966, a variety of factors contributed to the decline in secondary school enrollment and facilities in the archdiocese. These factors included a declining birth rate, a precipitous drop in the number of religious faculty, economic problems created by the rising costs due to inflation and the higher costs of lay teachers, attitudes toward the institutional church and Catholic education, and shifting neighborhood demographics. By 1980, thirty-three secondary schools had either closed or merged with other schools. At this time, there were sixty-four schools with an enrollment of 54,326 students.[4]

The need for additional high school seats was recognized during the later years of Cardinal Stritch's tenure, especially from 1953-1958. He initiated the Catholic High School Building Fund in 1953. Monies contributed to this fund were strictly voluntary. The voluntary arrangement was not enough to supply the need for funds, especially in the suburbs. In 1958, Stritch asked pastors in the archdiocese to fulfill pledges and to "promise that in the next five years they will contribute as generously as they can to our Catholic High School Building Fund."[5] During the years 1955-1958, seven secondary schools opened and two closed.

Cardinal Stritch did not follow a standard procedure when establishing high schools or utilize a formula when allocating construction subsidies. Rather, he negotiated with the individual religious communities which sponsored the schools. It does not appear that formal contracts were drawn up or signed between the archdiocese and the religious communities. The informal way of doing business caused difficulties following Stritch's death in 1958. Correspondence and personal recollections of meetings were used to substantiate promises and agreements.

For example, early in 1959, questions arose as to Regina Dominican's financial debt to the archdiocese. Mother Gerald Barry wrote the chancellor of the archdiocese recounting her understanding of the agreement reached between the sisters and Cardinal Stritch. The chancellor responded that the debt corresponded to charges for the property. He informed then Archbishop Meyer that Cardinal Stritch had intended to give the Dominican Sisters this property upon which to construct a high school. Meyer said, "If a promise has been made, it should be honored." The debt was canceled.[6]

Stritch's program provided religious communities with construction grants and in some cases a site on which to build the school. The disbursements were not uniform; some communities received both property and a construction grant and others received one or the other. In the case of Notre Dame and Regina High Schools, the archdiocese provided a $1,000,000 grant and property. The Sisters of Mercy and the Jesuits were each provided $1,000,000 for the construction of Mother McAuley High School and Loyola Academy, respectively. The communities were responsible for purchasing property. The Christian Brothers received a grant of $500,000 along with property for Brother Rice High School. Marian High School received a grant of $1,000,000; the property had been purchased some years earlier by the area parishes. Little Flower, a parish high school, did not receive any financial assistance from the archdiocese.

Negotiations often extended over a period of several years. The protracted planning caused problems as prices escalated due to inflation. Initial discussions about constructing Marian Central High School in Chicago Heights began in 1949; the school opened nine years later. Plans for Notre Dame High School in Niles began in 1951 with the school opening four years later. Informal talks with the Adrian Dominican Sisters about constructing a school in Wilmette began in 1953. Regina Dominican High School opened in 1958.

The more detached attitude of Cardinal Stritch, however, provided the religious communities with greater freedom in designing and operating their schools. Consequently, the schools built during this period are of a far more elaborate design than those of the 1960s. Stritch's major stipulation was that the schools provide a comprehensive academic program, which would include college-preparatory, general, and vocational course offerings. In order to avail themselves of the construction and property grants, religious communities agreed to this provision. The requirement of a vocational track was a source of irritation to the Jesuits at Loyola. However, they acquiesced, informing the superior general of the order that "only by providing a school of this mixed type can we hope for financial aid from His Eminence."[7] Further correspondence raised the question of a quota in this nonclassical or terminal course of studies. The provincial superior stated that "it seems inevitable, if we are to meet the cardinal's wishes, that we shall always have a certain percentage of students in the non-classical course."[8]

Compared to Stritch,his successor Cardinal Albert Gregory Meyer was an expansionist. Msgr. William E. McManus, archdiocesan superintendent of schools, with Meyer's support, wasted little time in developing a high school expansion program. McManus noted that the number of Catholic school eighth-grade graduates greatly exceeded the number of available seats in Catholic high schools. In 1950, 16,333 eighth graders graduated from Catholic elementary schools. In the fall of 1950, there were 11,233 seats available for high school freshmen. In 1957, 24,466 eighth graders graduated; that fall, there were 16,642 seats available. It was understood that not all Catholic grade school graduates would seek admission to Catholic high schools. McManus acknowledged the need for additional high school seats in 1957 when he stated, "[But] the ideal of every Catholic child in a Catholic school will not be achieved. With few exceptions, the high schools have long waiting lists. In the suburban areas, many schools will be unable to accommodate all students seeking admission."[9]

Msgr. William E. McManus developed a more formal, expedient, and consistent system of constructing schools. With Cardinal Meyer's backing, McManus launched the High School Expansion Program in 1959. Contributions for the High School Expansion Program were solicited (in McManus's terms) in "a heavy-handed fashion." Pastors in areas needing high schools were called in groups, based on the wealth and location of the parish. Following a presentation on the need for additional construction in their geographic area, the pastors were given envelopes indicating the amount of their pledges to be contributed over a five-year period. Said McManus, "It was pure extortion, but it worked." Overall, the response to this project was positive. The mood appeared to be, "Let's expand; let's take care of the kids." There was no massive resistance to the assessment, and all assessments were paid off in the five-year time period.[10]

McManus relied on the male and female religious communities to expand and construct the new high schools. This followed a long established pattern in the archdiocese. The religious communities found this exercise of free enterprise appealing. In the parishes, the religious community managed the schools but did not own them; here, the religious community assumed responsibility and ownership for the high schools. Religious communities found the secondary schools to be an excellent source of vocations. This factor significantly influenced the decision of the communities to undertake the establishment, ownership, and staffing of large high schools.

The Sinsinawa Dominican Sisters considered the "potential benefits for membership in the congregation;" the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati "agreed that the congregation could assume the debt [of Elizabeth Seton High School] especially in the expectation that the school would be a source of vocations." The vocational potential of the high schools was so important that Cardinal Stritch informed the superior of a religious community of men that he was in favor of their community's getting vocations from the high school, but reminded him that the archdiocese also needed vocations.[11] While the vocation factor significantly influenced the decision of many communities to accept responsibility for new high schools, in reality, relatively few vocations came from the students enrolled in the new schools.

McManus developed a formula for financing the construction of high schools. The archdiocese would provide the land and a grant amounting to $1,000 per student up to 1,200 students. Five hundred dollars per student would be provided for over 1,200 up to a maximum capacity of 1,600. No schools were initially designed to enroll over 1,600 students. The religious communities were responsible for the difference between the archdiocesan allocation and total costs for construction, equipment, fees, and expenses incurred in the construction and erection of the school.

Religious communities were invited to staff the new high schools based on their tenure in the archdiocese, along with their ability to finance such an undertaking. In addition to established orders, new communities were invited to sponsor high schools. Msgr. McManus attempted to secure a commitment from the communities to staff three additional elementary schools within a ten-year period as a prerequisite to obtaining the archdiocesan grant. McManus explained the rationale for this stipulation in 1961: "My request that the Sisters staff additional grade schools was made necessary by the grim reality that Communities simply will not pay any attention to our requests for Sisters for elementary schools unless we simultaneously give them some kind of promise that they will have a high school.[12] There was moderate success in obtaining compliance with this stipulation. The Superior General of the Sisters of Providence stated that she did not see "how we can possibly open two additional elementary schools" for at least seven to eleven years. She further stated that if proposed dates could not be accepted by the archdiocese, "we can see no other alternative than for us to forego the opportunity of the new high school at this time."[13] As the decade of the 1960s continued, this stipulation became impossible to fulfill as religious personnel were not available. It is interesting to note that this stipulation applied only to female religious communities, as no male communities staffed elementary schools in the archdiocese.

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The initial plan of both Stritch and McManus was to build "twin" schools, one for boys and one for girls, in close proximity to each other. This was thought to provide the schools the advantages of co-education without the evils of co-education.[14] It also helped to facilitate transportation. For the most part, this plan worked. However, in some areas, due to lack of space, and in later years, the inability to obtain a religious community to sponsor the endeavor, it was not possible to build two facilities. In the case of Carmel High School in Mundelein, it was decided to construct a co-institutional facility rather than a co-educational school.

The religious communities also agreed to establish comprehensive high schools that would enroll students of various levels of ability and would provide courses of study geared to these levels. Tuition and fees would be established by the archdiocese and would be subject to renegotiation every two years. The Catholic School Board reserved the right to review the architectural plans for the building. And, at the request of the archdiocese, the religious community would agree to accept all freshman applicants up to an established number. Meeting this condition might require the school to operate on an extended day, a practice McManus described as "destined to become quite common in schools of the Archdiocese."[15]

Two religious communities chose not to accept any financial assistance and constructed their schools independently of the archdiocesan restrictions. In the case of Louise de Marillac in Northfield, the venture was successful and the school is still operating. The independent Sacred Heart of Mary High School in Rolling Meadows suffered financial problems. Eventually, the sisters were forced to relinquish ownership and withdraw from the school. The Religious of the Sacred Heart of Mary chose to forego archdiocesan financial assistance because of the stipulation that they staff three additional grade schools.

The expediency of McManus's plan is contrasted with Stritch's when one considers the case of Marist High School. Initial contact with the Marist Brothers and the archdiocese took place in July 1962. A formal invitation was extended to the brothers by Cardinal Meyer in October 1962. Ground was broken in June of 1963, and classes for freshmen began that September in an unfinished building. Fourteen schools opened during the years 1930-1965; three schools closed. Cardinal Meyer died in 1965.

In September 1964, the Archdiocesan School Board began planning a second phase of the High School Expansion Program which would run from January 1, 1954 through December 31, 1969. Money was to be raised and expended for the construction of six new high schools along with additions to existing facilities. Money would also be available for scholarships to inner-city schools. It was anticipated that this project would add seven to eight thousand additional seats to the high school system.[16] However, only one school, Louise de Marillac in Northfield, opened. Central high school for Girls in Oak Lawn was scheduled to open in 1968, however rising construction costs, a decreasing number of sisters to staff the school, and an unpredictable number of students caused construction to be postponed indefinitely. No new high schools opened in the archdiocese after 1967.

A major difficulty of the expansion program was its total dependency on religious communities to staff the schools. These communities were responsible for a significant portion of the schools' debts and helped keep costs down by providing a major portion of the faculties. As the number of religious in the communities decreased, expenses increased when religious teachers were replaced by more expensive lay teachers. Eventually the communities were unable to provide sufficient funds and staff for high schools.

After more than a decade of enrollment growth and facility construction, attendance began to decline, and secondary schools closed in the archdiocese. Several factors accounted for this decline. First, the falling birth rate affected the growth of both public and private schools. Second, higher tuition was made necessary by the decrease in the number of religious teachers and the increase in the number of lay teachers. In 1960, there were 2,633 secondary school teachers—1,894 (72%) religious and 739 (28%) lay. In 1979, there were 3,066 teachers—884 (29%) religious and 2,182 (71%) lay.[17] Larger budgets were needed to pay lay teacher salaries, which, though smaller than those paid to public school teachers, were larger than the stipend for religious teachers. Third, demographic changes occurred in neighborhoods. The migration of black and Hispanic families into aging urban neighborhoods was followed by many ethnic Catholics abandoning the city for the suburbs. The new city dwellers often had lower incomes, a different religion, and no ties to the established parish schools. Fourth, disenchantment with the Catholic church, due to the impact of Vatican II, the birth control controversy, and the overall turbulent climate of the 1960s, hastened the decline. By 1980, there were 54,326 students enrolled in sixty-four schools, a decline of approximately 30 percent from 1966.[18]

During the expansion years, five high schools closed. Three were small, parish schools. Their enrollment was absorbed by neighboring central high schools. Corpus Christi High School closed when Hales Franciscan opened. St. Louis Academy closed because of the deteriorated condition of the building. Loretto High School, located in the Englewood neighborhood of Chicago, closed in 1963. It was the first school in this study to close because of the changing neighborhood population. Beginning in 1968, demographic, economic, and staffing changes affected larger schools as well. The decision to close large, central high schools was much more difficult. Emotional and subjective factors were considered along with objective data. Parents who had financially supported schools for many years felt excluded from the process and betrayed by the decision. At a meeting to discuss the closing of Marywood in Evanston, one parent was quoted, "You called on us when you needed money to fix the roof and you got it, and we always came to your aid when you needed help in other matters. Why didn't you consult with us when you needed help this time?"[19] Religious communities were reluctant to abandon schools they owned and had operated for many years. Within a religious community, some members supported a decision to close, while others advocated continuance. Eleven Servite faculty members wrote Cardinal Cody in September 1969, proposing that they administer and partially staff St. Philip High School after the provincial chapter decreed that the school be closed at the end of the 1969-70 school year. Critics assailed the closing of inner-city schools as the church's abandonment of the black community. The Servites pointed out to Cardinal Cody that St. Philip was a good example of successful integration—50 percent of the students enrolled were nonwhite, and it was the only source of black vocations for the Servite Order.[20] Paul Adams, principal of St. Providence/St. Mel charged that the closing of the school was racially motivated.

> The closing of this school signals the Church's abandonment of secondary education in the areas stretching from the Loop to the western suburbs. At the same time, an increasing number of grade schools are being closed. We will not stand by quietly while the Church continues to withdraw from a significantly large area of the city. It makes one wonder when the two high schools which are being closed this year, St. Michael's and this school, have high percentages of black students. They are the only two secondary schools in the archdiocese which have black principals.[21]

The archdiocese struggled to support financially the high school system. Between 1955 and 1965, with over $23 million in construction grants were made. During the 1960s and into the 1970s, the archdiocese provided over $21 million in subsidies to certain inner-city schools to enable their continued operation. In some cases, the archdiocese assumed total financial responsibility for a school's operation. These subsidies were a source of controversy. Their assignment and amount could be the difference between a school's remaining open or closing. Usually, the schools required increasing amounts in subsequent years to remain solvent.[22]

When the archdiocese announced it would no longer subsidize Providence/St. Mel, the school became a private institution to avoid closing. Other schools merged in attempts to solve their financial problems and continued to provide education for the inner-city youth. It appears mergers allowed schools to continue for several additional years but rarely solved all financial problems. Although committing personnel to the ventures, religious communities surrendered their ownership of the institutions, thereby eliminating the benefits of ownership. Tensions often arose between the several religious communities staffing a school, especially when one community was providing the facility. Also, the religious communities were reluctant to assume leadership responsibilities for the new ventures.

The archdiocese, parishes, and religious communities had to prioritize how to best expend limited financial and personnel resources. The closing of some institutions was unavoidable. The case studies indicate that there was no easy way to close a high school. Perhaps the best method was to involve as many of the affected parties as possible in the decision-making process. A good example is illustrated in the closing of St. Augustine High School. The decision to close was made by a committee comprised of parents, teachers, students, parish staff, and parishioners.

Catholic secondary schools in the Archdiocese of Chicago have had a long and colorful history. They have been marked by periods of unprecedented growth and rapid decline. Although Catholic secondary schools may not again enroll the number of students as in former years, they will continue to be an important element of secondary education. Their role is very likely to be different from what it was in the past—in response to the changing needs and priorities of the church and the students taught—but it need not, for that reason, become less significant. Social factors will continue to influence their presence, but they will survive the challenges of the future.

Selected Case Studies

Selected case studies illustrate the expansion and decline of secondary schools in the Archdiocese of Chicago.

Marian Catholic

Plans for a central, co-educational high school for the Chicago Heights area were advocated in the late 1940s by Msgr. Walter E. Croarkin, a local pastor. Land was purchased and a fund-raising campaign began in 1949. An architect was hired in 1951. Original plans called for a co-educational school; however, Cardinal Stritch preferred "twin schools." Plans were revised and drawn up for first a girls' school, to reflect the cardinal's wishes. The religious community of women originally contracted to staff the school withdrew in 1953. The Springfield Dominican Sisters were approached in 1955 about staffing the school.[23] It does not appear that a formal contract between the archdiocese and the sisters was either written or signed. Correspondence and meetings with Cardinal Stritch, area pastors, and the sisters continued throughout 1955 and 1956. Ground was broken for the new school in 1957.[24] The initial plan was for the sisters to conduct a co-educational school until a boys' school, to be operated by the Viatorians, was constructed on adjacent property. In the interim, the Viatorians would provide personnel to assist with the staffing of Marian Catholic.

Marian Catholic opened in September 1958. An addition to accommodate 400 students was constructed in 1961. The tentative plans were for the boys' school to be constructed and opened in 1965. Mobile classes were provided in 1963. The archdiocese proposed allocating $1,200,000 to the Viatorians ; however, at a later date, the need for a girls' school in the vicinity of Marist High School was seen as more of a priority. This school, Oak Lawn School for Girls, was also never constructed.[25]

In 1967, the local paper reported that construction of a boys' school would begin "as soon as possible." Marian would then be converted to a girls' school. In 1970, it was determined that the difficulty in obtaining additional religious personnel made it unfeasible for the archdiocese to construct an adjacent boys' school and that Marian would remain a co-educational institution in a building designed to be a girls' high school. Another addition was constructed in 1971.[26]

Marist High School

Marist High School, located on the southwest side of Chicago, opened in 1963. It was the last school for boys established by the archdiocese.

Soaring enrollment in this area compelled the Archdiocesan School Board to establish a third boys' school. The Marist Brothers contacted Msgr. McManus in July 1962, expressing an interest in the possibility of establishing a school in the Midwest. A formal invitation was extended to the brothers by Cardinal Meyer in October of 1962.[27] The original principal began recruiting activities in November. He recalls "selling a school that doesn't exist" as being a challenging task. Ground was broken for the new school in June 1963, and classes began in the unfinished building for 326 boys in September 1963. Plans for an addition were developed in 1966 before the first class had graduated. Another addition was constructed in 1978.[28]

St. Paul High School

St. Paul High School opened in 1965 as a cooperative experiment in dual enrollment and shared time between the Chicago Public Schools and the Archdiocese of Chicago. Under this plan, students were enrolled and spent a portion of each day in both schools. This idea was in response to the growing population on the southwest side of Chicago and the high costs of new school construction. The initial idea was to explore shared time with physical education classes, as the cost of insurance for athletics was four times as high for Catholic schools as it was for public schools, possibly due to the lack of physical education programs in the elementary schools.[29]

St. Paul was the first school to be owned by the archdiocese and administered by a religious order. While Superintendent Benjamin Willis was noncommittal to and none too enthusiastic about the idea, area pastors and principals were supportive.[30] This proposal was presented to the Chicago Board of Education in November 1963. A public hearing was held on March 12, 1964 where over forty groups presented statements, both for and against the shared-time proposal. Neighborhood parents and the archdiocese spoke in favor of the project. Opposition to this plan came from several factions, including the ACLU, PTA, the Negro American Labor Council, and the Chicago Board of Rabbis.[31] On April 23, 1964, the board of education voted 7-3 to approve a four-year experiment which would go into effect in September of 1965. A lawsuit, charging that shared time was an indirect subsidy of parochial schools and violated statutory and constitutional provisions, was filed within a month. The suit and its appeal were eventually dismissed.[32]

St. Paul High School opened in 1965 with 252 freshmen. One hundred thirty-seven attended classes at St. Paul in the morning and one hundred fifteen attended in the afternoon. Students studied religion, language arts, critical thinking, and social studies. These subjects were selected because they were considered value-oriented and essential to the Catholic school philosophy.[33] The designated companion public school was John F. Kennedy High School.

Despite initial enthusiasm for the project, the number of ninth-grade students enrolling declined each year, from 252 students in 1965 to 105 in 1969. An enrollment study indicated that parents were uneasy about the experimental nature of the program and wanted some guarantee that their children would finish the program. Other parents and students preferred a full-time Catholic or public high school. Some students disliked the longer school day—one additional period (religion class) and a twenty-minute walking time.[34]

The Chicago Board of Education conducted an evaluation of the shared-time program in 1969. This evaluation determined that the shared-time program was administratively feasible and not detrimental to the program of education in the public schools.[35]

The St. Paul shared-time/dual-enrollment concept should have been extremely popular and successful, possibly an ideal prototype for future high school expansion projects—especially in the suburban areas. Yet, after operating for twelve years, the school closed in 1977. Primary reasons cited for its closing were declining enrollment and increased operating costs. As enrollment declined, so did tuition revenues, which caused an increase in the operating deficit.[36]

St. Paul High School is remembered as a creative response to the demand for Catholic high school facilities and a unique cooperative venture with the Chicago Public School System.

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ENDNOTES

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4. *OCD*, 1981.
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7. W. J. Schmidt, S.F. to John B. Janssens, S.J., May 12, 1955, located at the Archives of Loyola Academy, Wilmette (hereafter ALA).
8. Ibid., July 19, 1955.
9. *The New World*, August 16, 1957.
10. Interview with Most Reverend William E. McManus, Superintendent of Schools, Archdiocese of Chicago (1957-1968), 1 May 1989.
11. Reverend Bernard Mullahy, C.S.C. to Reverend Theodore Mehling, C.S.C., December 26, 1953, located in the Archives of Notre Dame High School (hereafter ANDHS).
12. Msgr. McManus to Mother St. John Joseph, C.N.D., June 9, 1961 (AAC).
13. Mother Rose Angela, S.P. to Msgr. McManus, May 8, 1961 (AAC).
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15. Msgr. McManus to Mother St. John Joseph, C.N.D., April 17, 1961 (AAC).
16. Minutes of the Archdiocese of Chicago School Board Meetings (hereafter SBM), September 10, 1964; November 23, 1964; December 10, 1964 (AAC).
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A Purity of Arms: the Israeli Army as Educational Agency, 1948-1965

F. Michael Perko, S.J.
Loyola University of Chicago

One of the most important perspectives from which to view the phenomenon of common schooling is that of its role in social and national development.[1] Nowhere is this more apparent than in the American case. As Lawrence Cremin, David Tyack, and Carl Kaestle, to name only a few, have shown, one of the major results of common school formation and growth in nineteenth century America was the socialization of immigrant children into American life.[2]

This was especially important given the character of America as a largely immigrant society throughout the era. Between 1830 and 1840, half a million immigrants, largely from the British Isles and Western Europe, arrived in the United States. During the remaining years of the century, immigration continued at the rate of about 200,000 persons per year, first from Western and Central Europe, then from Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean, and eventually, East Asia. Only with restrictive legislation in the 1920s did the flow nearly cease.

Given the cultural diversity of immigrants, the common school took on the task of basic education in the language. Even more, through its informal culture, it exerted a powerful socializing influence on the children, communicating values such as industry and hard work, a commitment to democratic institutions, and the normativeness of Protestant religion and northern European values. In many respects, common schooling was arguably the single most influential institution in the formation of the American republic during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

From a variety of perspectives, the State of Israel affords interesting opportunities for comparison and contrast with the American experience. Like nineteenth century America, Israel is dramatically a nation of immigrants. On the eve of independence in 1948, the Jewish population of Palestine numbered about 650,000.[3] By the late 1980s, this number had grown to nearly four million. Immigration from Europe in the aftermath of World War II swelled the numbers around the time of independence, while wholesale immigration of Sephardic Jews from the Islamic world, especially in the 1950s, resulted in this group's comprising about 42 percent of the population by the 1980s.[4] During this latter period virtually the entire Jewish population of Yemen settled in Israel.

One important difference from the United States, however, lies in the structure of basic education. Unlike the U.S., Israel did not develop a form of universal state-controlled schooling. Instead, it opted for support of multiple educational arrangements with significantly different characters. At the primary level, the majority of children have attended "state Hebrew schools," which are analogous public schools in the United States. However, some families opt to send their children to "state Hebrew religious schools," which emphasize Hebrew-Zionist studies, as well as religious tradition and observance. Others have chosen "independent schools." These are affiliated with various non-Zionist Orthodox Jewish groups and offer intensive religious education in classes segregated by gender. Finally, members of the Arab and Druze minorities have their own schools, with an emphasis on instruction in Arabic and a focus on the needs of those communities.[5] These latter even operate on a different calendar than those serving Jewish constituents.

At the secondary level, the same diversity has been evident. Besides general academic schools, technical schools have offered vocational training on three levels: agricultural schools have offered instruction in specialized subjects, military preparatory schools have trained future career soldiers and specialists in technical areas, and yeshiva high schools have provided intensive religious instruction in addition to the secular curriculum.[6] Primary and secondary education has been characterized by a diversity of arrangements.

Thus, Israeli education has differed markedly from that in the United States. While curricula have been controlled by the Ministry of Education, the social settings of the individual schools have varied widely. This makes the role of the school as socializer into the national culture in Israel problematic. While the overwhelming majority of American children have been educated in public institutions which bear striking resemblance to each other in most respects, Israeli youngsters have been exposed to a relatively standard formal curriculum, but widely divergent informal ones. While a Hebrew common denominator of basic culture and unique Israeli social behavior have developed, the school has simply not been able to exert the shaping social influence that has characterized American K-12 education.

The Israel Defense Force as Educational Agency

While its diverse educational framework mutes Israeli primary and secondary education's capability of exercising decisive direct influence as a national socializing agency for immigrants and children, there is an institution within the state that has the potential to serve this purpose. This is *Zahal*, the Israel Defense Forces.

For many years, the IDF has been the closest thing to a universal social institution to be found in Israel. Conscript service upon completion of secondary school is three years for men, two years for women. Among men, only some yeshiva students are exempt. Women are allowed to opt out for "reasons of conscience or religious conviction," and, in fact, about 60 percent of those who report to recruiting officers are exempted for a variety of reasons. About 87 percent of the males born in a particular year actually are inducted, with about 3.5 percent of those not serving being exempted as a result of severe illiteracy.[7] Until men reach their early fifties, they perform reserve service for thirty days. One unsurprising result of this is many men develop some of their closest relationships with other members of their military units.[8]

Within the state, the military exert a profound social influence. Membership in it is part of the experience of the overwhelming majority of Israelis. The lack of discharge papers makes employment difficult, and individuals are frequently evaluated on the basis of rank achieved and the units in which they serve.[9]

Given this social construction, the IDF is a logical agency to engage in both cognitive and social education. From its earliest days, the IDF has defined for itself a task that is oriented both toward national defense and the building of the nation. Unlike many military establishments, its training and education departments are separate. To the former belong the classic military tasks of instruction with direct military applications. The education department is tasked with a mission that more closely resembles that of civilian schooling.[10] The result of this distinction is the creation of an almost unique entity within modern armies. It is an organized system of general education that concerns itself with the creation of motivated soldiers who will be socially and economically productive members of the wider society.

Accounts of army life also make it clear that the informal culture of the army exerts a powerful force in socializing the young and newcomers to regard themselves as citizens of the nation, as well as in creating a national culture. Emphasis on group loyalty, the informal relations between officers and enlisted personnel, and a high level of institutionalized concern about the individual are several examples of ways in which the IDF's culture attempts to model what are considered national virtues.[11]

There appear to have been two major epochs in the early formation and development of the Israel Defense Force's Education Department. The tenure of Aaron Ze'ev, the first Chief Education Officer, established both the ideological basis of army education and the first concrete institutions designed to operationalize that philosophy. The time during the 1960s when Mordechai Bar-On led the Education Department was a period of significant transition within Israeli culture. During this era, the Education Department became more complex and more professional in its orientation. Taken together, these two periods can provide us with a sense of the formation of *Zahal*'s Education Department, as well as of the concrete structures developed.

The Beginnings of the Education Department: Aaron Ze'ev

The roots of the Israel Defense Force's Education Department lie in September, 1949, in a meeting between Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, the Minister of Education Zalman Shazar, Army Chief of Staff Ya'acov Dori, and the children's poet Aaron Ze'ev.[12] During the War of Independence, the fledgling army had had a "cultural services" unit under the direction of Yosef Krakovi. This had operated at the brigade and battalion level, utilizing cultural officers whose role was the maintenance of morale.[13]

After the war, it became obvious that Israel would have to maintain a standing army. The 1949 meeting seems to have represented an attempt to build an educational component into its structures from almost the beginning. Under Ze'ev, a "Tolstoyian socialist," there was a shift from the view of morale as the principal task to a vision of utilizing the army as a vehicle for national socialization.[14]

All of this occurred at a time when most new conscripts were themselves immigrants. Indeed, during the 1948 war some had been taken from the boats, given cursory military training sometimes lasting only a few hours, and sent directly to the front.[15] Those in charge saw a need to educate these newcomers and viewed the IDF as an appropriate vehicle.

This view of the importance of re-education would become a recurring theme in the Israel Defense Forces. At this time, the notion was the backgrounds of the immigrants were either unsatisfactory or wrong. They held little promise of creating the ideal Israeli.

One of the most important educational tasks taken on by the army during this period was the challenge of providing basic instruction in a national language which was the first language of almost none of the citizenry.[16] Ben-Gurion's support for the formation of the Education Department was to provide such instruction. Over time, it became extensively involved in diagnostic testing for Hebrew proficiency, as well as highly sophisticated intensive instruction in both the spoken and written language.[17]

At the same time the army radio station *Galei Zahal* was begun as an educational vehicle. In its earliest years, it broadcast for five hours a day from an improvised studio with second-hand equipment. Initially, it emphasized general education in a light style, with special emphasis on Hebrew. After the creation of the reserve army in 1950-51, it took this group to be its audience and expanded its programming. Like other activities under Ze'ev's control, it was staffed by soldiers for soldiers, with an explicit educational mission.[18]

In addition, Ze'ev had begun the IDF's involvement in leadership training during the early 1950s. Major emphases for him were the study of Jewish history and Zionism, the history of the land of Israel. These served as motivational tools.

A final educational project begun during these years involved the army, though not under its auspices. This was the utilization of women soldiers as teachers of new immigrants. Under this plan, women from teacher training colleges were drafted and posted to assimilation centers and border settlements with large numbers of immigrants to complete their military service of two years.[19] In this way, army women functioned in a role analogous to those in the United States who went West under evangelical auspices to "civilize" the American frontier.[20] While these activities took place under the direction of the Ministry of Education and the Women's Corps of the Army, rather than the Education Department, they still provide a dramatic example of the use of military personnel in education and socialization.

Ze'ev remained as Chief Education Officer until 1962. During his thirteen year service, the IDF had fought the highly successful Sinai campaign of 1956 in an effort to pre-empt an all out Egyptian attack.[21] Within the IDF, proponents of the more informal structures that had come to characterize the Israeli army reinforced their views against officials who favored a military modeled on the British system with its emphasis on discipline.[22] The makeup of the army had also changed. The majority of its personnel were either native Israelis or had come as young immigrants during the period from 1949 to 1954. Thus, the primary task of language instruction was less important than it had been previously.[23]

At the same time, a shift in the pattern of immigration had begun to have profound effects on the society. With their local situations made increasingly difficult as a result of the 1948 war, Jews from the Arab countries began to emigrate to Israel in large numbers. This influx of Jews from Islamic environments whose cultural background was Middle Eastern created significant social tension between them and the culturally northern European Jews, who dominated Israeli life.[24]

While the immigrants entering the IDF frequently had a basic command of spoken Hebrew, there were serious problems with their formal educational and cultural backgrounds. Many were functionally illiterate and viewed army service as a punishment. An attempt to put the most promising candidates through a crash officer's course was a total failure in the estimate of Mordechai Makleff, then Chief of Staff:

> We selected 150 candidates from different countries and tried to indoctrinate them .... The course lasted for ten months and was the first and last of its kind .... Altogether we succeeded in producing fifteen sergeants but not one officer.[25]

Even by the last years of Ze'ev's tenure, while 50 percent of the IDF's personnel were Oriental Jews, they made up only about 10 percent of the officer corps.[26]

The country's demographic character had shifted dramatically during these years. Precisely because the IDF was already perceived as the primary agency responsible for basic inculturation into the society, its educational focus was also in the process of change. It was in this context that Mordechai Bar-On became *Zahal*'s second Chief Education Officer.

The Era of Professionalization: Mordechai Bar-On

While Mordechai Bar-On succeeded Ze'ev in 1962, he had in fact been in charge of the department for the previous year. In many respects, the two were a study in contrasts. Ze'ev was the poet who operated intuitively. Bar-On with a more sophisticated background including Columbia University, insisted that the principles of research be applied to the programs undertaken by the Education Department. Bar-On was also determined to modernize the army's propagation of culture. His own assessment that he "de-Bolshevized" the Education Department is probably on the mark, moving as he did toward a more professional rather than ideological role for the unit.[27]

Their approaches toward leadership training reveal graphic differences. For Ze'ev, training was intensely Jewish-Zionist in character, oriented mainly toward morale building. This reflected his membership in the nation's pioneer generation. On the other hand, Bar-On's approach concentrated on aspects such as the development of leadership skills and group dynamics, similar to the form such activities take in other organizations.[28]

Opportunities for traditional education were expanded during this era. The policy was already in place requiring soldiers who had not yet completed primary education to do so in an intensive three month course, generally toward the end of their time of service. By the mid-1960s, a number of post-primary courses for draftees had been created up to the tenth grade level. A new program was also started that gave a special one year extension course to selected soldiers who were largely from Islamic countries. This was done during their time of service and at IDF expense. The goal was to prepare them more adequately for university admission. About ninety out of every hundred from in this program who entered the university eventually graduated.[29]

One of the most important issues confronting Bar-On was the teaching of battlefield ethics. On 29 October 1956, a massacre occurred at Kfar Kassem, an Israeli Arab village on the Jordanian border. Forty-three farm workers, unaware that a curfew had been changed from 7 to 5 pm, were killed by the paramilitary Border Police. In the investigation that followed, the defense that the soldiers were simply following orders was rejected, and several, including the major commanding the unit, received prison sentences. The verdict of the military court established the precedent that a solider not only was obliged not to follow an illegal order but also had a positive duty to interfere with its execution.[30]

It was the responsibility of the Education Department to teach soldiers, especially those in officer training, what the army's expectations of them were in this regard. They were taught that hatred was a weakness, and they learned the doctrine of "purity of arms" that was derived from the pre-state army, *Haganah*. In this, Bar-On clashed with high ranking officers such as Ariel Sharon, who had already made his reputation during the Sinai Campaign and in reprisal raids.[31] Bar-On also saw to it that the military judge's verdict in the Kfar Kassem case was reprinted and given to every soldier upon induction.

Bar-On viewed the Education Department's role as "cultural uplift" and general education. Noticing that soldiers in border units had little to do in times of inactivity, he published fifty books by writers like Dostoevsky in editions of 10,000 each. The army's weekly magazine, *Bamachane*, which ran over 5000 items each year, became a forum for a wide range of political opinions. In a series of articles about the military heroes of the pre-independence period, for example, while the majority of space was devoted to those who had fought with the mainstream *Haganah* and *Palmach*, attention was also paid to the extreme right *Irgun* and *Lechi*, considered by many Israelis to be terrorist organizations.

A major expansion of the era, too, was in the army radio station, *Galei Zahal*. Like other projects begun under Ze'ev, it underwent expansion and became more sophisticated. With a decrease in the need to emphasize language instruction and citizenship education, it began to do more music programming, including a wide range of classical, modern, and folk performances. During these years, it sponsored six small theater groups comprised of conscripts and even its own string quartet comprised of soldiers who spent their service refining their musical skills.[32]

A variety of other fine arts activities were conducted under army auspices. These included the formation of musical and satirical groups, various light theater productions, as well as less frequent attempts to hold exhibits of art done by soldiers. After the Six Day War in 1967, a group of soldiers and officers from kibbutzim made a film in which they interviewed each other about their experiences. This film, entitled *The Seventh Day*, was rejected by the military censors because of its generally negative tone. Bar-On helped them re-edit it, had himself appointed as censor, and the film was released.

The Bar-On era was a time of increased professionalization and expansion of the army's educational services. Still committed to the original concept of utilizing the military as both indirect and explicit educational agency, Bar-On increased both the numbers and scope of activity. In part, this reflects such secular shifts in the society as the advent of the Beatles and the heightened sense of national security gained as a result of the stunning victory in the Six Day War of 1967.[33] Utilizing a wide variety of innovative approaches, the Education Department became a national educational delivery system. This was acknowledged directly in the mid-1960s when the annual Israel Prize for education was given to *Zahal*.

Conclusion

The history of the foundation and early development of the Israel Defense Force's Education Department under its first two Chief Officers is a history of a nation's nearly universal educational agency. Driven by the twin factors of Zionist ideology and the necessity to make Israelis out of people with disparate backgrounds, it utilized both conventional and innovative ways to teach traditional subjects and to socialize newcomers and youth into the national culture.

This is not to say that the institution that emerged was perfect. One major issue seems to have been the department's status. Clearly, the Education Department was undermined to a degree by its place in *Zahal*'s structure. Its personnel were subject to the commanders of the units to which they were attached. As a result, the Chief Education Officer had only a secondary claim on their loyalty. This may have been more of a problem at the battalion and brigade level, since most were young female second lieutenants. While at the division and area command level, the officers tended to have more rank (typically captains through lietenant colonels), andalthough Bar-On had veto power over decisions made at this level, the education officers still were unable to function autonomously.[34]

A related problem was that of gender. The overwhelming majority of education officers were females. In a society so male in orientation, it seems problematic that a group consisting largely of females would have significant status.

Finally, the unwillingness of officers from combat units to serve in the Education Department can be seen both as a sign of its comparative lack of prestige and a cause of it as well. While Bar-On was able to bring in about six combat officers during his tenure, most officers were reluctant to make what they saw as a poor career move.[35] The result is most education officers came from service units that had less prestige.

The question of the Education Department's status within the military can be raised. On the one hand, the lack of real autonomy, feminization, and personnel from prestigious backgrounds might indicate comparatively lower status. On the other, the respect for education both within the army and the general culture might well serve as a kind of counterbalance.

A second major issue might be termed "cultural imperialism." It was evident that the first two Chief Education Officers had a vision of what constituted culture and were determined to propagate it throughout *Zahal*. This culture was rooted in the Ashkenazic experience of northern Europe. Thus the novels made available to soldiers in cheap editions tended to reflect the tradition of Northern Europe, especially Russia. Similarly, classical music was preferred for performances and on the radio because of its "higher tone."

Even today, while Bar-On admits that the issue of "cultural imperialism" is legitimate to raise, he continues to insist that his choices were fundamentally correct. He believes that elite culture has an advantage in the uplifting of society and seems to assume that European culture is normative. One might well question whether the Education Department did not actually perpetuate the Ashkenazic-Sephardic tension.

In spite of these concerns, the work of the first two Chief Education Officers of the Israel Defense Forces was impressive. During their tenure, the foundations were laid for an institution that would continue to broaden and deepen its role as nearly universal educational and socializing agency. Just as the common school was critical to the formation of American life, so also was *Zahal*'s Education Department to the formation of the Israeli state.

In later years, the Education Department would expand in complexity and sophistication. The posting of officers with field experience to senior posts within the department would further its credibility with field commanders and provide necessary linkages with the actual needs and experiences of the ordinary soldier. The department's goals would become more sharply defined and critically evaluated. A contemporary Chief Education Officer has opined that:

> The IDF, in that it is the corridor to the world of maturity for Israeli youth, is the "oven" that converts this youth into a society of mature adults. The "temperature" of the "oven" is education.[36]

In that understanding, its Education Department continues the task begun some forty years ago by its innovative founder and his professionalizing successor.

ENDNOTES

1. The author wishes to express thanks to Consul Ofra Ben-Yaacov of the Consulate-General of Israel in Chicago, Professor Asher Susser, Director of the Moshe Dayan Center for African and Middle East Studies of Tel Aviv University, and Gen. (Res.) Nechemia Dagan for their advice and support in the development of this paper.
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5. Ibid., 158-59.
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16. See Schiff, 109.
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18. Interview with Ambassador Zvi Brosh, 8 August 1992.
19. Mordechai Bar-On, *Education Processes in the Israel Defence Forces*, cited in Luttwak and Horowitz, 381.
20. Cf. Polly Welts Kaufman, *Women Teachers on the Frontier* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).
21. Cf. Herzog, 111-114.
22. Luttwak and Horowitz, 80-83.
23. Bar-On interview.
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27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Mordechai Bar-On, *Education Processes in the Israel Defence Forces*, cited in Luttwak and Horowitz, 383-86.
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31. Cf. Schiff, 73-77, 89.
32. Bar-On interview.
33. Cf. Herzog, 145-91.
34. Bar-On interview.
35. Ibid.
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Influences of European Tutors on Colonial Domestic Education

Edward E. Gordon, Ph.D.
Chicago, Illinois

To what extent were eighteenth-century colonial education practices in America an extension of education policies and philosophies found in Europe?[1] This becomes a significant question since unlike educators in a far more densely populated Europe, colonial educators were forced to innovate and adapt to serve a predominantly isolated, rural, frontier environment. Tutoring at home was a natural, practical response to a unique educational challenge.[2]

This paper will chronicle the work of professional tutors, governesses and family domestic educators to show how they melded European tutorial concepts with the teaching methods required by a distinctive colonial society.

In eighteenth century colonial America, as in Europe, the history of tutoring at home (domestic education) was linked to the development of schools in each local community. However, domestic educators were often the originators of schooling concepts. Three centuries ago the American family was the fundamental economic, educational, political and religious unit of society. The household was the institution primarily responsible for the education of children. The family performed many social support functions that have since been relegated to non-familial institutions.[3]

Provenzo believes that the colonial child who learned reading was as likely to have been taught at home as through attendance at school.[4] Spufford in her study of 141 colonial autobiographies also offers parallel findings. She discovered that reading was taught "in families and was more widespread among all classes than previously conjectured." Even though grammar school and college attendance was very limited, she perceives "a murky and ill-defined world" in which children somehow learned to read.[5]

A review of the personal writings of these domestic educators and their pupils challenges our modern perspective that has excluded home tutoring as a significant contributor to the overall schooling process. Josiah Cotton (1680-1756) of Massachusetts related in his diary,

> My younger days were attended with the follies and vanities incident to youth howsoever I quickly learned to read, without going to any school I remember.[6]

Even by the end of the eighteenth century in many places outside New England, schools were maintained with difficulty, if at all.[7] However, the colonists, freed from much of the restrictive social structures of their homelands, developed an ideology of political equality and a system of economic rewards based on individual educational competence. Commager sees education as many early American's quasi-religion. Education was perceived as a means for any ambitious individual to improve his or her economic status.[8] Cremin tells us that if a New England child grew up in a home of non-readers, neighbors often offered to tutor the child.[9]

A chronic shortage of qualified educators plagued colonial society. Many schoolmasters taught children in the day and tutored at night. In Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Savannah and other cities, teachers used colonial newspapers or public house bulletin boards to advertise their availability as tutors for children and adults, individually or in small groups. The large numbers of these advertisements provides evidence that tutorial services were in enough demand to keep many tutors in business throughout the eighteenth century.[10] Woody also supports the view that women composed a large part of this audience educated at home throughout this period.[11]

How widespread were home tutoring activities in the English colonies? What influence did Europe have on these tutorial practices? A regional review of the colonies will fill in the details on these issues and other tutorial activities important to eighteenth-century colonial society.

New England

The Massachusetts Bay Puritans were heirs to what Cremin calls the English "Renaissance traditions stressing the centrality of the household as the primary agency of human association and education."[12] Imitating the Royal Injunctions of the House of Tudor (1546, 1547, 1559), they were the first among the colonies to legislate reading instruction of children at home by their parents (1642). The idea that the family was also a "school" reveals the overbearing Puritan sense of purpose. Most of New England by 1683 had enacted some degree of compulsory schooling.[13]

A considerable amount of evidence indicates that beginning in the late seventeenth and throughout the entire eighteenth century, the colonial household was even more important as an agency of education than schools in the towns of New England. Many of the early education laws empowered local officials to check that parents were tutoring their children at home. One indication of the extent of domestic education's role is the prevalence of court orders enforcing these colonial statues on negligent Massachusetts parents.[14]

The Puritan family was a primary educational and religious unit. Based on the writings of Martin Luther, John Knox and other Reformation leaders, the 1642 Massachusetts' education statute required the heads of households to tutor their children in reading, thus insuring the religious welfare of their souls.[15]

There is no doubt that domestic tutoring was often supplemented, when available, by more secular schooling. However, the quintessential Puritan, Cotton Mather (1663-1728), insisted as a safeguard for the religious welfare of children "that parents are to teach their children. . . without that Knowledge our children are miserable to all Eternity."[16] At least once a week most fathers taught their children from a catechism. Learning was by rote, but a good parent taught older children to comprehend the significance of their answers and much more besides. Increase Mather (1639-1723) said of his own childhood, "I learned to read of my mother. I learned to write of Father, who also instructed me in grammar learning, both in Latin and greeke Tongues [sic]."[17]

The early "Reading School" or "Dame School," found throughout New England, represents another variation of home tutoring. A mother might begin such a "school" by first tutoring her own children. Many then took in other neighbor children as young as age two. This form of small group tutoring flourished throughout the eighteenth century in the region's towns and villages. Some "Dame schools" used peer tutors to supplement the teacher. Among these was a Reverend John Barnard of Marblehead, Massachusetts (b. 1681) who recollected of his schooling in Boston that "In my sixth year. . . my mistress had made me a sort of usher appointing me to teach some children that were older than myself as well as some small ones."[18]

As in Europe, many clergymen were tutors. Church pastors supplemented their meager incomes by boarding young boys in residence. Many also undertook the education of their own families. Women in particular were often educated exclusively at home by a tutor, governess, or parent, if they were educated at all. Jonathan Edwards was tutored by his father, along with his ten sisters. An early Fellow of Harvard, Reverend Colman, educated his daughter Jane exclusively at home.[19]

The playwright, poet and historian Mercy Otis Warren and her equally famous friend Abigail Adams, received their education almost entirely at home. Although Mercy received no formal schooling, she grew up in an environment that stressed intellectual achievement. She was allowed to attend the tutorial lessons that her older brother James took with their uncle, Reverend Jonathan Russell, a religious and educational leader of the Cape Cod region. James went on to Harvard and became a successful lawyer and pamphleteer in the early struggle for American independence.[20]

Mercy continued her own education based on books borrowed from her uncle's library on such subjects as theology, history, philosophy and poetry. Later her *History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution* (1805) inspired the patriotism of the early United States.[21]

In contrast to her illustrious compatriot, Abigail Adams' (1774-1818) own education was limited to home instruction and local dame schools. The correspondence of Abigail (1774-1818) with John Adams (1735-1826), while he was on a myriad of diplomatic and political missions, chronicled the domestic education of their four children. Adams always assured her that she was well qualified to tutor their children.[22]

Abigail read with great interest the tutorial guide *On the Management and Education of Children* by the English author Juliana Seymour (the pseudonym of John Hall). This was an example of the eighteenth century "domestic education" or "fireside" education literature written for parents tutoring their children at home. Beginning in eighteenth century England, Maria Edgeworth and other English "domestic educators" authored hundreds of books that popularized home tutoring. Abigail composed a poem (1773) that expressed her conception of a parent's duties as the family tutor.

Parent who vast pleasure finds
In forming her children's minds
In midst of who with read delight
She passes many a winter's night
Mingels in every play to find
What Bias Nature gave the mind
Resolving theme to take her aim
To Guide them to the realms of fame
And wisely make those realms the way
To those of everlasting day[23]

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The Middle Colonies

New York

Early New Amsterdam provided little opportunity for education at home or in school. However, we know that some children were taught by private tutors.

John Stuyvesant, Director General of the Dutch Colony, retained Aegidius Luyak as a tutor for his children. His curriculum included Latin, Greek, writing and arithmetic. It was not an uncommon practice to include classical languages in a tutorial program.

This curriculum was a continuation of the humanist Renaissance tutorial tradition of Thomas More, Juan Luis Vives, Thomas Elyot, John Cheke, Roger Ascham and many other illustrious tutor-educators. It was not unusual to see well-tutored four, five and six-year-old children throughout Europe conversing with adults in both ancient and modern languages. They were educated as "little adults" with a somber mood to match. Only during the seventeenth century did a new conception of childhood emerge that gradually acknowledged different subject material in the education of children, adolescents and adults.[24]

The Dutch also influenced the liberal education policy of the first generation of Pilgrims. Prior to their sojourn in the New World, the Pilgrims lived in Holland for twelve years as religious refugees. Since the local schools were only in the Dutch language, home tutoring directed by parents became an educational necessity. This experience influenced the Pilgrims' outlook regarding the role of the family when adopting their education statutes for Massachusetts.[25]

Education was also encouraged by the government of New Sweden. After the coming of the English (1682) and absorption into the colony of New York, it was customary for Swedish children first to learn at school to read English and then their mother tongue. As in New England, home tutoring by a local pastor was also a component of Swedish colonial education.[26]

In 1664 the English seized the New Netherlands and renamed it New York. Kamen believes that between 1695 and 1775 the majority of children in New York City who received any education were tutored to read and write at home. Schultz also agrees with this conclusion. He has found that the little formal education then in existence was largely controlled by private tutors.[27]

Evidence of itinerant tutors can also be found in other areas of New York. In 1716 a travelling tutor from New Jersey "kept school" for families in several places in Westchester County, New York. This single woman earned such a scant living as a tutor that she was forced to give her eleven-month-old baby to one of the local farm wives. We might conjecture the unhappy life of this nameless tutor, who, babe in arms, had perhaps moved to "the Jerseys" to find a happier life than in New York. Unfortunately, the low wages given many colonial tutors forced her to forsake her baby and career as a tutor.[28]

Pennsylvania

In Pennsylvania private tutors played an influential role in the educational development of Philadelphia. William Penn (1644-1718), the colony's founder (1682), regarded schooling as a public necessity, but he employed a tutor for his own family. As a child, Penn was personally educated according to the English system of home tutorial education. Penn's preference for his own child's education was to "have an ingenious person in the house to teach them, then send them to school." This procedure acted as a safeguard for the younger child since too many "vile impressions" were taught in the private schools of Philadelphia. The popularity of private home tutors in Pennsylvania can be partially attributed to the preparation of boys for the Latin schools of Philadelphia. Tutors were hired in England to teach these children privately Latin, Greek and mathematics. Further evidence of the prevalence of domestic education was the building of the first secondary school in Pennsylvania (1758) on a site first used by a private tutor to teach local children.[29]

Another ardent supporter of domestic education in local Philadelphian society was Benjamin Rush (1745-1813), American physician, educator and signer of the Declaration of Independence. In *Thoughts Upon Female Education* (1787), he expressed the view that women had to assume the responsibility for the education of the family's children at home. They were the principal guardians of domestic and moral authority. The new American republic required mothers to educate their sons in the principles of liberty and government. This prepared them for future public office.[30]

In colonial American society, women were perceived as the ideal educators of their own children. To prepare women for this vital role, Rush and other colonial leaders, such as Washington, Jefferson and Adams, strongly encouraged education for women at home. Formal schooling was seen as an alternative, only if private tutoring at home was impractical.[31]

For a woman's tutorial education Rush advocated English, penmanship, arithmetic, bookkeeping, geography, as well as readings in history and biography. John Adams also included the study of French and Latin grammar. Both Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson offered an extensive selection from world literature that included Shakespeare, Molière, Racine, Pope, Addison, Dryden and the *Moral Tales* from the

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leading English domestic educator, Maria Edgeworth. They also included *Pamela* (1740), *Clarissa* (1747), and *Sir Charles Grandison* (1753) by Samuel Richardson (1689-1761), a London printer and novelist.[32]

This influential eighteenth century figure used his widely read novels to advance personal theories on the tutorial education of women in England and colonial America. In *Pamela* Richardson has his central character avidly studying John Locke's *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), one of the most influential books ever written in England about home tutoring.

Richardson advanced the concept that a mother must begin a child's education at home and carry it to a fairly advanced stage. Girls and boys at first had the same tutorial lessons. Even later when their curriculum diverged, girls were still to learn spelling, good handwriting, French, Italian and the translations of Latin authors. Young women were also to read from the Bible, Milton, and Addison and to learn history and geography. If a woman's tutoring in her childhood was deficient, her husband was to remedy any lack by providing her with appropriate private tutors.[33]

Franklin and Jefferson also included in their tutorial curriculum, *The Ladies Library* (1714). These three volumes, published in many editions in London, were edited anonymously by a woman. The volumes were a collection of writers on women's education including Mary Astell and John Locke, who both supported education at home. The widespread popularity of this work made their views well known throughout colonial America.[34]

We must not be surprised to see a direct correlation between the age of the "learned ladies" in eighteenth-century England and the period of colonial tutorial education. Hannah More, Elizabeth Elstob, Mary Wollstonecraft, Elizabeth Carter, Mary Astell, Maria Edgeworth, and other "blue stockings" had great influence on American educational practices. Many of these women were advocates of tutoring children at home.[35]

In colonial America economic activity and frontier conditions often took men from home and gave women greater social responsibilities. Whether a working class mother or a plantation mistress, most women lived a better life in America and were more literate than their European sisters. By eighteenth-century standards, many colonial American mothers were able to provide their children with a good tutorial education at home.[36]

The Southern Colonies

In the Southern colonies tutoring was the most widespread educational method, due to a widely scattered population and a dearth of local community schoolhouses. Most children in colonial Maryland who received any education were either taught by their parents or a professional tutor, or sent to school in England. The planter class in Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina hired tutors from England or Scotland as well as scholars from northern colonial colleges. Occasionally even indentured servants served as tutors.

In 1766 Richard Corlin, a Virginia planter, wrote to a London friend an earnest plea for a qualified tutor.

> I am greatly in want of a tutor to my children, it gives me pain to see them misspending the precious moments of their youth. I must earnestly entreat you therefore to procure me an honest man well skilled in the languages, that writes a good hand, and is thoroughly acquainted with arithmetic and accounts. This is so interesting to me that I flatter myself you will exert your endeavors to engage a gentleman qualified in all respects for this business and send him over by the first ship.[37]

In many instances these family tutors also taught relatives and neighbors. This meant boarding both the tutor and his pupils on a large estate. Special "schoolrooms" were built on these plantations. The tutor often lived and slept on the second floor with the classroom below. (Both one or two-story tutor schoolrooms can still be seen at Shirley Planation near Richmond, Virginia and Gunston Hall near Mt. Vernon.) The tutorial curriculum often resembled a private eighteenth century school or academy: French, Latin, Greek and arithmetic. Instructional methods were usually one-to-one or a small tutorial group.[38]

The colonial southern "genteel family" delegated to others as intermediaries or surrogates the actual governance of their children on a day-to-day basis. These tutors and governesses maintained both authority and education. The parents appeared to these children as distant figures seen only intermittently. They were both lovingly indulgent and at the same time awesome, powerful, absolute respected domestic monarchs. In many ways this was a transplant of the English aristocratic household to a New World setting.[39]

The best evidence of the prevalence and nature of this tutorial instruction for boys and girls can be found in the letters, wills, diaries and newspaper advertisements regarding tutorial employment. These accounts were written by either parents, tutors or governesses.[40]

John Harrower, a Scot, indentured himself to find passage to America. In his diary (1773-1776) he relates how a Colonel William Dangerfield of Bevedira Plantation near Frederickburg, Virginia brought Harrower to tutor his three sons.

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> May 27
> This morning about 8AM the colonel delivered his three sons to my charge to teach them to read, write, and figure. His oldest son Edwin ten years of age intred [sic] into two syllables in the spelling book, Bathourest his second son six years of age in the alphabete [sic] and William his third son four years of age does not know the letters. . . My school houres [sic] is from six to eight in the morning, in the forenoon from nine to twelve, and from three to six in the afternoon.

Harrower successfully recruited an additional ten children from neighboring plantations, receiving in payment cash, clothing and rum. In the evenings and on Sunday he also tutored a local adult carpenter, Thomas Brooks, in writing and arithmetic. This array of students was typical for many plantation tutors.[41]

As the eighteenth century progressed, Virginians began complaining that it was increasingly difficult to obtain suitable tutors from England or Scotland. By mid-century parents began securing tutors from Princeton and other American colleges. Philip Vickers Fithian was a young theological graduate of Princeton College. He kept a journal during 1773-1774 while tutoring the two sons, five daughters and a nephew of Colonel Robert Carter of Nomoni Hall, Virginia. This tutor's account is replete with details of his life, curriculum content and his tutoring methods.[42]

Fithian lived on the second floor of the Carter's school house with a clerk and other servants. There were two schoolrooms on the first floor. As the resident tutor, Fithian received a salary of thirty-five pounds, in addition to use of a horse, a personal servant and book borrowing privileges from Carter's extensive library. These were very generous terms compared to the meager pay often given to colonial family tutors.[43]

The tutorial curriculum followed for the Carter children showed a specific differentiation between his sons and daughters. The lessons for the five girls, while liberal in comparison to prevailing custom, lacked any significant depth. Their education consisted mainly of instruction in the English language and simple arithmetic.[44]

The Carter boys received not only this basic instruction but also tutoring in Greek and Latin. Fithian tutored them from Sallust (*The Cataline Conspiracy*), Virgil and the Greek Testament, as well as in Latin and Greek grammar. Fithian taught all the children their catechism. It was the only instruction shared by both sexes. This gender separation of the children was not at all typical in the eighteenth-century home tutoring environment. As we have already seen, whether by plan or default, girls often were allowed to participate in their brother's "classical" educational program.[45]

Fithian's day began at about seven in the morning with the children all gathered for "round one lesson" until eight o'clock. Breakfast was served at eight-thirty. Tutoring resumed from nine-thirty until noon, when the children left for their free time. Lunch was served at two-thirty or three o'clock. Lessons continued from three-thirty until five o'clock. Dinner occurred between eight-thirty and nine. Fithian usually retired between ten and eleven each evening. This instruction routine was generally kept from Monday through Friday.

Because of students' great age variance, from five to seventeen, many of his instruction methods were highly individualized, one-to-one tutorials. At other times he used small group tutoring techniques. The children also tutored each other to ensure complete mastery of a lesson. Peer-tutoring and cross-age-tutoring were common colonial domestic education practices, whether the tutoring was supervised by a tutor, governess or parent. It foreshadowed the later methods used by nineteenth- and twentieth-century one-room schoolteachers in mixed-grade, remote, frontier schoolhouses.

Fithian left extensive written advice to his successor on practical instructional methods. The foundation of his overall success as a tutor was Fithian's early recognition of the children's individual differences. This required great "ingenuity and industry" in varying his content and methods to meet each child's unique educational needs and personal interests.[46] Not all colonial tutors were as insightful or as successful.

The papers of John Davis, born in Salisbury, England (1776), portray far less successful tutorial programs. From 1798 to 1802 he traveled down the eastern seaboard from New York to South Carolina seeking employment as a family tutor. Though Davis possessed only an autodidactic education in Greek, Latin and French, he later published twelve books on the subject of America. David had many unpleasant experiences as a tutor, commenting at the end of one three-month term with a Virginia family, "I was surrounded by a throng of oafs, who read their lessons with the same (tone) that Punch makes when he squeaks through a comb." A New York bookseller warned Davis against attempting a career as a private tutor to uncouth Americans, "Alas! the labour of Sisyphus in hell is not equal to that of a private tutor in America!" Davis chronicled his experiences as a private educator in *Travels of Four Years and a Half in the U.S.A.*[47]

Women were often employed as governesses to tutor southern colonial families. Fithian recorded in his Journal that two governess were brought from England to tutor families near Nomoni Hall, Virginia. We know that one of them, Sally Partan, tutored the daughter of Richard Hesly Lee in French, writing and English.

Local Southern colonial newspapers featured extensive advertisements by parents seeking a governess. Conversely governesses often advertised "seeking a situation." The fifty years of the eighteenth century prior to the American Revolution witnessed an ever increasing number of women employed as family governesses. Woody believes that these tutors and governesses were the forerunners of the first recognized educational institution in the colonial South. Particularly before 1750, "schools supplemented... the work of tutors in the household," since schools "were found chiefly in the cities."[48]

The principal reason that parents supported domestic education was the deplorable curriculum found in many schools. In the 1760s George Washington sent his fourteen-year-old stepson, John Parke Custis to the Reverend Jonathan Boucher for a private tutorial education. Boucher assured Washington that his ultimate objective was to ensure that Custis became "a good man, if not a learned one." He denounced the schools of the day that taught boys "Words rather than things" and gave them "a parcel of Lumber by Rote." Over several years Boucher tutored Custis well enough to enable him to be admitted to King's College (Columbia University).[49]

Conclusions

The American colonial experience contains ample evidence of how European tutorial concepts often were parallelled in American domestic education. During the eighteenth century, primary source materials tell us that many children received a broad education at home directed by a tutor, governess or parent. Cremin supports this view when he states that the family in colonial America was "the most important agency of popular education."[50]

For too long historians have looked only at schooling institutions to discover the primary sources of American education and societal literacy. America's colonial era is replete with examples of how the practice of one-to-one or small group home tutoring was an integral component of that society's response to their educational needs. More broadly Kaestle in his review of American literacy also supports this concept that "[n]ot all literacy was acquired in schools."[51]

The story of tutorial education in colonial eighteenth century America helps document the contributions of European educators. It also underscores the important role of these family tutors in providing a component of basic societal literacy for the future United States.

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Catholic Sociology and its Place within the Emerging Field of Sociology

Carol Tolson
Loyola University
Chicago, Illinois

In the late 1830s, Auguste Comte isolated sociology from the other sciences and gave the field its name. As a follower of Concorcet and Saint-Simon, Comte emphasized the need for sociology to have a system built on a scientific methodology of observation, description, and classification of social facts and advocated the complete abandonment of philosophic methods. His proposed stand did not allow for any interpretation of these facts or permit any judgment of values.

Based on these "scientific" inductive methods advocated by Comte, sociology came into its own as a social science. By the mid to late 1930s, this inductive method of sociology was, in theory, upheld by most sociologists in the United States and abroad.

Catholic intellectuals in America strongly felt a need to develop a response to this modernist thought. Since Catholicism was a minority religion in America, these intellectuals also felt the necessity to articulate a distinct self-identity.

Until World War I, within the field of sociology, the acceptance of Catholic social thought moved like a pendulum from outright rejection to efforts at reconciliation and reconstruction. These changes were predicated in varying degrees by the shifting pronouncements of the papal encyclicals, changes in the American environment, and changes within the Catholic community itself. Between the First and Second World Wars, Catholic intellectuals, especially those identified as liberals, attempted to preserve the central elements of Catholic tradition while reconciling with the larger intellectual environment in the field of sociology. To accomplish this, they accepted and participated in the neo-Thomist or neo-scholastic revival that had already been underway in the European Catholic community for a half century. This neo-Thomistic stance allowed American Catholic intellectuals to chart theologically appropriate responses to their various academic disciplines.[1]

In the social encyclicals written by Popes Leo XIII (1891) and Pius XI (1931), a social apostolate was demanded from the priesthood, laity, and even student bodies. It was suggested by the Holy See that Christian social education begin at an early age and continue throughout an individual's life in order for Catholics to have a solid foundation in the "great principles" of Christian sociology. This was considered the beginning of a new epoch in Christian social thought.[2] With these papal mandates in mind, Fr. William J. Kerby offered the first sociology course taught at a Catholic college in the United States at the Catholic University in Washington, D.C., in 1895. By 1938, sociology was taught in most Catholic colleges and universities. While managing to achieve departmental independence from social ethics and theology, sociology was not always a separate department from social work or criminology. In 1925, St. Louis University began its Department of Sociology and awarded its first Ph.D. in sociology in 1932 to Fr. Ralph Gallagher.

Eva J. Ross, receiving her Ph.D. from St. Louis University in 1934, is a good example of the Catholic sociologist trained in an American Catholic college in the 1930s. In her texts, *A Survey of Sociology*, written in 1932, and *Fundamentals of Sociology*, written in 1939, she clearly defined the position of the Catholic sociologist.

She stated that sociology is the study of man's social life. Social science aimed at adjusting the individual to a social life as near the ideal as human society would ever reach. It included those activities that would help to improve the condition of the people. Pure sociology aimed at being a positive science in that it sought its understanding of social phenomena by observing, describing, and classifying actual social facts and conditions. It established statistical laws and proposed theories that accounted for those laws. Sociology used induction in its most limited sense. It did not intend to be a normative science, and, as such, it was not to be concerned with judgment of values.[3] In actuality, sociology studied an individual's relations with fellow people both in the past and in the present and tried to formulate, when necessary, the scientific principles of progress. Its purpose, therefore, was the scientific understanding of social phenomena and the promotion of man's temporal welfare through the proper functioning of social groups. "Applied sociology," which was viewed as the ultimate aim of the science, was the active promotion of man's temporal welfare by formulating principles for social improvement in conformity with the axioms of ethics and religion. Sociology was mainly concerned with man's temporal happiness in its social aspects and with the study of social evils, their causes and possible remedies. Mankind's greatest good could only be realized insofar as the principles of true moral philosophy and religion were applied. All human activity, even the economic, was to be governed by these principles. They were known as the moral law, which consisted primarily in a definition of the rights of God and the correlative duties and rights of individuals. Ethics dealt with the rightness and wrongness of human conduct and with the standards and ideals of morality as proven by reason. It was felt, since a person's perfection was a higher end than merely temporal happiness, the sociologists must know the norms of right conduct before principles of social action could be effectually formulated. The Catholic sociologist must follow these principles to be certain that any ideas for social improvement were based on true philosophy and religion, and that the sociologist was working for man's greatest temporal good.[4]

Ross felt that if the statements of Catholic sociologists differed at times from other sociologists, it was due to their belief in three fundamental considerations:

1. The laws that govern an individual's social life are determined by rights and duties as imposed by God.
2. An individual's temporal existence is only the precursor of an eternal life with God in heaven. Therefore, all social intercourse should be directed toward this end, and all conception of the individual's happiness should be subordinated to it.
3. Although some measure of scientific rules may apply to the conduct of group life, a person is an individual possessed of a free will. Therefore, the observation of the conduct of mankind in the past will not infallibly bring us to a knowledge of future conduct.[5]

The Catholic sociologist considered the following truths as certain: (1) that the family and State are "natural" societies, (2) that the institution of private property is a "natural one," and (3) that the Catholic Church is a supernatural society. The Church and the duly constituted State are considered "perfect" societies, that is, sovereign in their own power and not in any way dependent upon a power other than God alone. In the natural sphere, the family was considered more important than either Church or State since it is prior to both and the latter are composed of none other than families and their individual members.[6]

Ross argued that Christian social concepts must have a place in sociology and called for a Catholic sociology that would be both inductive and deductive. The deductive, or a priori, method would insure an appreciation of the ultimate source or cause of things and events in the social world. Thus, her primary motive for advancing Catholic sociology was to counter various secular solutions to social problems. Catholic sociology would be both informed by Catholic social philosophy and would be used in the service of Catholic-sponsored programs for social reform.[7]

It was in the interpretation of the social facts that the Catholic sociologists had to take into consideration certain principles about individuals. They felt that it was obvious that the inductive method failed insofar as a human is not a wholly observable being. The social observer must be aware of the entire nature of the individual and take full cognizance of the findings of other sciences, be they of a scientific or philosophical nature. This awareness is even the more necessary the more the observer wishes to interpret the facts discovered or to effect improvement in man's social conditions.

A Survey of Roman Catholic Sociological Theory in the United States Since 1900 was initiated in 1939 at Duke University. This survey was undertaken to determine the nature, purpose, and methods of sociology as revealed in the works of Catholic sociologists in the United States in the twentieth century. Four interrelated phases in the development of Catholic sociological theory were defined. The first phase, though antedated by earlier Christian thinkers, begins with St. Thomas Aquinas' socio-political synthesis, which states that facts must be obtained through observation and experience, and that people acquire knowledge only through such experiences. The second phase is represented in the mass interest in socio-economic questions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Europe and elsewhere, where Catholicism flourished. This *social Catholicism* was rooted in the social principles of the Church and the Christian tradition. The third phase saw a definite interest developing in "social science," in which sociology was considered to be a synthetic social science. The last stage, which was then considered to be in its infancy, was the attempt to make sociology an empirical science. Sociology was regarded in this stage as a definite and special social science in that it was cultural, systematic, and autonomous. The American Catholic sociologist, therefore, fell clearly into one of these four groups: those following the Thomistic position in social philosophy, those interested in social Catholicism, those regarding sociology as a synthetic science, and finally those regarding sociology as a definite and special social science.[8]

This early study of Catholic sociological theory proposed six conclusions. First, all Roman Catholic sociological thought is supported by and draws upon some phase of the Thomistic conceptual theory. Second, the study shows that the development of Catholic social thought has been influenced by numerous historical events (i.e., Protestant Reformation, rise of modern capitalism, liberalism, naturalism, and humanism, etc). In reaction to these movements, Catholic social thinkers, on the whole, developed a definite social attitude. Third, the Catholic emphasis upon social problems and conditions, and social changes, necessitated the Church's taking some official action or stand on the social problems of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Fourth, the beginning of sociological writings by Catholics in the United States consisted primarily of restating Thomistic social philosophy and the encyclicals of Popes Leo XIII and Pius XI. Fifth, the development of sociology as a social science among Catholics in America grew out of the emphasis upon social Catholicism and the reaction to the humanistic and evolutionary philosophy of many non-Catholic sociologists. This phase of Catholic sociological thought in America was primarily a philosophical approach without any definite method or technique, in the scientific sense of the word, for studying social problems, social relations, and social conditions. Sixth, the science of sociology, as such, was regarded by American Catholic sociologists from two standpoints. On one side, a majority of Catholic sociologists view sociology as a synthetic social science, that is, a synthesis of Catholic social philosophy, social Catholicism (including principles for guiding social work and carrying out social reforms), and what Fr. Paul Furfey termed "factual sociology." On the other hand, there was a group who emphasized the empirical and autonomous nature of sociology. They also took their point of departure from St. Thomas, but in a different sense. They accepted the idea of the ordinate autonomy of the various sciences, maintaining that every science has a definite subject matter or object. The formal object of sociology is "sociation;" that is, it is the purpose of sociology to determine which relations, processes, and structures integrate (associate) and which disintegrate (dissociate).[9]

Neo-Thomism was the ideological undergirding for a multitude of organization building endeavors on the part of American Catholic intellectuals.[10] The American Catholic Sociological Society (ACSS) was one such example. Founded in 1938 by Fr. Ralph Gallagher and loosely associated with the American Sociological Society, the ACSS quickly developed its own goals and constitution. The society brought three factions of Catholic sociologists together. One group, like Fr. Gallagher, believed that Catholic sociology existed and proved to be an autonomous form of sociology. In the second group were trained sociologists who happened to have a Catholic background. They felt very strongly about the non-existence of Catholic sociology. Dr. Clement Mihanovich, a member of this group, has said, "We did not baptize or confirm sociology. There is no more a 'Catholic' form of sociology than there is Catholic Algebra." The third group, represented by Msgr. Furfey, used the society and its journal as a forum for spreading the concepts of Catholic social action.[11]

The ACSS was to become an agency for developing a theologically grounded sociological position. It sought to utilize social sciences' tools that were in harmony with the Catholic faith. Thomism provided legitimation to their positions. It did so at a price because by definition Catholic sociology set limits on the way in which social life was to be studied. Catholic sociology was to be fused with a "social theology" that tended to include support for organized labor, appeals for an activist welfare state, and a staunch anti-communism stand. But, this social theology was never fully developed or articulated by the society's members.[12] The second group rejected their counterparts' claim that sociology neither could nor should be value free. Nonetheless, they were not prepared to go as far as those in the profession who thought that sociology should be modeled after the natural sciences. If they had done so, they could not have defined themselves as Catholic sociologists, merely as Catholics and sociologists. Thus, while others being socialized into the profession became sociologists by abandoning their ethnic or intellectual marginality, Jews like Merton or Marxists like Bellah did not become, respectively, Jewish sociologists or Marxist sociologists, but rather sociologists with various personal histories that had been overcome. American Catholic sociologists had a much different collective self image. Dr. Franz Mueller argued that sociology could be seen as a vocation, and, as such, the Catholic sociologist could serve both the Church and society at large, and do so to the glory of God. His position only served to prove that neo-Thomism was far too pliable to provide an adequate bias for forging a single, widely accepted Catholic sociology. Both sides of the issue were equally capable of grounding their positions in Thomistic principles.[13]

In less than two decades, the position opposed to construction of a Catholic sociology would become dominant within the Society and with Catholic sociologists in general. By the 1950s, the call for the creation of a Catholic sociology had virtually disappeared, and some people, such as Ross, had crossed over to the other side. Many of these scholars abandoned efforts to develop Catholic sociology and were directing their work towards a variety of areas in applied sociology. There is no evidence to show that any of these intellectuals had gone on with an attempt to create a distinctively Catholic approach to social reform or any other related field.[14]

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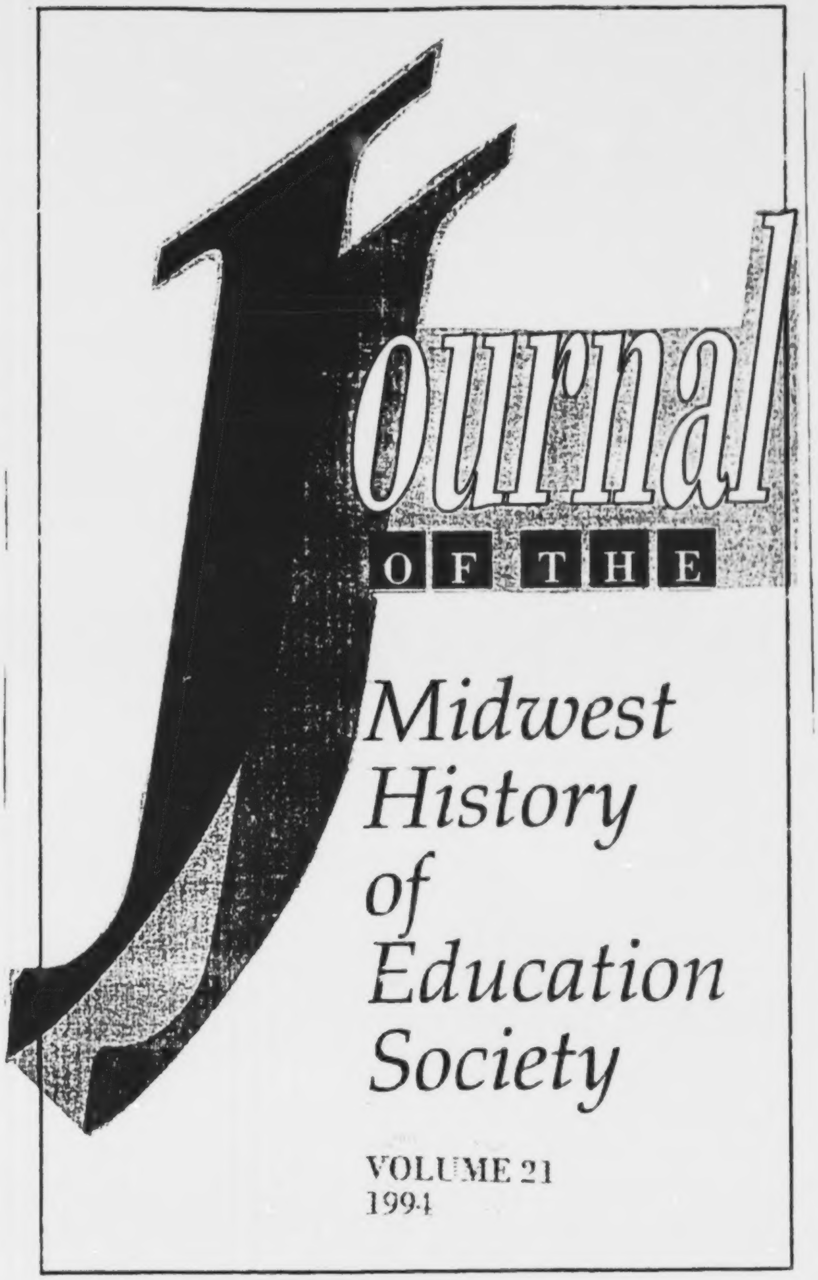

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Interscholastic High School Sports: The Growth and Decline of the National Catholic Basketball Tournament (1924-1941)

Janis B. Fine
Joan K. Smith
Loyola University of Chicago

The early decades of the twentieth century witnessed the growth and development of national interscholastic high school sports. Advocates of such competitions claimed that : 1) it promoted interest in the sport; 2) it set an example of excellence in conduct and sportsmanship through ideals and practice; 3) it provided opportunities for travel and other experiences that have important educational value; and 4) it developed a sense of community pride. This paper will describe an ideological context in which the development of interscholastic high school tournaments existed, chronicle the growth and decline of the National Catholic Interscholastic Basketball Tournament (NCIBT), and discuss the participation and contributions of several native American mission teams in the NCIBT.

American Pragmatism as Philosophical Context

The early twentieth century was a time when Pragmatism was the American ideology, and athletic competition fit well with the pragmatic tenets of shared experiences of individuals in groups, individual interest stimulated by direct experience as the best means of learning, and modes of moral conduct based upon individual development and social experience. More specifically, the very idea of an athletic competition "to quest together" in the pursuit of "excellence through victory in the contest" was well-suited to the 1918 pragmatic doctrine authored by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education.[1] The Commission's report called for high schools to offer extra-curricular activities, such as sports, in order to instill democratic values in its future citizens, to promote social solidarity between the various social classes of its students, and to cultivate worthy use of leisure time and good ethical character, which are best taught by relating acts with their consequences.[2]

These values fit well with one of the first national competitions in high school basketball, hosted in 1917 by the University of Chicago under the direction of Amos Alonzo Stagg. Known as the National Interscholastic Basketball Tournament (NIBT), the competition was Stagg's effort to provide fertile ground for picking talented athletic recruits to the University of Chicago. Stagg was fighting a battle with the university administration, who thought that the university's athletes were not up to par academically. It was a battle he ultimately lost, prior to Robert Maynard Hutchins' presidency, when a report from the Carnegie Corporation recommended that the university suspend its intercollegiate sports programs because itwas to small to provide viable competition.

Nevertheless, in 1923 Loyola Academy, the secondary department of Loyola University of Chicago, asked that Catholic and other private high schools be included in Stagg's tournament. Stagg refused to recognize Catholic schools, although his rationale was not clear. Undoubtedly Stagg would not have viewed Catholic high schools as the best feeders for the University of Chicago's basketball program. Since that was one of his main motivations for sponsoring the tournament, Catholic schools would not have helped him achieve that goal.

The Beginnings of the NCIBT

Concerned about Stagg's exclusive policy, Director of Athletics at Loyola Academy Rev. Joseph Thorning, S. J., proposed that Loyola University sponsor a tournament patterned after the NIBT. The tournament would be an invitational to outstanding Catholic high school basketball teams throughout the country. The newly constructed Alumni Gymnasium on the Lake Shore campus was to be the setting for the games.

Thorning received support for his plan from the Loyola community, including its President, William H. Agnew, S. J., the Chicago Catholic High School League, The Knights of Columbus Basketball League, and Chicago sports editors. Coaches from Chicago's St. Ignatius High School and Loyola Academy worked with Thorning to provide an organizational structure.

A banquet was held to announce the tournament, and no one was more enthusiastic than Notre Dame's Knute Rockne. A policy-making body in the form of a board of directors was named. It consisted of the members of the Catholic League of Chicago High Schools, with Thorning as its chair. The first tournament was set for March 1924. Invitations were sent to teams who had won local, regional, or state competitions.

Twenty-six teams participated in the first competition. The first set of teams came mostly from the Midwest but included teams from New York, Mississippi, West Virginia, Colorado, and South Dakota.

After the success of the first tournament, Thorning received many letters supporting the tournament. Rockne wrote Thorning expressing his interest in the tournament, stating that "It is a fine idea and you deserve a lot of credit."[3]

By 1928 the tournament had expanded its invitational slots to thirty-two, and the tournament schedule was increased from four to five days so that no team had to play more than one game a day. The final game was moved from Loyola's Alumni Stadium to the Chicago Coliseum because the crowd of spectators had outgrown the gym. Thousands had been turned away from the final playoffs in 1927. Also the number of states sending representative teams had increased from the original thirteen in 1924 to twenty-two states in 1928.

From the beginning the Board of Directors had vision enough to realize that NCIBT support would be strengthened if there were state and sectional competitions. Winners of these competitions would then receive the invitation for the national meet. By 1933 there were state competitions in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. District or sectional meets were organized in Minnesota, New York, Oklahoma, and Chicago. The National Catholic High School Association was also instrumental in organizing these state and district playoffs. They held their annual meetings during the NCIBT tournaments. In 1933 they represented more than seven hundred Catholic secondary schools.

In 1931 the directors grew cautious about the tourney's future. The North Central Association for secondary schools and colleges passed a policy stating that "No accredited school shall participate in any national or interstate athletic meet or tournament or in any invitational athletic tournament or meet not sponsored by the state athletic association. Accredited schools not eligible to membership in the State Athletic Association are Excepted." In Illinois as in many other states, the state association consisted only of public supported high schools and those run by normal schools. Therefore, Catholic secondary schools were not bound to the policy.[4]

However, the policy did affect Stagg's competition. Seeing the writing on the wall, Stagg extended his competition to include Catholic high schools in 1929. The NCIBT board was ready to go into action to inhibit the participation of Catholic schools in the University of Chicago's competition. They planned to campaign actively against such participation in the Catholic press, but the problem soon disappeared. Stagg's national tournament folded in 1930.[5]

In 1935, the National Catholic High School Athletic Association developed a constitution with the following four purposes:

> (a)To strengthen and unify eligibility rules governing participations in inter-school athletics.
>
> (b)To assist the work of State Associations and affiliated schools in developing good sportsmanship and high ideals in athletic contests.
>
> (c)To protect the interests of affiliated schools in every way possible.
>
> (d)To cooperate in conducting the National Catholic Basketball Tournament.[6]

The constitution formalized the Association's support of the competition, and throughout the rest of the 1930s the NCIBT continued to draw large crowds and maintain strong support from its financial backers and publicity personnel. The Board of Directors became more national in its membership, and in 1934 a consolation bracket was formed for the teams eliminated in the first round of play.

Even during the years of the depression, the tournament continued to draw large crowds. The meets from 1932 through 1941 attracted over fifty thousand spectators a year. More Native American mission teams were also invited, and in the tournement's last two years "A Court of Beauty" was added to its opening ceremonies, composed of thirty-two senior girls from eight Chicago Catholic high schools.

The programs imply the demise of the league was not gradual. In the 1941 program, the greeting from Loyola's president proclaims the benefits that such a tournament provides. The same program also discusses the past tournament stars who went on to college and post collegiate renown. The list included Ray Meyer, former coach of DePaul's winning basketball teams; a football great, Marchmont Schwartz; and Henry "Zeke" Bonura, White Sox first baseman.[7] The two main reasons for discontinuing the games seem to have been the country's entrance into World War II and tougher policies from the NCA regarding interscholastic, interstate national competitions of any kind.

The tournament appears to have been successful in realizing the pragmatic/progressive goals of shared group experiences as an important means of promoting individual interest and learning, and developing values important to future citizens of a democracy. President Wilson of Loyola University affirmed these goals in his 1940 Greeting when he discussed snatching moral victories from defeats, and the way sports prepare students to become good Catholic citizens.[8] To these ends the competition also provided opportunities for several native American teams at a time when racism was strong against them.

Native American Mission Teams in the NCIBT

When the tournament teams were welcomed to the NCIBT Tournament in 1932, teams of Native American boys from reservation mission schools in South Dakota were included. In fact, as far back as 1925, these Sioux Indian Mission Teams, most notably, St. Francis, captured the tournament's imagination with a unique, often victorious style of basketball, a style which would come to be adopted by basketball players across the nation.

St. Francis Mission was founded in 1886 by Father John Jutz, who had made an unsuccessful attempt at missionary work among the Arapaho Indians in Wyoming. It was located on the Rosebud reservation in South Dakota, in an area covering more than fifty-six hundred square miles and encompassing the three counties of Mellett, Todd, and Tripp. It boasted an Indian population of six thousand. As was the case in earlier Jesuit missions among the Potawatomi, the schools for the Sioux children were the chief agency through which the South Dakota missions sought to realize their programs of religious, social, and cultural endeavor.

The St. Francis Mission was inhabited by full-blooded Sioux Indians, many of whom were direct descendants of chiefs High Horse, Big Turkey, and Crazy Horse. During the early years of the NCIBT Tournament , 1925-1929, there were about four hundred and fifty boys and girls in attendance ranging in age between six and eighteen. The children were clothed, fed, and lodged at the expense of the missions from September to July. The government grant from the Sioux tribal funds of one hundred and eight dollars per child was insufficient, thereby creating a need for additional funding. Being as they were partly subsidized from tribal funds, the schools came under government inspection. The girls and younger boys were taught by the Sisters of St. Francis of Stella Niagara, New York, while the older boys were instructed by the Jesuits. The underlying philosophy of the Mission schools was to assimilate the Native Americans into white culture by cleansing them of their Indian culture through stressing the English language and American patriotism. While the girls learned domestic skill such as sewing and cooking, the boys learned farming and industrial skills such as carpentry and blacksmithing.[9]

The Jesuits believed strongly that the future of Indians depended on their ability to integrate into white society. Such cultural assimilation would require fearlessness, self control, and a competitive spirit. Basketball was seen as the sport which would allow Indian males to compete against whites in an acceptable way. Amid strong racism against Native Americans, the basketball court would provide a forum for healthy competition. [10]

While a few mission schools around the country occasionally made their way to the NCIBT, it was the Indian team of the St. Francis Mission

School that became the sensation of the tournament, capturing the fascination of fans, sports-writers, and fellow players alike. While the St. Francis team received much accolade throughout its participation in the tournament, such tribute was always juxtaposed against the blatant display of racism against the team's Native American culture. The St. Francis team's glorious career in the tourney can thus be examined for 1)its opportunity for assimilation into the American culture , 2) its strengthening of cultural pride and solidarity, and 3) its lasting contribution to the sport of basketball.

In 1925, the first year of the tournament, St. Francis was invited but lost in the first round. The cost of the railroad expense in bringing the team to Chicago was defrayed by the Knights of Columbus, who did so the following year as well.[11] In 1927, the St. Francis team was forced to withdraw its application for entry to the NCIBT when an epidemic of scarlet fever broke out at the mission, and the Indians were not allowed to leave their reservation.

1928 witnessed another year in which the St. Francis team dominated all other teams in the state tournament. "We were cheered to the echo throughout the tournament and whenever we played, the S. R. O. sign was hung up," reported Father Birminghaus of the mission in a letter to the Knights of Columbus, once again solicited for railroad expenses. He further reported that their Provincial had "set his foot down that there must be absolutely no expenses involved should we be invited to Chicago." [12] Even before the Knights of Columbus could respond, the financial consideration was revealed to be an apparent smokescreen for the real problem which the Provincial harbored. He stated his concern about "an overemphasis of athletics out there" and forbade the team from going to the tournament that year.[13] It seems the Jesuits' original purpose of instituting basketball for cultural assimilation through acceptable competition with the white culture had taken off with a most hearty vengeance.

Such vengeance continued over the next few years . The Provincial never again kept the team from entering the tournament. Perhaps the fact that the St. Francis basketball games were considered to be huge money-makers for the mission helped the cause. By 1934 the St. Francis team was the darling of the tournament. Culminating a season in which they shut out every high school team they played, team members Williard Iron Wing, Leonard Quick Bear, Emil Red Fish, Collins Jordan, and Clarence Packard excited the fans and media alike with their unique style of play. They suffered only two defeats that year, and those at the hands of the Harlem Globe Trotters.

Widespread coverage by the media put these Native Americans in the spotlight, albeit with a mixture of praise and racism. True assimilation

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was sought to be limited, as demonstrated by the print media. For example, in *The Tourney Times* , the Official Program for the NCIBT, an was article entitled, " Doug McCabe Seeks Scalping Knife."[14]

While participation in the NCIBT provided the Native American boys opportunity for some assimilation through contact and competition, it resulted, too, in strengthening their group identification, values, and pride. Collins Jordan, a star of the St. Francis team during its banner years in the tournament, was hired in his senior year to coach "reservation style of play "elsewhere in South Dakota. Jordan explained this type of play as having at its roots the "Siouxian concept of victory togetherness, a psychology of teamwork—where every reward came through a feeling of togetherness— every reward came through a Siouxian display of 'Fokala', Indian team victory." Jordan believed he indoctrinated the boys with this Siouxian concept of interdependent togetherness when he coached them to resist making the easy shot as a solo endeavor, and instead to pass the ball through several players before its final destiny, the hoop.[15]

Cultural pride was further solidified as the public, enamored with the St. Francis team, embraced them and their heritage. Indeed, in 1934, Paul Mickelson of the Associated Press wrote, "Since the big chiefs from South Dakota came to the tournament, I've forsaken my Norwegian ancestry and become an Indian. Some team always pops up to give this big basketball show a thrill, and the Red Skins from St. Francis did it." Mickelson ended his column on that day with the news that the Associated Press, reaching fifty million readers , fielded requests for results of the St. Francis team from worldwide sources daily. He culminated with, "Don't be surprised if Leonard Quick Bear runs for governor of South Dakota. He got his build-up at this basketball show."[16]

The St. Francis Mission team continued to dominate the final years of the NCIBT. In 1934 they made it to the quarter finals, where they were defeated. The following year they took third place in the tourney, William Madigan was named Best Coach, and Leonard Quick Bear was named to the All Tournament Team. In 1938 William Iron Wing was named Best Coach, and in 1941, the final year of the NCIBT, St. Francis took second place, losing in overtime. Though St. Francis never captured first place in the tournament, their style of play, one that reflected their cultural roots, was gradually adopted by the world of basketball at large. Elements of play that were unique to the Native American high school teams, were later adopted by basketball teams everywhere, right up through the pros of the National Basketball Association. Two examples of St. Francis style of play stand out, leading a sportswriter to comment, "The lads from the great outdoors set a pace at the start and swing along at the same gait to the finish," and "The Indians shoot from any point on

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the floor." These descriptions refer to what are known as the "run and gun" style and the side-open offense, respectively.[17]

The Sioux Indian boys of the St. Francis Mission in South Dakota , through participation in the NCIBT Tournament 1925-1941, became the quintessential "clean fighters, honorable foremen, pride of the Catholic schools." The tournament provided them the opportunity to assimilate into American culture, strengthen their cultural solidarity, and leave a lasting legacy to the sport of basketball.

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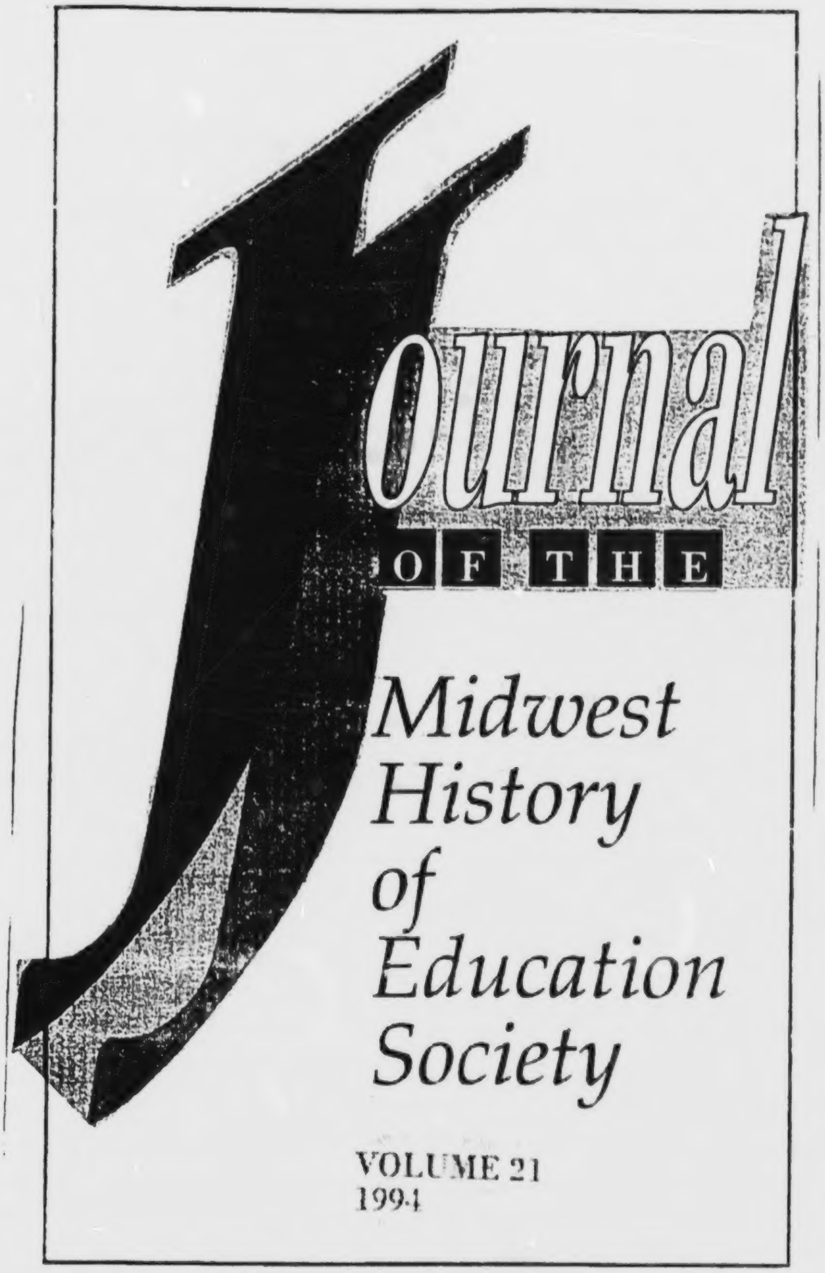

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E. A. Fitzpatrick

and

Catholic Education

Ronald Rutkowski
Marquette University
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Two Catholic institutions of higher learning are in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Each institution has a distinctive character. A few blocks beyond Milwaukee's business district along Wisconsin Avenue, Gesu Church marks the entrance to Marquette University. South and west of the university, seventy acres of finely manicured lawn surrounds Gothic buildings. The setting identifies the campus of Mount Mary College, a small liberal arts college. Both institutions bear the stamp of Edward Augustus Fitzpatrick. He came to Catholic education in 1924 after a productive career in public education, a career cut short by individuals who feared his call for educational reform.

In a school system controlled by religious orders and clergy, Fitzpatrick was among a small number of lay men and women to occupy important positions. He was the first layman to govern the Midwest Region of the National Catholic Education Association. Editor of the *Catholic School Journal*, he conversed easily with men and women whose schools educated a large number of Catholics from grammar school through college. But his association with Catholic education did not imply a lack of critical perspective. He knew education within a religious context carried a twofold responsibility: to instill religious convictions and to provide sound academic programs. Fitzpatrick is a forgotten man in the history of Catholic education in the United States. Yet his books and numerous articles testifiy to his devotion to Catholic education.

The eldest of five children, Edward Augustus Fitzpatrick was born to Thomas and Ellen Radley-Fitzpatrick on August 29, 1884 in New York

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City. The family resided in a working-class neighborhood near the home of Alfred E. Smith, the first Catholic to seek election to the presidency. To William A. Lamers,[1] a colleague at Marquette University, Fitzpatrick used the words *ragamuffin* and *uneventful* in his description of his youth. He enjoyed competition in school and playgrounds, and competition prepared him for an active life. Ellen fostered the desire for education and instructed him on the importance of the Catholic faith. Rev. James T. MacEntyre, a friend of the family, strengthened his religious convictions.

Tuition was a hindrance to the family; Fitzpatrick was a student for only a few weeks at St. James School. From 1897 to 1900, he attended Boys High School in Manhattan. He graduated after successfully completing an examination issued by the State University of New York. During his years at Boys High School, the school changed its name to De Witt Clinton High School. The new name charmed him and made a lasting impression. His dissertation was a study of Clinton's theory of education. Columbia University published his work as part of a series about education.[2]

Fitzpatrick's career in education began as a teacher at an elementary school after graduation from Boys High School. Ellen encouraged Edward to continue his education. He acted on her advice and gained admittance to Columbia University. A Bachelor of Arts degree in English literature and a diploma for teaching English literature were his rewards. A devotee of John Ruskin's poetry, he later embellished his books and articles with passages. From 1908 to 1912, at the High School of Commerce in New York City, Fitzpatrick taught English grammar and literature. More study at Columbia University followed. He completed requirements for a Master of Arts degree in English literature and a diploma for instruction in educational administration. A doctoral degree was granted to him in 1911. Paul Monroe and Edward Lee Thorndike were his mentors. John Dewey and William Heard Kilpatrick were members of the university's faculty.

During a convention at the University of Chicago in 1912, the American Political Science Association founded the Training School for Public Service. The school acted as a resource for the resolution of governmental problems. Fitzpatrick joined the school in 1912 and secured a leave of absence from the New York Public School System. New York City would never again be his home; his assignment sent him to Madison, Wisconsin.

Charles McCarthy administered a review of Wisconsin's rural school system on behalf of the Wisconsin State Board of Public Affairs. McCarthy utilized Fitzpatrick's administrative expertise by charging him with responsibility for several parts of the review. Fitzpatrick's work was thorough. Wisconsin's legislature used Fitzpatrick's research in 1913 to support enactment of a minimum wage law for teachers. While gathering information for McCarthy's review, Fitzpatrick met several leaders of the progressive wing of Wisconsin's Republican Party. He wrote a statement about education for the party's platform in 1914 at the party's request. Not only did McCarthy and Fitzpatrick work well together, but friendship also blossomed. Fitzpatrick's book, *McCarthy of Wisconsin*, was an account of McCarthy's contribution to education in Wisconsin.[3] Marriage to Lillian V. Taylor in 1913 deepened his roots in Wisconsin.

During World War I, the United States Army Reserve commissioned Fitzpatrick as a major, and he supervised the conscription of Wisconsin's men for the United States Army. Obligations to the military did not prevent him from editing the journals *Universities and Public Service* in 1914 and *Public Servant* from 1916 through 1917. After the war, he edited the journals, *Wisconsin's Educational Horizon* from 1919 to 1923 and *Expert City Government* in 1919. He also taught in the Education Departments at Marquette University and the University of Wisconsin. General Lewis B. Hershey, director of the National Selective Service, accepted Fitzpatrick as one his aides during World War II. Shortly after the war ended, Fitzpatrick sadly noted deficiencies in education as the reasons fort the deferment of more than 100,000 men and women.[4]

When he served as secretary to the Wisconsin Board of Education from 1919 to 1923, Fitzpatrick guided the passage of two bills into laws. The Bonus Law (1919) granted money for education to Wisconsin's soldiers. The Half-Time Law (1921) enabled children employed in factories to attend classes on a half-time basis without reprisal from employers. In hope of eliminating greed and promoting equity in financial matters among all institutions in the state's system of higher education, Fitzpatrick sought to reform the board. Investigations eventually forced the board to dissolve, but Fitzpatrick won praise for his effort. Dissolution of the board ended Fitzpatrick's association with public education. His career in Catholic education would soon begin.

1923 was a pivotal year for Albert C. Fox, S. J., president of Marquette University from 1922 to 1928. Fox wanted to improve the university's status among graduate schools in the United States. Fitzpatrick's resume persuaded Fox to choose him for the position of dean of the graduate school in 1924. He later became dean of the university's undergraduate programs, dean of what is now the university's School of Education, and dean of the university's College of Hospital Administration. In 1932, he became a fellow of the Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. For the Association of Presidents and Deans of Wisconsin Colleges, Fitzpatrick served as president in 1937.

Despite his administrative responsibilities, he found time to edit the *Marquette Monographs in Education* series. The monographs provided the first translations into English of Ignatius Loyola's work, *Ratio Studiorum*,[5] and Mary Helen Mayer's translation[6] of Thomas Aquinas's reflections on education, *De Magistro*. Mount Mary College watched with interest Fitzpatrick's career at the university. Confident in his talent, the college selected him to be president in 1929. Fitzpatrick was in the unique position of occupying simultaneously important offices at two institutions.

From his observations, Fitzpatrick concluded the university's graduate school had only a partial understanding of its role. Minutes from a graduate faculty meeting recorded Fitzpatrick's rejection of the graduate school's pleasant relationship with Milwaukee as sufficient for the university's reputation. The graduate school, Fitzpatrick said, would thrive on "actual services or research finds inside the University." He also challenged the assumption that appointment to teach undergraduate courses was a license to teach graduate courses.

Directives flowed from Fitzpatrick's pen: scholarship became a necessary condition for promotion, doctoral degrees were demanded from the faculty, and the university intensified its effort to hire reputable scholars. The graduate school increased the number of courses offered, standardized requirements for graduate degrees, and stiffened the conditions for admission to graduate study. But change did not come easily. Rumor and gossip abounded. Fitzpatrick expressed his displeasure. Innuendoes threatened the university's standing in academe and the public. He ordered the faculty to cease its prattle.[7] Fox and Fitzpatrick happily announced in 1928 that requirements for graduate degrees were similar to the requirements of the best graduate schools. The Association of American Universities authorized the university to confer doctoral degrees in several disciplines. In his effort to change the course of the university's graduate school, Fitzpatrick revealed a weakness in his demeanor. Was gab among the graduate school faculty a form of retaliation? Did Fitzpatrick fail to consider the effect of change on the faculty's personality? Did the graduate school faculty judge him to be abrasive and obstinate? Fitzpatrick showed a lack of propriety on another occasion. He spoke to the National Catholic Alumni Federation on April 21, 1928. He characterized the Catholic school system as "disorganized and chaotic...[and]...the `*demi-monde*' of scholarship were to be found in the Catholic seats of learning." In the *Wisconsin State Journal*, A. M. Brayton wrote, "[Fitzpatrick's] zeal for education may have caused him to neglect the tact that ordinarily characterized him."[8]

Fitzpatrick became editor of the *Catholic School Journal* in 1929 at the request of Frank Bruce, Fitzpatrick's friend and chairperson of the Bruce Publishing Company. He remained editor until his death. Keenly interested in Catholic education, Bruce was convinced the journal did not adequately represent the Catholic position on education. The company purchased the journal and agreed to underwrite expenses.

The journal recommended books and educational materials. Readers were alerted to issues and programs deemed important by the National Catholic Educational Association. Papal and synodal statements about education were published. Many columns reported the success or failure of different programs. Fitzpatrick welcomed articles from non-Catholic educators that would enhance the quality of Catholic education.[9] Reflecting on two decades of editorship, he claimed the journal tried "to change the emphasis on our popular slogan that 'every child should be in a Catholic school' to the more significant slogan...'every Catholic school should be worthy of the Catholic child.'"[10]

Fitzpatrick's relationship with Marquette University waned despite his efforts. Unfortunately, the university's archives has little information about his departure. Discretion is necessary. Speculation without evidence is unfair to the university and Fitzpatrick. Documents state Raphael C. McCarthy, S. J., president of the university, sent a letter of termination in July, 1938. Although the letter referred to an earlier discussion between McCarthy and Fitzpatrick, reasons for termination were not stated. In response to the letter, Fitzpatrick promised not to disclose the causes for his resignation.[11] He resigned from his post in 1939 and continued his duties at Mount Mary College.

Jesuits from Campion College of the Sacred Heart had helped the School Sisters of Notre Dame and Mount Mary College since 1872 by providing instructors and advice on administrative matters. In his chronicle of the college, Fitzpatrick pointed to the solicitous attention given to the college by Albert Fox, S. J. The selection of Fitzpatrick as president in 1929 was propitious.[12] The college had a small faculty and a small number of students. Only thirteen degrees were granted in 1930. Fitzpatrick's requests for funds from Milwaukee's business community and searches for students were vital. Generosity saved the college from bankruptcy. Fitzpatrick seized every opportunity to advertise the college. A former faculty member of the college succinctly described his greatest accomplishment for the college by saying "He put us on the map!"

Fitzpatrick's tenure at the college was calm. He had a firm grip on the college's day-to-day activities, and he enjoyed the college's pleasant environment. He attended regularly the college's Father and Daughter Day celebration. Edward and Lillian enjoyed dancing and tired many orchestras at dinner dances and other fund-raising affairs. He showed support for a student organized Greek festival by wearing a toga. Appointments were not necessary; the door to his office was always open. But goodwill and cheerful moments did not discount the need for

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scholarship. He proclaimed Mount Mary College to be the first Catholic college—following the example of Harvard University — to require comprehensive examinations from seniors to qualify for graduation. Under his leadership, Fitzpatrick and Mount Mary College devised the first program in occupational therapy in the United States.[13]

Fitzpatrick retired in 1954. His final act was the bestowal of an honorary degree to Rev. John Tracy Ellis, the respected historian of Catholicism in the United States.[14] The college granted to Fitzpatrick the title *president emeritus*, and he represented the college at various affairs until 1956. Because of Fitzpatrick's skill as an administrator, the college has developed several graduate programs and has extended its influence in Milwaukee.

Edward and Lillian settled in Washington, D. C. Illness often forced Fitzpatrick to decline invitations to speak at civic ceremonies and academic affairs. In 1957, he accepted an invitation from the Brazilian government to review its educational system, and he was the commencement speaker at St. Procopius College, now Illinois Benedictine College. Later in 1957, the *Catholic School Journal* published his speech and reported his work in Brazil. Death came to Fitzpatrick on September 13, 1960. His body rests in Arlington National Cemetery. The *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* were among the many newspapers that announced his death.[15] In 1967, *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* allotted more than two columns of small print to summarize his life and the many organizations to which he belonged. In honor and appreciation of Fitzpatrick's efforts, the college dedicated a building in his name in 1991. Insights to Fitzpatrick's thoughts on Catholic education can be obtained by examining the issues of religious education, Catholic education, and the philosophy of education.

After he became dean of the university's graduate school, Fitzpatrick's attention turned toward religious education. A debate among religion teachers and authors of catechetical materials focused on the nature of religious education. Should religious education increase knowledge or change behavior? The *Baltimore Catechism* was the basis of religious instruction. Memorization of questions and answers in the catechism was the primary teaching methodology. Should the methodology be changed? Was belief or behavior the index of one's commitment to the Catholic faith? Answers to these questions determined the nature of religious education and the function of the catechism.

Fitzpatrick taught courses in religious education at Marquette University. His book, *A Curriculum in Religion*, recounted the solicitation from Rev. Daniel Cunningham, an archdiocesan school superintendent from Chicago, Illinois, for aid in the development of a religious education program.[16] Fitzpatrick and five Jesuits from the university organized the

Marquette University Institute of Catechetical Instruction. From the institute came two series of textbooks for grades 1-8, the *Religion in Life Curriculum* for the Chicago archdiocese and the *Highway to Heaven Series* for a wider audience.

The institute viewed suspiciously both memorization as the primary teaching methodology and the language employed by the catechism. Fitzpatrick claimed memorization neglected to account for a child's interests and development. Memorization did not present the Catholic faith as a *response* to a loving God. The language of the catechism was too abstract.[17] Children acquired a meaningless vocabulary. Fitzpatrick and the institute did not lessen the importance of doctrine for religious education; rather, the institute balanced the demand for doctrine by the claim that the test for doctrine "is its effectiveness in and on life...."[18]

The institute constructed a curriculum in religious education harmonizing the child's development and Catholic doctrine. The goal was to create in the child a commitment to God and the application of doctrine to all aspects of the child's life. To the content contained in the catechism, the institute added—in ways appropriate for each grade—religious art, hymns, poetry, biblical and church history, liturgy, and stories about virtuous living. Both series urged children to write stories or invent situations to internalize the content. The amount of material to be memorized was reduced. The institute changed the language of the catechism and made the textbooks appealing to look at and comfortable to hold. For the *Highway to Heaven Series*, Fitzpatrick wrote textbooks for the third, fourth, and sixth grades. The merit of the institute's approach gained the attention of Franz De Hovre, a Belgian priest, educator, and director of the Catechetical Institute in Louvain, Belgium. De Hovre wrote articles about Fitzpatrick and the institute for a Catholic Belgian journal and encyclopedia.[19]

The second issue was Catholic education itself. In 1919 Catholic bishops in the United States issued their *Pastoral Letter*. The letter discussed many topics considered important for Catholics in the United States, and education was among the topics. In the thirty-second article, the bishops declared education to be "a holy work, not merely a service to the individual and society, but a furtherance of God's design for [humanity's] salvation." Five principles governing education were formulated: education as moral activity, the relationship between knowledge and values, the pre-eminent place of religion in the curriculum, the relationship between religion and other disciplines, and the contribution of religion and morality to the public welfare. All or most of the principles would be mentioned again or amplified in subsequent pastoral letters and papal encyclicals. Fitzpatrick's theory of education

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drew on these principles, and he expressed them in his book, *I Believe in Education*.

In his book, Fitzpatrick claimed that the function of education is not only intellectual, "it is human, it is Christian; it is dealing with the whole [person], intellectual, moral, volitional."[20] Catholic education should be a complete education, Fitzpatrick wrote in a later article, "of body, mind, and spirit, rich in the fruits of religion, science, literature, art, music, so taught that they form the ‘holy spirit of [men and women]' and help [them] to approximate the comprehensive ideal living to the ‘fullness and stature of Christ.'"[21] Schools cannot provide all things to all students. Careful selection was necessary. In *I Believe in Education*, Fitzpatrick said the curriculum was "a selected, simplified, idealized organization of [one's] spiritual inheritance… It is a planned life, not an accidental life. The child lives in the school, but the school's life is not the life of the world outside. The school is a kind of life. It is not all of life."[22]

The third issue examined the implications of a philosophy of life and a philosophy of education for the curriculum. Fitzpatrick rejected curricula based on theories of citizenship or career training or life adjustment as the purposes of education. The theories minimized the importance of culture. Culture transmitted values conducive to humane living. Fitzpatrick maintained in *I Believe in Education* that culture empowered "[men and women] to stand on the shoulders of all past generations and to utilize vicariously their experience to solve…problems."[23] Education should help the student to attain a proper evaluation of the past as it was embodied in culture.

Education sought to develop students to their fullest potential. Sound educational theory recognized the fact that students learned by themselves; teachers and materials were instruments used to achieve self-activity. But the effort to encourage self-activity did not mean the student could do whatever he or she wanted. Self-activity was not self-indulgence. Fitzpatrick wrote in *I Believe in Education* that the student "must not only be doing something but have some idea of what [he or she] is doing. The experience must be purposeful and meaningful."[24]

Fitzpatrick did not deny the relationship between the school and society. *How* the school contributed to society was his question. He believed the individual, not the school, produced social change. In *I Believe in Education*, the school was "a conscious, planned, organized agency of education."[25] Education was a process of moral and intellectual formation. The relationship between the individual and society began *after* formal schooling.

Because Catholic education believed men and women have spiritual natures, religion and morality had necessary roles in the curriculum. Fitzpatrick countered critics claiming Catholic education minimized existence with the rejoinder that only *in* the world were the Catholic understanding of existence and the Catholic theory of education able to be realized. Catholic education had a specific conception of human existence, and the concept included a supernatural end. Catholic education neither minimized the importance of human existence nor avoided social responsibility. His reflections on Catholic higher education were the culmination of his ideas on Catholic education.

The Catholic College in the World Today is the title of Fitzpatrick's book in which he defines the Catholic college to be "a college in which the principal order of the college, its hierarchy of values, its motivating center, its *Weltanschauung* is found in religion."[26] The spirit of religious humanism pervaded the college. Religious humanism regarded knowledge not as an end but as a means. It promoted intellectual and moral development. The Catholic college had the responsibility to society to enrich the meaning of life, to reveal values, and to show the goodness of life. Above all, knowledge was directed to the improvement of society. Love, service, and knowledge indicated the special position Catholic colleges had in society and in the Catholic Church. Catholic colleges were not institutions intended to extend one's opportunity for education. They were, according to Fitzpatrick, "essential to an intelligent program of Catholic action, and to [Catholicism's] maintaining an intellectual respectability."[27]

Graduates from Catholic institutions of higher learning were responsible for bearing Christian witness in their lives. Catholic colleges and universities educated men and women "stamped with certain traits which come into play and govern their approach to life in every sphere... ."[28] Catholic higher education could not afford to avoid the world. Avoidance, Fitzpatrick feared, would reduce Catholic colleges and universities to ghettos. Isolation would bring atrophy. Catholics had a mission to the world, and Catholic higher education prepared students for the mission.[29] The success or failure of Catholic higher education rested squarely on faculty and graduates. In *The Catholic College in the World Today*, Fitzpatrick warned graduates of Catholic colleges and universities that they did only little good by "condemn[ing] contemporary culture as materialistic, secularistic, or reverting to older words, barbarian, pagan, alien."[30]

Catholic graduate education was also responsible for the development of a Catholic civilization. Catholic civilization, Fitzpatrick believed, emphasized "the moral as superior to the economic, the cultural as above the practical, the humanistic as ever against the material... . [Catholic graduate education] must emphasize the cultural elements, the humanistic elements, the spiritual elements."[31] The importance of values applied also to professional schools in Catholic universities. Fitzpatrick noted in

The Catholic College in the World Today that the divorce of values from knowledge produced a pseudo-intellectualism, "a training in cunning, a formal training in intellectual pride, the hothouse product of schools instead of the vivifying energy of life."[32]

Fitzpatrick's philosophy of Catholic higher education was guided by Pope Leo XIII's encyclical, *Aeterni Patris*. The encyclical endorsed Thomism as the official philosophy of the Catholic Church. Leo understood Thomism as receptive to questions raised by modern culture and able to demonstrate how a religious philosophy can answer questions posed by modern culture. A statement by George Bull, S. J., affords a contrast to Fitzpatrick's position. Bull wrote, "It is the simple assumption that wisdom has been achieved by man, and the humane use of the mind, the function proper to him as man, is contemplation, not research."[33] In *The Catholic College in the World Today*, Fitzpatrick admitted to difficulties in the reconciliation of knowledge and faith. Yet he was confident in his conviction that the world has unity, purpose, and values. The strength of Catholic higher education depended on faculty and students to consider seriously the relationships between faith and reason, knowledge and values, values and action. Less would diminish the purpose and possibilities of Catholic higher education.

An evaluation of Fitzpatrick's place in the history of Catholic education in the United States should be cognizant of two points: the years Fitzpatrick spent in Catholic higher education and the relationship between religion and culture. He came to Catholic education after the battle for the establishment of Catholic schools had been won and before Vatican Council II. The years witnessed the forging of the Catholic identity in the United States. It was an era of expansion and consolidation for Catholic schools. The effort to sustain an identity as Catholic and American and to be responsive to social issues taking place in American society fell heavily on Catholic schools. Catholic schools were extensions of the priest's pulpit.

Catholic schools were given the task of molding young minds for service to church and country. The schools needed to be properly prepared for the task. Fitzpatrick's call for revising religious education is instructive. If religious education—the core of the curriculum in Catholic schools—could advantageously incorporate improved methodologies in the process of learning, then all disciplines could follow a similar path. Catholic education would then be able to demonstrate that innovations in pedagogy—whether from a naturalist like John Dewey or a priest like Thomas Shields—would be welcomed by Catholic educators in their effort to fulfill their mission. Fitzpatrick's contention that education in religious doctrine can be integrated with sound educational programs would be amply proven.

The encyclical *Aeterni Patris* established the philosophical and theological basis of Catholicism. Fitzpatrick believed he interpreted the encyclical correctly by asking Catholic schools — especially Catholic colleges and universities—to be aware of Catholicism's response to questions raised by American culture. Thomism offered to Fitzpatrick and to other Catholic intellectuals the opportunity to interpret culture from the Catholic perspective. Although Thomism is no longer widely accepted as the dominant philosophical and theological response to questions, Vatican Council II acknowledges the church's duty to answer questions raised by culture.

Pluralism and secularism bring complex questions to educational institutions linked to a religious tradition. Fitzpatrick's answers to questions of his day may not satisfy questions articulated by American culture almost forty years after his death. But the relationship of religion and culture continues to be the crucial problem for schools cherishing their religious heritage. Individuals who value today education in a religious context share Fitzpatrick's efforts and stand up to similar difficulties.

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Scrap Drives, New Vocational Courses, and Patriotic Songs: Dallas Schools and Negro Support of World War Two

Edward J. Fuller
University of Texas at Austin

As the United States became further involved in World War II, discussions arose within the Negro community about the incongruency between the rhetorical justifications for fighting the racist regime of Nazi Germany and the prejudicial and discriminatory treatment of Negroes on the homefront. While whites favoring involvement in the war argued the United States must fight to "preserve democracy and freedom for all," they were denying Negroes full participation in American society. For example, within the war effort, Negroes were denied equal employment opportunities in defense industries, segregated from white soldiers in the military, had their blood segregated from white blood in the Red Cross blood banks, and were relegated to low-status positions such as mess boys and janitors within the military.[1] These injustices were in addition to the well-documented segregation of school children,[2] inequitable housing and employment opportunities, [3] and often brutal treatment by whites, including white police officers.[4] As Mays aptly described the situation, "democracy works less perfectly for Negroes than it does for other Americans." [5]

The obvious inconsistency between the rhetoric of "fighting for democracy and freedom for all" in Europe when democracy and freedom for all did not even apply to Negroes in the United States even led some Negroes to espouse support for the Axis powers.[6] These Negroes hoped that a United States controlled by Germany or Japan would entitle the Negro to more freedoms than under the white, American power structure of the time. Alternatively, other Negroes, such as Benjamin Mays and Horace Mann Bond, concluded that American Negroes must support the war effort despite their lack of full participation in the democracy guaranteed under the Constitution of the United States.[7]

At least some of the Negroes who professed support for the United States in the war effort did not believe that the Negro would gain greater participation in the democratic processes of the United States as a result of the Negro's support of the war effort. As Mays proclaimed, "I make bold to assert that the present war will scarcely increase the Negro's participation in democracy." [8] Graduating Negro high school students in Gary, Indiana also questioned "whether white Americans really mean to include the Negro in the post-war program of freedom of opportunity."[9] A study conducted by the Negro Digest Poll revealed that the belief Negroes would gain little from participating in the war effort was relatively widespread. The Poll asked respondents to answer the question, "Will Negro success and achievement curb race discrimination?" Fully two-thirds of the Negroes interviewed from around the country did *not* believe that racial discrimination would end as a result of Negro success and achievement. Additionally, the majority of Southern whites expressed the opinion that racial discrimination against the Negro would always exist.[10]

How could Negro leaders rationalize their call for all Negroes to support the war effort when they believed the Negro would gain precious little from supporting the war? Mays, in his 1942 article in *The Crisis*, provided some reasons for the Negro to support the war. First, according to Mays, the Constitution of the United States gave hope in the future to the Negroes in America. He argued that the Constitution provided the only protection for Negroes from inequitable treatment by others. Under a Hitler-dominated United States, Mays believed the Constitution would be abolished and the Negro would suffer far worse than the Jews in Germany. Additionally, Mays professed faith that the Constitution would ultimately provide the Negro with greater participation in the United States' system of democracy. Second, Mays emphasized that the Negro has always been loyal to the United States. He recalled that a Negro American, Crispus Attucks, was one of the first Americans to die in the Revolutionary War, and the Negro "mess boy," Doris Miller, received high praise for his heroic actions at Pearl Harbor. Mays concludes that "It is the conviction of this writer that the heroism and loyalty of the Negro in past wars will blaze forth again and again in the present war. All this is another way of saying that the Negro knows full well that this is his country and that he must not only be willing to live for it but to die for it. He knows no other. He is proud of his record and will not stain it."[11]

Consequently, although Negro citizens in Dallas, Texas suffered racial discrimination, the rhetoric in the local Negro newspaper supported the war effort. It is interesting to see why a Negro newspaper supported the war effort. But it is most important to see how Dallas-area Negroes used the local Negro school effort to support the war. Indeed, the evidence provided by the local Negro newspaper from 1941 - 1944 about the Dallas Negro elementary and secondary schools' effort to support the war leaves little doubt that these schools fully supported the United States' endeavor to defeat the Axis powers in the Second World War.

Racial Discrimination in Dallas during World War II

As in much of the rest of the United States at the time, the Negro citizens of Dallas experienced racial discrimination in a variety of forms at the hands of their fellow white citizens. The *Dallas Express* carried numerous articles depicting the injustices suffered by the Negro residents of Dallas. For example, white citizens of Dallas, protested the opening of a new Negro high school by threatening violence and actually temporarily closing down the high school. Additionally, at the beginning of the war, Negro school teachers in Dallas received less pay than white teachers in white Dallas schools. Negro citizens were also denied equal access to the war-related defense jobs.[12] The *Dallas Express* also reported that the Negro citizens of Dallas were restricted in the areas in which they could live. In fact, when some Negroes moved into a "white" area of town, the Negroes' houses were bombed repeatedly. Moreover, the white-led police force refused to provide these citizens protection against these bombings.[13] The police department failed to protect all Dallas Negro citizens from the violence of the times, and the police department often committed the violence against Negroes. On September 20, 1941, the *Dallas Express* reported that a Negro man was shot by an off duty police officer when the Negro boarded a bus in front of a white woman.[14] Additionally, on April 3, 1943, the *Dallas Express* recounted that two Negro students from Lincoln High School were abducted from the sidewalk by white police officers and beaten.[15]

Rhetorical Support for the War Effort

Similar to Mays and other national Negro leaders of the time, the editors and writers of the *Dallas Express* recognized the inherent conflict between the United States fighting a war against the racist regimes of Nazi Germany and Japan while maintaining racist policies and actions against the Negroes of America. For example, in the "Dallavantin" column in the October 11, 1941 edition of the *Dallas Express*, L.I. Brockenbury wrote, "If Hitler could see the local papers announcing that the whites of South Dallas are going to pay the policeman's salary for the time of his suspension for brutally beating a Negro, I'll bet the dictator would get quite a laugh." Brockenbury later compared the actions of the

Dallas police to that of the Nazi Gestapo in Germany and even described the police as "Worse than the Gestapo."[16] This, and other articles published in the *Dallas Express* indicate that the Negro population of Dallas was clearly aware of the discrepancy between America's fight for freedom and democracy abroad while white America denied the Negro freedom and democracy at home.

Despite their awareness of this unjust contradiction, the editors of the *Dallas Express* professed full support for the United States war effort against the Axis powers. An editorial in the January 18, 1941 issue of the *Express* stated, "We are Americans and there is no possible way that we can be anything else except Americans. If America is to be attacked, Negroes must fight for America just as any other group fights for it."[17] Additionally, the editors stated in the January 24, 1942 issue, "We believe that Negroes should support this war with everything they have." [18]

Justifications for Supporting the War

The *Dallas Express* editors, similar to Mays and other national Negro leaders, offered two justifications for Negro support of the war effort. First, the editors argued that, even though Negroes did not enjoy all the rights afforded to them under the Constitution, they would be afforded far fewer rights under a Nazi regime. For example, an article by Herbert Agar said, "Intelligent Negroes themselves know well how incomparably worse their lot would be under any government dominated by Nazi doctrines of racial superiority. Under Nazism, the Negro would be hurled back in a day to the barbarism of the jungle."[19] In the January 16, 1943 issue, an editorial proclaimed, "Anyone who is not daft should be more greatly concerned with what his status would be under the Japanese and Nazis than with wishing for an Axis victory."[20] Second, the editors asserted that "Here (in the United States) are our homes, here are our hopes and aspirations, --to say that we will not fight for these, is to convict ourselves of being cowards and unworthy of citizenship."[21] Since Negroes are also Americans, the editors concluded, then all Negroes must be prepared to fight in defense of their country.

The editors of the *Dallas Express*, however, did not simply advocate that the Negroes of Dallas should only fight for freedom and democracy abroad. The editors also proclaimed that all Negroes must fight on two fronts--one on foreign soil and one on the homefront. They declared, "We repudiate the theory that an all-out support of the war involves a cowardly acceptance of the abuse of the very principles for which we claim to be fighting."[22] In the March 14, 1942 issue, the editors declared that the Negro should fight for the United States against the Axis powers, but they should also "fight for real Democracy at home at the same time." [23]

The Local School as an Avenue to Support the War Effort

Through discriminatory hiring practices in the defense industries and segregation in the military, whites effectively denied Negroes the opportunity to exhibit their full support for the war in these areas. There were other opportunities available to Negroes, however, in which whites could not stymie Negro support for the war. The Negro community could involve themselves in scrap drives, war bonds sales, and conservation measures. An additional opportunity for the Negro community to support the war effort resided in their local Negro schools. As the Educational Policies Commission stated in 1942, "Education can--and must--play an important role in winning the war."[24] Thus, despite the discrimination which prevented them from holding responsible positions in defense industries or military, Negro citizens could support the activities of their local schools as a method to reveal their unflagging support for America in its time of crisis. Unfortunately, precious little has been written on the role of the Dallas Negro community and their segregated Negro schools' support of America's effort to win the Second World War. In *Education in Dallas: Ninety-Two Years of History 1874-1966*, the white schools of Dallas were noted to have supported the Second World War effort through various activities and curricular changes while the Negro schools of Dallas were not mentioned at all.[25] Likewise, in Rose-Mary Rumbley's book, *A Century of Class: Public Education in Dallas 1884-1984*, there was no mention of the Dallas Negro schools during any time period nor any mention of white or Negro school support for the war effort during World War II.[26] The Dallas Negro school support has remained undocumented to such an extent that the best evidence of the ways the Negro schools of Dallas supported the effort during World War II is found in the Negro newspaper *Dallas Express*.

Unfortunately, reliance on newspaper accounts to discover the actual activities of schools introduces two serious limitations. First, due to the nature of the newspaper industry, the business must sell newspapers to remain a functioning enterprise. Since the necessity to make a profit entails enticing readers to purchase copies, newspapers tend to report those events which they believe will be of interest to their potential subscribers. Hence, relatively mundane topics with little inherent interest to the subscribers are rarely printed. In the realm of school news reporting, this principle translates to newspapers focusing primarily on unusual or extraordinary events which occur within the school. Special events and outstanding achievements, therefore, such as assemblies, sporting events, club activities, and honor roll memberships are more likely to be chronicled than curricular and instructional modifications. Thus, the *Dallas Express* focused its school news reporting on patriotic school assemblies, scrap drives, war bond and stamp sales, and war-related club news more often than curricular and instructional issues.

A second limitation to the reliance on newspaper accounts for a description of the events and activities in schools is that newspapers usually do not provide a full description. A conscious decision is made about what to include and what to exclude in an issue. Such decisions are tempered by the issues previously discussed and the conscious or unconscious likes and dislikes of the individual reporters. The school news reported by the *Dallas Express* was written both by professional reporters and educators. In the case of the staff writers, their decisions were likely prejudiced by their lack of knowledge of schooling, personal biases, and desire to report high interest topics in order to increase readership levels. Educators' decisions about what to report, on the other hand, were likely prejudiced by their personal educational philosophy and their lack of journalism knowledge. Disparities in the reporting of war-related events from school to school are likely to exist, which do not necessarily indicate that one school supported the war effort to a greater degree than another.

Non-threatening Involvement: the Negro Elementary Schools of Dallas Support the War Non-Curricular Efforts

As Ronald Cohen noted, "The elementary curriculum (during the war years) was somewhat marked by war concerns, but more prevalent were scrap collection drives, war stamp and bond sales, conservation programs, and other practical out-of-class functions."[27] Specifically, an article by Maud Roby in *The Elementary School Journal* urged elementary schools zealously support to activities such as" . . . buying war stamps and bonds; planting Victory Gardens and conserving produce from those gardens; learning how to give first aid; eating nutritious foods and establishing other important health habits; organizing story-telling clubs that actually function in the school, the home, and the neighborhood; making airplane models and teaching other children to identify planes; organizing a salvage club that assumes the responsibility of advertising and promoting all salvage activities; doing Junior Red Cross Work."[28] Although the curriculum of the Dallas Negro elementary schools during the war years generally followed the recommendations of Roby, the evidence provided by the *Dallas Express* indicates there were some differences in the response of Negro and white schools to the national call for schools to support the war effort.

According to the articles in the *Dallas Express*, the most popular activities in the Dallas Negro elementary schools were the scrap drives and the war bond and stamp sales. All of the schools participated in these activities, with many of the schools sponsoring inter- and intra-school contests to motivate student participation. Additionally, as reported in the Roby article, both J. W. Ray and Julia C. Frazier Elementary Schools formed "Junior Ranger" clubs for boys to augment the regular scrap collection drives of the school.[29]

As in many of the white schools across the nation during the war years, the Dallas Negro elementary schools addressed the war effort through the utilization of school assemblies. Nationally, according to Loeb, assemblies appeared to have been the school routine most affected by the war . In general, however, the nation's elementary schools were less affected in this area than the high schools of the time.[30] From the evidence available in the *Dallas Express*, this trend held true for the Negro schools in Dallas as well. From the large number of assemblies mentioned, the weekly presentation of assemblies was a common practice of many of the schools at that time. Of the large number of assemblies mentioned, at least a few of them addressed issues related to patriotism and/or the war. The topics of the assemblies ranged from, "A Speech for Uncle Sam" in the fall of 1942 at J.P. Starks Elementary[31] to an address by the Negro war hero, Doris Miller, at Frazier Elementary in the spring of 1943.[32] Although only a small percentage of the assemblies mentioned were patriotic or war-related, their very presence indicates the Dallas Negro elementary schools' intention to support the war effort.

Another out-of-class activity in which all of the Dallas Negro elementary schools participated was the Junior Red Cross program.[33] Chapters included boys and girls and were active in both in-school and out-of-school activities. Although all the schools sponsored a Junior Red Cross, the actual activities of each group apparently were quite disparate. For example, at B. F. Darrell Elementary in the spring of 1942, the students raised money for the war effort,[34] while Wheatley Elementary students collected Easter favors for soldiers a year later,[35] and the students at Frazier elementary collected stationery for the soldiers to use in the Spring of 1944.[36]

Another interesting effort which involved both in-school and out-of-school participation was the emergence of the "Victory Garden" in all of the elementary schools and the Negro community at large during the spring of 1943.[37] Evidently, these gardens were initiated in the larger community in response to the need for conservation of food. Many of the schools used the Victory Gardens to teach their students about proper nutritional habits necessary for the healthy development of young bodies and minds needed to fight the enemy. For example, the spring health classes of 1943 at H.S. Thompson Elementary School studied proper nutritional habits in a unit entitled "Uncle Sam Needs Us Strong."[38] Likewise, students at Frazier Elementary learned "How to Eat Right and Win the Fight" in their health classes during the same semester.[39] Not only did the students study nutrition and help tend the gardens during school hours, but many also became involved in the after-school Victory Garden clubs and in their parents' Victory Gardens. The Negro community embraced the Victory Garden concept so wholeheartedly that the *Dallas Express* even began publishing a "Victory Garden" column in 1943. These columns described gardens throughout the community, offered hints on how to improve gardens, and even extended a "Victory Garden of the Week" award. The Negro elementary schools of Dallas, thus, integrated the Victory Garden into the health education curriculum while sponsoring after-school Victory Garden clubs, and utilized both activities as a means to support the war effort.

As noted by Cohen, most of the activities addressing the war effort in the nation's elementary schools were designed to involve students in a non-threatening manner; thus they did not directly engage the students with any substantive war issues.[40] Unlike the typical white school of the time, some of the Negro elementary schools in Dallas formed clubs whose names suggest a more direct engagement with the issues of the war. For example, a history class at Wheatley Elementary School formed a "United States Marine Group" in the spring of 1942,[41] while the sixth grade class at B.F. Darrell Elementary formed a "Defense Club" during the same semester.[42] Additionally, all of the eighth grade students at Julia C. Frazier Elementary joined a "Victory Club" in the fall semester of 1944.[43] If these clubs were even somewhat similar in nature to the High School Victory Corps, which will be discussed later, then at least some of the elementary students were more involved in the war effort than most of the elementary students in the United States at the time. Unfortunately, the *Dallas Express* did not elaborate on the activities or functions of these groups; thus, the level of engagement with war issues or the preparation of the students' future roles in the defense industries and/or military force remains obscured. The formation of groups with names even suggesting a high level of engagement, however, seems unusual for elementary schools of the time. The Negro elementary schools in Dallas, therefore, apparently went beyond the formation of clubs superficially related to the war effort and developed clubs which addressed the war effort in a more substantial manner.

Curricular Efforts

American elementary schools during the war, due to their emphasis on fundamentals and being further removed from participation in the war effort due to the young age of their students, were less affected by the war-related addition or elimination of courses as compared to the high schools of the time. In most schools, war-themes were simply incorporated into the existing curriculum in lieu of the addition of courses specifically addressing war issues.[44] Negro elementary schools in Dallas were no exception to this general pattern. For example, the principal of J.P. Starks Elementary reported in the *Dallas Express* on March 28, 1942, "It is true now that everything is for defense. We (the school) talk defense, sing defense, act defense. It is a vital factor, so all of us must put our shoulders to the wheel and do our parts ."[45] From the various other curricular events in the other schools mentioned by the *Dallas Express*, such as "Patriotic Themes" for all classes at Wheatley Elementary in 1943, the other Negro elementary schools in Dallas also correlated defense and war themes to much of their ordinary curriculum.

Specific curricular changes which occurred in several of the Negro elementary schools in Dallas were reported by the *Dallas Express*. Wheatley Elementary, for example, had students develop scrap books consisting of war-related newspaper articles in the spring of 1943.[46] During the same semester, Wheatley Elementary also incorporated a war theme into its geography classes by marking the progress of the war on a world map,[47] an activity engaged by pupils in a many of the nation's schools.[48] In the fall of 1943, Frazier Elementary School students learned about the current events related to the war and, additionally, its eighth graders were involved in their English classes in writing letters to soldiers.[49] Different schools, then, implemented disparate curricular responses to address the war.

A few of the curricular adjustments implemented to support the war effort were common to many of the Negro elementary schools in Dallas. The first such curricular modification was the adoption of the United States Office of Education's recommendation that students study "Latin America, the Far East, and other international relations in general."[50] For example, in 1941, the sixth graders at H.S. Thompson Elementary studied Mexico,[51] while Frazier Elementary students produced a relief map of South America in 1943.[52] Additionally, Wheatley Elementary students learned about Brazil in 1944.[53] H.S. Thompson Elementary School even had a Latin American theme for a portion of the 1942 school year. A second modification, as previously mentioned, was the utilization of the community-wide involvement in Victory Gardens to impart the importance of proper nutritional habits to the students in the health education classes. The third and final curricular modification common to all of the elementary schools was the new focus of patriotic or defense-related themes in the music classes. For example, Frazier Elementary students learned to sing some of the Allied countries' music in 1942,[54] and all the students at Wheatley and B.F. Darrell Elementary Schools performed the Star-Spangled Banner in 1943.[55] Also in 1943, Douglas Elementary even formed a "Victory Choir" to promote the singing of patriotic songs.[56] Many of the elementary schools in Dallas, therefore, implemented three curricular modifications intended to focus student attention on the war crisis, while still teaching the students the basics of the three courses.

In conclusion, the Negro elementary schools of Dallas responded to the call from groups such as the Education Policies Commission for schools to " . . . direct their programs to the end of maximum service to the war efforts of our nation."[57] Each of the schools responded in its own unique manner, molded by the feelings of the principal, teachers, and parents of that particular community. Some schools emphasized non-curricular activities, while others placed more emphasis on curricular modifications, but all of the schools responded in one form another. Additionally, a few responses--such as involvement in scrap drives, war bond and stamp sales, Junior Red Cross, and Victory Gardens--were common to all of the Negro elementary schools in Dallas. The information related by the *Dallas Express* leaves no doubt that the Negro elementary schools of Dallas wholeheartedly endorsed support of the war effort and provided ample opportunities for their students to participate in various patriotic activities to boost morale and support the war.

Preparing Students for War: the Negro High Schools of Dallas Support the War Effort Non-curricular Efforts

The two Negro high schools in Dallas, Abraham Lincoln High School and Booker T. Washington High School, also supported the war effort through a variety of out-of-class activities. For example, both high schools were involved in scrap collection drives and the sale of war bond and stamps, but, based on the amount of coverage offered by the *Dallas Express*, did not place nearly the amount of emphasis on these activities as did the elementary schools for Negroes in Dallas. According to Wright, such non-threatening activities were considered more appropriate for the involvement of younger students than for young adults preparing for their future roles in the defense industry or military forces. Even though the Negro high school students in Dallas were involved these activities, they were not considered a primary method for the schools to address the war effort.

Another similarity between Negro elementary schools and the Negro high schools of Dallas was the use of patriotic assemblies as a method to build the morale of their student bodies. The two high schools presented at least fourteen patriotic assemblies over a four-year period while, the approximately ten elementary schools reported the presentation of only eight patriotic assemblies over the same time period. Both high schools offered assemblies entitled "Americans All" and "How to Evaluate Propaganda" in 1941[58] and "Brotherhood for All" in 1944.[59] In 1941, Lincoln High School presented "Lincoln High School--A Citadel of

Democracy,"[60] While Washington High School presented "The Consumer and National Defense" in 1942.[61] The Negro high schools of Dallas, then, altered their normal school routine somewhat through the introduction of patriotic assemblies.

A final similarity between the Negro elementary and high schools in Dallas was their offerings of various club memberships to the students as a method to support the war. Fewer clubs, however, seemed to be offered by the high schools than the elementary schools and, of the few offered, were more likely to engage the students directly with substantial war issues or to train the students for positions in the defense industry or the military. For example, at Lincoln High School, the students participated in a Victory Press and a Victory Correspondence Club. The Victory Press was dedicated to the reporting of war-related issues in the school newspaper, while the Victory Correspondence Club contributed to the war effort by writing letters to the soldiers stationed around the world.[62] One of the most important clubs formed by both the high schools was the Victory Corps. According to Ugland, the High School Victory Corps was a " . . . federal program to encourage and coordinate preinduction training for students in high schools."[63] In December of 1942, the faculty of Washington High School discussed the formation of a Victory Corps for the students,[64] and four months later, the *Dallas Express* reported that Victory Corps buttons were receiving "widespread use" among the students.[65] Additionally, in 1943, the *Dallas Express* reported that the students of Lincoln High School were involved with their Victory Corps project.[66] Whether these Victory Corps in the Negro high schools of Dallas were similar to the preinduction training offered through the Victory Corps in some of the white high schools of the time is not known. In contrast to the opposition of some white administrators and students to the introduction of the Victory Corps in some of the Dallas high schools for white students, the *Dallas Express* did not give any evidence of any opposition in Negro schools from Negro administrators, students, or parents to the implementation of the Victory Corps. In fact, as will be discussed later, the *Dallas Express* editors were angered when Negro high school students were not offered the same war defense training as those offered white students. In all likelihood, therefore, little if any opposition was mounted to the operation of the Victory Corps in the Negro high schools in Dallas.

Curricular Efforts

The war had a much greater impact on the high school curriculum than it had on the elementary school curriculum.[67] The two Dallas Negro high schools adopted a variety of curricular implementations in response to the national call for high schools to prepare students for their future roles in the war effort. Some of the changes, similar to the elementary school curricular modifications, were incorporated into existing classes, while other changes were implemented by adding new classes directly related to war issues and student training.

As in the Dallas Negro elementary schools, at least one of the Dallas Negro high schools also implemented the recommendation of the United States Office of Education for schools to teach students about Latin America, the Far East, and international relations. As in the elementary schools, the high schools simply incorporated this recommendation into the existing curriculum.[68] In 1942, Lincoln High students studied "Inside Latin America" and "Our Neighbors to the South."[69] Lincoln High School students, then, learned about Central and South American countries during the war years, in order to develop a greater understanding of different countries and cultures.

Unlike the Negro elementary schools and similar to many of the white high schools, the Negro high schools in Dallas offered entirely new courses to address directly the need for defense training and engagement with the war. According to the *Dallas Express*, both the high schools introduced defense classes in " . . . institutional cooking, shoe repairing, cleaning and pressing, and gearing of cars." The editors, however, disapproved of the introduction of these particular courses because they were not the same courses introduced into the white high schools of Dallas. According to the *Dallas Express*, the white high schools introduced " . . . tool-making, mechanical arts, and the construction and repairing of defense machines." The editors were angry that Negro students were not being offered the same preparation as white students and thus would be prepared only for low-level, low-responsibility jobs in the defense industry and military. The editors stated, "It seems shameful that Negroes who are anxious to serve their country are denied (the) defense training (that white students receive.)"[70] Thus, although certain defense courses were introduced into the curriculum, the Negro community, as represented by the editors of the *Dallas Express*, seemed indignant that the Negro students were offered inferior courses as compared to the courses offered to the white students.

During the 1944-1945 school year, the Dallas Negro high schools added five additional "war courses" to the curriculum. With one exception, these courses were similar to the defense training classes introduced in 1941, in that the new courses also possessed a mainly vocational, rather than academic, orientation. The five new courses were entitled "Sewing, Auto Mechanics, Junior Red Cross, (Letter) Writing, and War Mathematics and Physics."[71] The reason for the emphasis on vocational courses at Lincoln and Washington High Schools was not mentioned by the *Dallas Express*, but the discrepancy between white and

Negro schools again angered the editors. Although some progress was evidently made in introducing the defense courses into the Negro schools, some inequity in the type of courses offered still existed. Regardless, the Dallas Negro high schools did introduce new courses, as did many white schools of the time, in an effort to meet the war-time needs of their students and the country.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the Negro schools of Dallas, despite all of the injustices inflicted upon the Negro race in Texas and the unlikelihood that the Negro race would gain any rights or freedoms from supporting the war, wholeheartedly championed America's fight to win the war for freedom for people throughout the world. The activities implemented by the Negro schools to support the war effort closely paralleled the activities of white schools around the country; thus there simply must be no doubt as to the patriotism of the students, faculty, and the Negro school communities of Dallas. Unfortunately, reliance upon the *Dallas Express* as a primary source allows for only a limited glimpse into the life of these schools; thus research focusing on first-hand data would greatly enrich the description of the activities of the Negro schools.

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Conducting Classified Research on a College Campus: Iowa State College and the Manhattan Project, 1942-1945

Carolyn S. Payne
Iowa State University

From 1942-1945, Iowa State College, like several other universities and colleges, participated in a classified research and development project to build the first atomic bomb, popularly known as the Manhattan Project. The academic laboratory at Iowa State College, locally called the Ames Project, was first established as a scientific laboratory under the jurisdiction of the Metallurgical Project at the University of Chicago and then as an industrial and scientific project under the militarily-run Manhattan District. This paper will concentrate on how the issues of security, contracting, and health contributed to the final organizational structure of the Ames Project. The focus is upon the academic versus the military style of management, with Ames serving as a case study of other academic institutions involved in classified research. This study concludes that ultimately the Ames Project adopted an academic management style, despite the fact that it was under the aegis of a military unit, the Manhattan Engineer District.

On September 24, 1942, Harley Wilhelm, a young chemistry professor at Iowa State College, took a 5-inch by 2-inch 11-pound ingot of pure uranium metal from the casting furnace, placed it carefully in a traveling bag some students had given him from a coaching stint in Helena, Montana, and caught the night train to Chicago. Getting off the train in Chicago, Wilhelm had to catch the "L" to the University of Chicago campus. In transit, the handle of his case broke, so by the time he reached his boss Frank Spedding's office in Eckhart Hall, he was carrying the precious cargo in its case under his arm. Spedding and Wilhelm took the billet to Arthur Compton, head of the entire Chicago Metallurgical Project, who had never seen one piece of uranium this big before. Compton's immediate reaction was "I bet there's a pipe [hole] inside." Wilhelm took the ingot to the basement of the biology building and instructed a shop man to cut it open. After a small fire in the cutting process, a cropping from the ingot finally appeared; there was no pipe (Wilhelm 1988, Wilhelm 1989, Wilhelm 1990). Spedding, the head of the Chemistry Division at the Laboratory and also in charge of a small group of scientists at Ames, Iowa, evidently took a cropping to an administrative meeting soon thereafter. R. L. Doan, a laboratory director, later recalled that particular day:

> I don't believe anyone took the work there [at Ames] very seriously until Spedding came to a technical council meeting one fine autumn day and smugly laid an "egg,"—an almost perfect cylinder of uranium metal, on the table for inspection. Even then, while admiring the accomplishment, everyone I am sure felt that it would be futile to look to a couple of college professors for the production of any significant quantity of metal. (Doan 1958: 2)

But it was not futile. Within a week, R. L. Doan, the Metallurgical Laboratory director, had arrived on the Iowa State campus to write an Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD) contract for the Ames Project to produce 100 pounds of uranium per day, using its simple and cheap process (Doan 1958). The intention was that Iowa State would demonstrate the process to companies like DuPont, Electromet, and Mallinckrodt and continue to make uranium until the companies could integrate the processes into their own plants (Spedding, 1980).

Even though a pilot production plant was established, the Ames Project remained first and foremost an academic laboratory, developed partly out of the experiences and expertise of its founder and director Frank H. Spedding. Spedding studied at Berkeley in the late 1920s where many of the ideas about organizational structures that were eventually incorporated into the Manhattan Project already existed. A typical graduate student, he worked with a research director and a group of students, examining critical chemical problems. Spedding's experience with the particular type of academic activity at Berkeley—seminars, group meetings and work with sophisticated equipment—probably inspired him to institute that mode in his Ames laboratory. Daniel J. Kevles, in his study of physicists, labeled the Berkeley style of academic management *group research* (Kevles 1971). By the time of the Manhattan Project, run scientifically in most part by physicists, group research was a well-established part of the academic research structure at most larger institutions.

In fact, the structural organization of the atomic bomb project from top to bottom included the management apparatus of a typical large academic organization, complete with committee meetings, ad hoc review studies, and countless group leaders who had wide latitude in choosing research problems to study. Vannevar Bush, the guiding academic leader behind the entire atomic bomb project, used this academic style in creating the National Defense Research Committee (NDRC) and later the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD), the governmental units that originally oversaw atomic research. He chose good research directors and allowed them the flexibility to develop their own laboratories with little interference from his office (Meigs 1982).

By early 1942 though, the scientific program had proceeded only sporadically. By summer, many of the problems in procuring raw materials were solved, but no single uranium separation process seemed to be the winner in what became known as the four-horse atomic bomb race (Smyth 1948). Vannevar Bush began to consider bringing in the Army to build the full-scale construction plants, and on September 17, 1942, Colonel Leslie Groves was offered command of the entire atomic bomb operation. He accepted the new post, receiving the new commission of Brigadeir General just before the official announcement was made (Groves 1962, Jones 1985).

Although the Manhattan Engineer District was originally formed to oversee only engineering plant construction, by August 1943, the entire project fell under Groves' jurisdiction. Iowa State's production unit had initially come under District control in late 1942, but by July 1943, its research contract was under District military control also (*Manhattan Project* , Book 7, Volume 1, 1977). Though little contact existed between the Ames scientists and the District employees, military men and women were stationed at Iowa State College to oversee security, financial concerns, and shipments of uranium in and out of the College (Carlson 1990; Wilhelm 1990; Spedding, *Manuscript*, n.d.). At Iowa State, as at other installations, Groves and the Manhattan District set in place a military structure parallel to the already existing academic organization. The scientists still ran the site's scientific research for the atomic bomb, but the Manhattan District added staff in the three areas it considered strictly under military control—security and contracting. Health and worker safety were also important to the Manhattan District but will not be discussed in this paper since staff were not added by the military.

Security measures were implemented by scientists even before involvement with either Vannevar Bush's OSRD or the Manhattan Engineer District, agencies which contributed important security regulations that helped solidify governmental control of research during the war. As early as 1939, Leo Szilard, Enrico Fermi, and several other immigrant scientists debated publishing the results of their atomic research. Szilard, the most vociferous of the group, urged his fellow scientists to withhold publication of any mention of a chain reaction or the development of atomic weapons. Szilard's initial efforts brought him no success, but at a meeting of the National Research Council in 1940, Gregory Breit proposed controls on the publication of articles on atomic energy in American scientific journals through a censorship committee. The Reference Committee, established later that year, controlled publications in all fields of military interest. This censorship process was voluntary and completely in control of the scientists and journal editors. However, by the time the war was well underway, virtually no articles received review, since the Manhattan Project oversaw all uranium work, and security rules permitted no publications of any kind in commercial journals (Smyth 1948, Weart 1976).

It was Vannevar Bush, though, who had more influence on the policies of security for atomic research than Szilard or the Reference Committee. After Bush began to reorganize research on the atomic bomb under the aegis of the OSRD, secrecy became one of the chief tenants of management policy. Bush also added the concept of *compartmentalization* to the agency's policies. But since OSRD left so much of the security arrangements to the individual sites, it actually instituted only a modest security system, one that worked well enough until the expansion of the uranium production program began to tax OSRD's very existence as a secret organization.

The Ames Project came into existence in February 1942, so OSRD originally directed its security. With the establishment of its production plant in late 1942, though, that unit received a contract directly from the Manhattan Engineer District, while scientific research continued under OSRD until mid-1943, when those contracts as well were transferred to Groves' operation. Under the Manhattan District, Iowa State's security was the responsibility of the Chicago Branch Office of the Intelligence and Security Division (*Manhattan Project*, Book 1, Volume 14, 1977). Security regulations at Iowa State covered personnel clearance, document protection, materials shipping security, plant security, and compartmentalization of information.

Personnel clearance was much more rigid under the Manhattan District than under the civilian agencies; document handling and labeling procedures were tightened with various new codes of secrecy, and even installations had their own code names for the materials they were dealing with. For example, uranium was generally called "tube alloy" or "the metal;" radioactivity was often called "sensitivity;" and uranium tetrafluoride (the compound that produced metallic uranium) was often call "green salt." Codes were also developed for use on the telephone. Spedding recalled several farm terms developed by the Ames group. "Eggs" were 2" diameters of uranium, and often the caller would indicate "2 dozen eggs shipped." Later, when Oak Ridge wanted a 1" x 4" length of uranium shipped, these were called frankfurters or hot dogs; billets 4" in diameter and 2-3-feet long weighing 250 pounds were called "cheeses." Iowa State shipped uranium scrap turnings as "hay." Boron, a dangerous poison and contaminant, was called Vitamin B. Reports referring to a percent of Vitamin B content contained in the metal or tube alloy meant that the uranium contained a certain percent of boron (Spedding, Interview with Calciano 5, 1979-80; Spedding, *Manuscript*, n.d; Spedding 1967).

Security on the Ames project was so tight that few in higher administrative positions at Iowa State knew all about the project. Spedding had contacted President Charles Friley at Iowa State College in early February 1942, for clearance to establish the Ames Project after he had previously received permission from him to spend several weeks in Chicago in January on a secret research project (Spedding Papers, 1942). The government gave Friley security clearance in late February or early March so that Spedding could release information on the nature of the research work at Chicago and Ames. The only other top-level administrator allowed access to classified information was Dean Harold V. Gaskill, dean of the Industrial Sciences Division, under whose jurisdiction rested all wartime research projects at Iowa State College (Spedding, Interview with Calciano 7, 1979-80; Spedding Papers, 1943). Even the purchasing officer of the university was told by Friley to order anything Spedding wanted and not to question the nature of the secret project.

The Manhattan District also tightened security concerning materials shipment, even determining which materials were to be shipped by freight, rail, or to be hand-carried. Plant security was also tight. Installations were inspected and rated frequently. Few documents remain recording the results of plant inspections at Iowa State College (Ferry 1943), but in one recorded instance, the security inspection team proposed some rather extreme measures to correct a perceived security problem. Iowa State disposed of slag material from the reduction experiments at the College dump. That material included calcium fluoride, lime and probably a little uranium that might be left in the slag. The calcium chloride, according to Spedding, served as a good rat poison, but the security officials for the Manhattan District were concerned about the uranium pieces as a security risk. The project employees were instructed to dig up material that had been deposited in the dump and ship it to New Jersey for storage as well as send any future waste to the

East. Security inspectors also noticed that small amounts of the uranium tetrafluoride were sometimes deposited in the soil at the Chemistry Annex building production plant. The Ames Project personnel dug up six inches of soil in a strip twenty inches wide all around the Annex to ship to New Jersey also. Filters were then installed on the exhaust fans to eliminate the continued deposition of uranium outside the annex.

The Iowa State College project administration searched in vain for containers in which to ship this material to New Jersey until Wayne Keller suggested that in his Kentucky hometown, whiskey barrels were quite often left over from the distillation process and could make suitable containers. Spedding approved the suggestion and asked him to order 1,000 whiskey barrels. By mistake, Keller's secretary typed on the purchase order, "one thousand barrels Hiram Walker Whiskey." The purchasing agent of the college, Mr. Potts, had been told early in the project that for security reasons he was to approve anything Dr. Spedding ordered, and the government would pay for it. Despite the security requirements, Potts called Spedding at 6 o'clock one morning and questioned why he was ordering whiskey through the College in Iowa, a dry state. Needless to say, Spedding straightened out the agent and assured him that it was just a typographical error; he needed only the barrels (Spedding 1980; Spedding, *Manuscript*, n.d.).

That was not the only trouble the project had with those whiskey barrels. When the barrels arrived, a group of men called the "Bull Gang," who did the heavy lifting around the project, were instructed to dig up the dump material. Suddenly, Dr. Wilhelm had too many men volunteering for this dirty and strenuous duty. He suspected something was amiss, and when he went to the dump, he found that the men were propping the whiskey barrels on the edge of a hill and draining about a cup of whiskey from each barrel before filling them with the dump material. Despite the happy workers, the slag was eventually crated and shipped to New Jersey as requested. What New Jersey finally did with the fine Iowa black dirt and slag is not mentioned in any records, and evidently no one who knows has been identified (Spedding, *Manuscript*, n.d.; Spedding 1967; Daane, Spedding, and Wilhelm 1967).

Security also prevented publication of the results of research, certainly a military management victory at first glance. But that requirement was imposed long before the military took over, and the scientists found a substitute for publication that served the secret project just as well—the report. In the beginning of the project, weekly reports were required, then biweekly, and eventually monthly reports of progress in each laboratory. Each project leader was responsible for his own group's report, and those were summarized by Spedding and submitted to the Metallurgical Laboratory (Spedding Misc. Papers). An elaborate process of coding, numbering and distributing these reports was instituted, and the only way added security from the military affected this system was in requiring that only laboratory or project directors request reports from another facility. Written agreements had to be formulated with each facility as to what it could provide to others. But by the time this took effect in 1943, most scientists already knew, in a general way, who was working on the project and what each laboratory might discover. It was a matter of getting around the paperwork to obtain information.

The military, then, did not change the existing academic structure set in place by Bush and the academics; it merely added procedures and requirements alongside the other structure. In most cases when security was lifted, what was left was an academically-styled unit or laboratory.

Just as security challenged the academic administration of research, financial control also became an important issue in research administration. Each of the wartime national organizations — NDRC, the OSRD, and the Manhattan Engineer District — adopted a financial management device known as a *contract*, a mechanism that essentially redefined the relationship between government and the academe. Unlike security, which was by and large a temporary measure that affected primarily the administration of a wartime laboratory, the contract actually changed the nature of academic research administration itself.

Contractual arrangements developed out of a longtime and somewhat ambivalent relationship between scientists and the federal government. The academic scientist, particularly in the nonagricultural disciplines, generally taught courses while completing research and scholarship at his or her own expense as a part of the teaching appointment. Little governmental support of academic science developed before World War II, except some attempts at supporting application-oriented research that would have short-term benefits to a particular segment of society (e.g., that provided by agricultural support or public health research) (Dupree 1957, Greenburg 1967).

By the 1930s, some of the barriers to government funding were changed by a complicated set of circumstances. The financial situation, caused in large part by the Depression, eroded many university endowments, as well as those of private foundations that had supported scientific research through the 1920s. By the beginning of World War II, the transition to large group research, coupled with the advent of more sophisticated and expensive research equipment, and the need for large infusions of money to make new scientific discoveries in fields like nuclear physics, had caused scientists to begin to make overtures to the government for funding scientific research (Greenburg 1967, Dupree 1957).

When the National Defense Research Council (NDRC) and the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD) were established, they did not create their own laboratories to support scientific efforts, but they decided to support research through existing laboratories, mostly in educational institutions. The idea was certainly novel, since during the last war scientists had most often worked in uniform at makeshift laboratories away from their home institutions. This new approach though necessitated some way to register the government/academic relationship, thus the NDRC looked at the contract as a device to cement that relationship with academic laboratories (Bush 1970).

When Bush looked around for a structure to administer NDRC research, contracts were fairly common. However, they were most often military procurement devices so fraught with requirements and special safeguards that they would not work with universities, which were free of such rigid controls. When Bush originally developed the plan for the NDRC organizational structure, he made a decision to split the actual research areas from the business side of the agency, under the assumption that once work started, the scientist need not worry about financial regulations with the Bureau of the Budget or the Patent Office or the other bureaucratic agencies that were concerned with the administration of research. He chose Irvin Stewart, a lawyer who had been a member of the Federal Communications Commission, to oversee the administration of contracts (Stewart 1948, Bush 1970).

The contract form adopted on August 29, 1940, contained two characteristics: work at the home laboratory and complete flexibility in the research plan of attack. The performance clause, the key to the new contract, was an exercise in simplicity, in that the contractor would conduct studies on a given topic and make a final report on a specified date. No details were provided as to how the work must be performed (Stewart 1948).

Another departure from past contracting procedures required contract negotiation with the investigator's institution, not the individual researcher. This legal precedent freed the researcher to do the work while protecting the institution from cost overruns. To provide further safeguards, the contract was written on a no cost basis to the institution, plus an overhead recovery, or administrative charge, of fifty percent of the wages and salaries to cover the institution's cost in providing research facilities (Stewart 1948, Stewart 1942).

Establishing research administration at the institutional level also involved splitting the functions of business and research. NDRC and then OSRD assigned each institution receiving a contract both a research officer and a business or contracting officer. Likewise, the institution receiving a contract was expected to assign someone to handle business affairs for the institution, in addition to the principal investigator already chosen by OSRD to handle research. This important division became a characteristic of the wartime research, but it also continued as government relations with universities continued to grow after the war. It is still a common characteristic of academic research administration (Lomask 1975).

The Manhattan District followed the policies of OSRD and NDRC in the contracting area. It used the cost plus overhead basis for all its academic research program contracts. Payment for work completed continued by a reimbursement system just as it had under OSRD. However, the Manhattan Engineer District required each contractor to submit a voucher to its assigned area office first, where a preliminary audit would be conducted before the request for reimbursement would be forwarded to the District headquarters (*Manhattan Project*, Book IV, Volume 2, 1977).

The University of Chicago's Metallurgical Laboratory negotiated the first contract with Iowa State College, actually a subcontract from its own OSRD Contract No. OEMsr-410 in February 1942 for $30,000, to last until July 1942 to conduct experimental studies on the chemical and metallurgical aspects of uranium and related materials. In the summer of 1942, the OSRD directly negotiated a separate contract (No. OEMsr-433) with Iowa State College for experimental studies of tube alloy and for experimental chemical and metallurgical studies in building a power plant. In late November 1942, the Manhattan Engineer District took over OEMsr-410, changing its status to a production or supply contract and continuing it as Contract No. W-7405-eng-7 until termination on December 31, 1945. OEMsr-433 transferred to the Manhattan District as Contract No. W-7405-eng-82 on May 1, 1943, when most other OSRD contracts were placed under district control. That contract, with some modifications, is the present contract with which the Ames Laboratory continues its work through the U. S. Department of Energy (Manhattan Engineer District 1947, Fulmer 1947).

The contract, then, encouraged universities to participate in defense work because of the benefits incurred doing government research, without experiencing many of the administrative problems that had previously plagued agency-supported research. At first, the contract was flexible, open ended and did not prescribe the work needed. Those principles laid down by NDRC and OSRD were in line with basic goals and principles of academic management techniques. The contract also allowed administration of research to be split from the actual work of research, and that appeased the scientists involved. It satisfied the educational institutions because they were to be reimbursed at cost, plus an administrative fee for providing facilities and other necessities to enable the scientists to undertake the necessary work without jeopardizing the financial situation of the institution.

The contract helped cement the relationship between the academic world and government in ways that heretofore had been unknown. The contract remained the primary way of doing business with the government until the National Science Foundation was created in 1950. At that time, the nonmilitary agencies like the National Science Foundation began to develop what they called a new mechanism to control scientific research. However, if one looks closely at the *grant*, it was first and foremost a flexible contract. It had all the characteristics of Bush's earlier device: nonlimiting in its geographical applications, supporting project research with no prescribed formula except the demand of a report at project's end, the award of the funds to the institution rather than the individual and fiscal as well as research responsibility demanded from the institution. The contract then—first a wartime fiscal device—grew to be the controlling device for most research administration after the war. It was the foundation upon which the academic world and the government built a long term relationship, a relationship that appeared to benefit both parties mutually.

The Manhattan Engineer District represented itself as a typical military organization. In my research though, I have seen no evidence that the District successfully applied that military management style to laboratories like Iowa State College's, except possibly in the area of security. Each of the areas, including security, had already been addressed before the Manhattan District took control of the project, and in most cases, the organization and administration of these areas remained essentially academic in management style. The Ames laboratory, even under the Manhattan District, ran its organization by committee, as exhibited by group leaders meetings every Saturday both to discuss results and plan for next week's activity. The sessions employed an academic style in which everyone participated and added to the group.

If a military style triumphed at all under the Manhattan District, it was in security control. The extreme need for adequate security wielded the greatest effect on the academic laboratories. That desire for security was built into the civilian organization that first ran the project, even though it did not apply the concept as vigorously as did the Manhattan District. For example, Vannevar Bush, not the Manhattan District, applied the concept of compartmentalization first, although Groves certainly extended the concept to its ultimate limits. Because of the militarily-imposed secrecy requirements, the Ames Project remained isolated from the other installations, and this isolation probably meant that, to an extent, no one knew when duplication was going on between this laboratory and others. Personnel were also not as free to travel to other installations, so later in the war, the group at Ames knew less of what was transpiring at Los Alamos or Hanford than at Chicago. Early in the project, there was a great deal of interaction between the laboratory and other facilities, partly because Spedding was more involved at a central facility early in the war. He became somewhat isolated from Chicago when Ames demanded his full attention. By that time, Groves moved the bulk of the activity to the secret, well-guarded sites at Los Alamos, Hanford, and Clinton. Even Chicago was out of the loop for what was going on at the secret facilities.

The strict requirements for secrecy, though, did not ultimately affect the academic style of management at the Ames because the laboratory's organizational structure had been established long before the Manhattan Engineer District took over the contracts. The Manhattan District did send security personnel as well as financial and safety advisors to Ames, but these personnel were essentially placed there to see that work was completed on time. They conducted safety and security inspections and reported those back to District headquarters, but they must have had little effect on the day-to-day operation becuase the research scientists barely knew thses men and women were around. No reports remain of their activities in the files at Ames, and most of the scientists were never sure what they were there to do.

Contracting certainly influenced the direction of research in the Ames Project. However, it was not the Manhattan District that placed the basic tenants of contracting—flexibility, institutional responsibility and control, fiscal accountability, no cost/no profit terms—in place. Those characteristics, by and large complementary to academic management styles, were developed by the OSRD and NDRC, both civilian, academic-type organizations. The Manhattan District continued contracting under much the same system, although it often added more accountability or stricter controls on the laboratories.

However, the changes did not originate purely out of military style management techniques employed by the Manhattan District. In almost every case, rules and regulations adopted by the Manhattan District had their origin in the academic, civilian agencies that preceded it. Finally, even the Manhattan District itself came under the control of an academic management structure, the Military Policy Committee, which actually made final decisions on every activity that the District undertook—the final irony and certainly the ultimate victory for the academic management style.

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"We're Czechs; We're Americans": A Rural Ethnic Community in World War Two

Elizabeth Anne Yeager
University of Texas at Austin

The manifestations of "total war"[1] in society during World War Two have been widely observed and discussed, including those with implications for educational institutions.[2] Lowe's introductory essay in *Education and the Second World War: Studies in Schooling and Social Change* calls attention to the two great strains placed on schools during that era: the responsibility to supply a skilled, "modern" labor force adaptable to the technological demands of war, and the duty to transmit and reinforce the national values that were at stake in support of the war effort. "There is a very real sense," Lowe asserts, "in which education itself became mobilized during the Second World War". Lowe argues that commitment to a world war meant "a major reconsideration of the purposes and ends of education." In particular, Andrew Spaull notes the importance of "informed discussion of the efficacy of secondary school curriculum modification during wartime" and of the "tried and true sources for inculcating a war effort spirit in schools," such as school publications, drives, and conservation efforts.[3]

A likely question for each American community during the war was whether it was more important to direct students to war tasks they could perform while in school or systematically to prepare students for assuming their patriotic duties upon graduation. Many American schools experienced the strains described by Lowe and responded in a variety of ways. Much attention has been given to the wartime changes in typically "American" urban settings.[4]

O.L. Davis Jr. argues that "over half a century of neglect has left us with little understanding...of the nation's wartime curriculum." What curriculum responses were there "to the immense pressures occasioned by the war"? Were the responses "symbolic or practical," "substantial or trivial"? What were the differences between wartime rhetoric and the reality of school practice, and what special problems did wartime schools face? Under what conditions did the curriculum ***not*** change?[5]

In particular, Davis calls for "studies that focus on the varieties of schooling in individual communities of different sizes and social compositions" and an understanding of "the many tacit offerings of the wartime school." Such studies may be able to shed light on the responses of different types of communities to the issues raised by Spaull and Davis, on "concerns for community and national affiliation during wartime, (and on) a more complete portrayal of the wartime curriculum." Oral histories, Davis asserts, may be particularly useful in this regard.

This paper raises the issue of the effects of "total war" within the context of rural American life. More specifically, in calling for greater attention to schooling in American ethnic communities, it examines a rural, ethnic enclave: an ethnic Czech community in Williamson County, Texas. According to Anne Pater, "the effects of the war were felt especially in the small rural communities around the United States" because of their lack of resources and already difficult school conditions that the war simply exacerbated.[6] But furthermore, what is the special nature of a rural immigrant community during wartime? How did schools in this type of community respond to the patriotic demands of total war?

This paper reports the examination of community and school participation by members of this Czech enclave in the demands of war in their adopted homeland — a war that also involved the brutalization of their motherland. Particular attention is directed to the community's high school and its activities, to the importance of Czech identity in participation in the war, and to the nature of a rural perspective on the war, especially the efficacy of certain types of wartime activities for a relatively poor population.

Immigrants from Bohemia and Moravia began arriving at the port of Galveston, Texas, in the mid-1800s and gradually moved up along the Blackland Prairie Soil region that stretched north to Dallas. Texas Czechs apparently "learned to identify with Texas regionalism, a powerful, romantic identity that was uncharacteristic of most other Czech-Americans."[7] According to many accounts in fact, Czechs in Texas apparently became Americanized to the extent that they took to heart the American values of individual identity and free enterprise. Most worked on small farms that they owned while maintaining strong all-Czech communities, unique traditions, and mutual aid societies.[8] The common expression, "we're Czechs; they're Americans" denoted both a sense of superiority to white English-speaking neighbors and a "privileged," distinctive cultural heritage. In most Czech communities, the immigrants preserved their heritage and language through both parochial and public school curricula, church activities, and in Granger, also through the continuing publication of a Czech-language newspaper.[9] The residents of these communities for years "spoke only the Czech language, most were Roman Catholic, and they were clannish...They considered themselves *nasinec* ("our people")...Anyone else was an *Amerikan*."[10]

Still, one observer in 1946 wrote that the Texas Czechs' unity "has been cultural rather than nationalistic."[11] Another commented that "the loyalty of (Czechs) cannot be questioned. They have never formed organizations for the purpose of undermining the government of their adopted country, nor have they hesitated to take up arms for...their new country."[12] Even as early as 1855, a pioneer wrote to relatives back home that "the Czechs did not come to Texas to establish institutions which would have a tendency to slow down the process of Americanization...they want to become one of them, by attending the same schools and by helping to develop and support such institutions."[13] Newly-arrived Czechs tended to build a community school as soon as possible and to establish reading clubs and newspapers to satisfy their educational needs.[14] Reverend R.D. Miller, in the *Bohemian Review*, wrote in 1917: "(Czechs) are among the most progressive of our new citizens. They have an intense love of liberty which makes them most appreciative of all that America stands for...They have not been satisfied to do only the things that were expected of them as adopted children of America - they have gone farther (sic)...to show a spirit of sacrifice greater than that."[15] Skrivanek called attention to "(their) love of freedom...best exemplified in the person of Dominik Naplava, a Houston boy, who was the first Texan killed in the First World War."[16]

By the late 19th century Granger, located in northeast Williamson County at the junction of the Houston and San Antonio branches of the Missouri-Kansas-Texas Railroad, had grown into a small farming community, whose Czech population remained predominantly Moravian. Czech Protestant and Roman Catholic churches were established there by 1880 and a common public school by 1887.[17] By 1925, Granger High School was established in a new building designed to accommodate grades nine through twelve.[18] In 1932, the lone public school was declared an independent district by the state legislature.[19] English was the official public-school language there, although Czech classes continued to be offered through 1942. At the onset of the Second World War, Granger had a population of 1,723 (seventy-five percent of whom were Czech, according to several residents) six churches, and fifty businesses.[20]

Two days after the U.S. declared war on Japan, the Granger school board voted to allocate twenty dollars for the purchase of a "radio phonograph" from an R.E. Marek.[21] Several participants in oral interviews remembered school assemblies during the war, at which they listened to President Roosevelt's speeches.[22] From an examination of the Granger school board minutes and from the recollections of several interviewees, the purchase of this radio phonograph appears to be the only war-related financial innovation specifically targeted for the school. Other suggestions of a world war in the board minutes were the hiring of substitute teachers, including several married women who agreed to resign upon their husbands' discharge from military service, and a vote to allow the school band to use a school bus for travel to a nearby hospital to entertain wounded soldiers.[23]

No formal attempts at wartime curricular modification through budgetary means can be discerned from board actions taken during the wartime period. Vocational aid monies (all devoted exclusively to vocational agriculture in Granger) from the federal and state governments for the Granger Independent School District decreased from the pre-war years, a possible indication that the federal government had no particular industrial requirements or expectations for Granger, and that vocational education monies were needed elsewhere. However, spending for school athletic programs and band supplies increased during the war. School board minutes reveal the approval of bank loans for athletic uniforms, equipment, and renovation of the school gym. Finally, no record of formal discussion or actions taken on the modification of any aspect of the high school's course offerings are recorded.[24]

In fact, only one curricular change is remembered by students who attended Granger High during the war. Czech language courses were dropped from the scheduled offerings in 1942 because the instructor moved from the community; school officials were either unwilling or unable to find a replacement teacher.[25] Not one former student has recalled other types of changes in curricular form or content. Georgie Ann (Kocurek) Chamberlain, who graduated in 1944, stated emphatically that "teachers did not teach the war...they stuck to their subjects...they didn't like to talk about it...they tried to make you focus on the subject (because) you heard enough on the news and on the street...they kept things as calm as possible for the kids (with a philosophy of) 'let's not disrupt class.'" She added, "We were not that curious (about the war); we were frightened...we didn't understand it." She also recalled that the husband of one of her teachers died in combat, but "things didn't slack off just because (of this)...we didn't dwell on it...she didn't talk about her feelings about the war because we were just children."

Dan Gaida recalled the occasional discussion of current events in his classes. However, Mrs. Chamberlain's comments illustrate how the viability of such discussions likely was limited. She said that many people got most of their war news "from the streets" and from their families, not from school. "The news in *Nasinec* was so old...it wasn't useful...we didn't take the Austin (Texas) paper...no one in town could afford the newspaper, and there was no delivery...maybe a few got it in the mail...there wasn't anything in the (school) library either."[26]

Most war-related activities at Granger High seemed to have been confined within weekly school assemblies, which were standard, major school events both before and during the war. All respondents remembered the assemblies for listening to Roosevelt's broadcast speeches, learning air raid procedures, praying for the soldiers, saying the pledge of allegiance, and hearing updates on major developments in the war - "very patriotic and religious," according to Mrs. Chamberlain. At the same time, however, the assemblies often stressed the usual topics of school rules and business the administration wanted to discuss. Some of the assemblies became very emotional, as when a Granger High English teacher's son died in combat and the school held a memorial ceremony for him.[27]

In September 1941, the Texas Department of Education issued a call for the public schools to participate in "School Defense Week," a call that was reissued more emphatically after the bombing of Pearl Harbor.[28] All interviewees recalled the various "patriotic" drives that took place for paper, scrap iron, and, especially, war savings stamps and bonds. The state's Department of Education suggested that schools direct their efforts toward stamp purchases in every classroom, at athletic events, and in school contests, and it encouraged children to "discontinue attendance at picture shows" in order to save money for defense stamps.[29] However, three interviewees pointed out that a dime (which bought one stamp towards filling an $18.75 booklet needed to buy a bond) was "hard to come by...we were lucky to get a dime or quarter to go to the movies;" none remembered filling up a single booklet.[30] According to these former students, the choice between using their spending money either on the savings stamps or the movies was an easy one to make: "We went to see the newsreels and comedies every chance we got."[31]

The respondents did not, however, remember whether the war-related drives originated at school or in the community. Neither did they recall the origins of drives to send care packages and cookie boxes to soldiers stationed overseas. Several noted that they sometimes wrote letters to soldiers as part of their English classwork, but apparently no "official" school publications were produced during the war years. The main efforts to send soldiers news about Granger originated with a group of women from the Czech Brethren Church. These women regularly compiled a newsletter for local servicemen.[32]

Three interviewees talked extensively of the significance of their Czech identity in their participation in war-related activities. Mr. Martinets asserted that during the war, "people felt a connection with Czechoslovakia...what happened to the Czechs was partly a reason for people here to support the war and to have a great patriotic attitude...nobody was really disgruntled; everyone was together."[33] Mrs. Mikulencak remembered her friends and family saying that "England had sold out Czechoslovakia" and that she had nightmares of "the Gestapo knocking on the door" as they had done to innocent people "over there." Mrs. Chamberlain recalled her mother "crying every day" over her friends and relatives in Czechoslovakia and "living in fear" after her contacts through the mail were cut off because of wartime censorship. "We didn't understand," she explained. "I'd say to my mother, So what? It's not here. We're not suffering'...only after the war did I hear of the total suffering there...I did know about Lidice[34] from the streets and from my family, but there was never much information at school on the situation in Czechoslovakia."

All three recalled taking Czech language classes at Granger High School until the Czech instructor left in 1942. Some remembered writing penpals and relatives in pre-war Czechoslovakia in class until wartime conditions made this activity fruitless. Nevertheless, most of their memories of activities that nurtured their Czech heritage derived from church, not school, sponsorship. Most notably, their most vivid memories of their cultural education and of identification with the plight of Czechoslovakia derived from their Catholic priest, Father John Vanicek, who was originally from Prague. "He really gave us the love of the motherland," Mrs. Mikulencak explained, "teaching us the Czech national anthem, giving sermons, saying masses, and exhorting us to pray for our people over there." Mrs. Chamberlain recalled that she and many other local young people took Bible classes throughout high school from Father Vanicek, "in English and in Czech," every Friday at the church. Mr. Martinets remarked that the church "made us very Czech...we were 'indoctrinated' by its influence."

An awareness of Czech identity also made some of those interviewed more aware of their differences vis-á-vis other communities during the war, but respondents had varying interpretations of those differences. Mr. Martinets recalled long-held prejudices of "Anglo rednecks" in the town; his grandfather's store had been torched in the early 1900s. Railroad tracks in Granger, he said, for many years separated Anglos and Czechs "like the Berlin Wall." Yet he emphasized that ethnic tensions eased during the war: "You were close together...everyone tried to keep their chin up."

Mrs. Chamberlain also remembered living on "the other side of the tracks" from the "Amerikans" but noted no particularly hostilities arising from that arrangement: "You really associated with who you were, whether black, Mexican, or white." However, she also had recollections of "even more hatred of Germans during the war because of what Hitler had done...but it was just talk, no fights...just private feelings that were maybe irrational, but Czechs didn't trust the Germans." Her father, who had fought in the First World War, disliked her dating boys of German descent: "Why not a Czech and a Catholic?" No one recalled any overt manifestations of prejudice in the community or discussions of this issue at Granger High School during the war years.

Conclusions

One interpretation of these accounts, with implications for a dichotomy of different types of wartime participation, is that farming communities were more a part of the "rhetorical" rather than the "actual" machinery of war because they had no viable role in industrialization. In rhetoric and in fact, Texas was on the road to industrial development at the onset of war. On September 15, 1940, Governor W. Lee O'Daniel preached the gospel of industrial progress in his radio address, proclaiming that agricultural and livestock pursuits were "not the way to bring prosperity to Texas" and that every local community, including its schools, must "mobilize" immediately to form "industrialization committees" to meet the demands of world war.[35] Indeed, in the dozen or so years prior to the war, the number of manufacturing establishments and the number of people working in nonagricultural occupations in Texas were increasing apace. The war greatly accelerated this growth,[36] especially with the prospect of new air bases, airfields, and over $16 million worth of defense contracts and awards to Texas business and industry.[37]

"Total" war is not the appropriate characterization of the Granger High experience in World War Two if indeed it "spares no established thing in mobilizing people and resources" and "is a threat to institutions." Expectations and resources simply were different for rural American communities like Granger. The pre-induction needs of the military forces apparently were not addressed in Granger as they were in more "urban" settings in terms of courses recommended by the Texas Department of Education in, for example, electrical and radio fundamentals, aviation, aeronautics, advanced mathematics, or special physical training.[38]

Furthermore, Sitton and Rowold imply a certain neglect of rural schools and communities during the war. In the 1940s, the war diverted resources from many public schools and channeled them into the war effort; by 1945, Texas schools "had not been a priority of its citizenry for more than a decade."[39] In 1936, eighty-four percent of Texas schools were rural. Sitton and Rowold suggest that schools in urban areas, with their burgeoning populations and industries, were the primary focus of state education reformers who promoted school consolidation in these areas, offering financial "incentives" and sometimes utilizing coercion to draw schools into consolidated systems. [40] Many rural communities remained uncooperative throughout the war years because, according to Sitton and Rowold, they feared that their communities would disappear without a local school to hold them together.

The "community fabric" in Granger was such that differentiation between school and community activities was often difficult for interviewees to untangle. The school's activities all seemed to be in the realm of symbolic display — assemblies, paper drives, coupons — and keeping up morale through band and sports. Such activities fall under the heading of Spaull's "tried and true sources" of war spirit, or Lowe's "values transmission" responsibility of wartime schools. The extent to which students and the community in general could fully participate even in some of these activities is questionable because of their relative poverty; therefore, drives and coupons *were* predominantly symbolic. All respondents mentioned their lack of disposable income and their preference to go to the movies when they did have pocket change. Since hardly anyone subscribed to any newspaper but *Nasinec*, paper drives likely yielded little. In general, the symbolic support of the war through communication with hometown soldiers and manifestations of Czech identity seem to be the strongest forms of participation; these "tangibles" directly related to daily life in Granger. However, these appear to have had less to do with school activities and more to do with church and community leadership.

The story of education during World War Two must be grounded in specific communities. In rural American communities of the 1940s, the difference between school and community life often may not be discernible and in a variety of situations — not just in times of "national emergency." At Granger High School, at least, the war did not seem to affect "preexisting or newly-created institutions" or "the modification of the high school curriculum to meet wartime needs," nor did there seem to be high community expectations that the school and the students would be "an integral part of the war effort."[41] Perhaps for the needs and expectations the small community had for *itself*, its responses to the war were appropriate and sufficient: attending to the morale of their neighbors away at war, participating in commonplace religious ritual, and remembering of the motherland. Because these sentiments probably were addressed adequately at home and in church, school activities would have been merely redundant. Certainly, residents of Granger made sacrifices and worked together for a national goal. Their sacrifices were necessarily small and symbolic, and their involvement in "national goals" stemmed in some large part from their involvement in a closely-knit immigrant enclave.

ENDNOTES

1. See E. Hughes, "The Impact of War on American Institutions," *American Journal of Sociology* 48, Nov. 1942, p. 398: "A war is total to the extent that it spares no established thing in mobilizing people and resources. Total war is a threat to institutions."
2. See L. Cremin, *American Education: The Colonial Experience* (1970, New York: Harper and Row) and *American Education: The Metropolitan Experience* (1988, New York: Harper and Row); R. Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States 1941-1945* (1972, Philadelphia: Lippincott); R. Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's A War On? The American Home Front 1941-1945* (1970, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons).
3. Spaull, Andrew. "The Response of Australian Schools to the Two World Wars." In J. Smart and T. Wood (eds.), *An ANZAC Muster: Conference on War and Society in Australia and New Zealand*, Monash University History Series Number 14, 1992 (draft), 17.
4. See, for example, A. Spaull, "The American High School Goes to War: The U.S. High School Victory Corps 1942-44," *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 1, July 1982, 16-27; R. Cohen, "Schooling Uncle Sam's Children: Education in the USA, 1941-1945," in *Education and the Second World War: Studies in Schooling and Social Change*, R. Lowe, ed. (1992, London: The Falmer Press); I. Kandel, *The Impact of the War Upon Education* (1948, Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press).
5. Davis, O.L. Jr. "The American School Curriculum Goes to War, 1941-1945: Oversight, Neglect, and Discovery." *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 8, 1993, 112-127.
6. Pater, Anne B. "Rural Education During World War Two: A Case Study of Ellinger, Texas." Unpublished paper. (Austin: The University of Texas, 1993).
7. Machann, Clinton and James W. Mendl, Jr. (ed. and trans.). *Czech Voices: Stories from Texas in the Amerikan Narodni Kalendar* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1991).
8. For example, in 1897 the *Slovenska Podporujici Jednota Statu Texas* was founded in LaGrange as an independent benevolent/ insurance society. During World War One, the Society did not cancel the policies of its soldier members; nonmembers helped pay their dues and helped families in need (Stasney, 1938, p. 99-100). Stasney, Mollie Emma. "The Czechs in Texas." Master's Thesis (Austin: The University of Texas, 1938), 99-100. Skrabanek, Robert. *We're Czechs* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1988). 10-11.
9. *Nasinec* ("Our People") continues publication today under the editorship of Joe Vrabel in Granger.
10. Valek, Wesley J. "Oral History and Czech Immigrants in Ellis County, Texas, 1873-1917." *International Journal of Oral History* 8, 1987, 191-198.
11. Maresh, Henry R. "Czechs in Texas." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 50, 1946, 236-40.
12. Skrivanek, John Marion. "The Education of the Czechs in Texas." Master's Thesis. (Austin: The University of Texas, 1946), vi.
13. Ibid, 46.
14. Maresh, "Czechs in Texas," 239.
15. Miller, R. D. "Bohemians in Texas." *Bohemian Review* 1, 1917, 5-12.
16. Skrivanek, "The Education of Czechs," vi.

17. Webb, Walter Prescott (ed.). *Handbook of Texas*. Volume I. (Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 1952), 717.

18. Today the building is a Texas Historical Site, dedicated May 24, 1992. See L. Mikulencak's program notes from the ceremony.

19. Mikulencak, Loretta. Program notes commemorating the Granger High School Texas Historical Marker Dedication, May 24, 1992.

20. Webb, *Handbook of Texas*, 171.

21. *Granger Independent School District School Board Minutes*, 9 December 1941.

22. Pustejovsky, Sybil. Interview, March 17, 1993; Chamberlain, Georgie Ann Kocurek Chamberlain. Interview, April 4, 1993; Mikulencak, Loretta. Interview March 25, 1993.

23. *Granger Independent School District School Board Minutes*, December, 1941 - September 1945.

24. Ibid.

25. Chamberlain, Interview.

26. Gaida, Dan. Interview, March 17, 1993; Chamberlain, Interview.

27. Chamberlain, Interview.

28. Woods, L.A. *Defense Services for Texas Public Schools*. (Austin: Texas Department of Education, 1942), 14.

29. Ibid, 14, 15.

30. Chamberlain, Mikulencak, Pustejovsky.

31. Chamberlain.

32. Mikulencak Interview.

33. Martinets, Dan. Interview, March 25, 1993.

34. In 1942, Lidice, a village near Prague, was made the scapegoat for the assassination of a prominent Nazi leader, Reinhard Heydrich. All the men there were rounded up and executed, the women sent to concentration camps, and the children "farmed out" to German homes. The village was burned into extinction. The town became a symbol of resistance to Hitler as towns around the world changed their names to Lidice to commemorate the atrocity.

35. O'Daniel, W. Lee. "Texas' Part in the Program for National Defense: A Radio Address" (Sept. 1, 1940); "Texas Answers the Call to Service for National Defense: A Radio Address" (Sept. 15, 1940).

36. Sitton, Thad and Milam C. Rowold. *Ringing the Children In: Texas Country Schools*. (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1987), 20.

37. O'Daniel, 1 September 1940, 5, 7.

38. Woods, *Defense Services*, 42-45.

39. Sitton and Rowold, 20.

40. Ibid, 19.

41. Spaull, Andrew. "The American High School Goes to War: The U.S. High School Victory Corps 1942-44." *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 1, 1982, 16-27.

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Women on the Chicago Board of Education: A Collective Biography of Three Members in the Early Twentieth Century

Mary C. Schiltz, Ph.D.
Loyola University of Chicago

The first decade of the twentieth century was a period in which the spirit of progressivism was expanding on many fronts. One intersection of two streams of progressivism -- in political life and in education -- lay in the composition of boards of education. Reformers sought to reduce the size of boards of education so that they could "function in ways similar to business boards of directors" (Button & Provenzo, 1983). Along with reduction in size often came a shift in their composition. In a move which paralleled the growing emphasis on civil service reform, school board members were less likely to be selected as representatives of specific neighborhoods or interest groups and more apt to come from the ranks of businessmen who sought to bring to education the methods of hierarchy, economy, standardization and organization which were currently revolutionizing American industry.

In Chicago, for one brief period between 1905 and 1907, the Board of Education appointed by Democratic Mayor Edward Dunne ran counter to the prevailing notion of a "businessman's board." During his two years as Mayor, Dunne had the opportunity to make fifteen appointments to the Chicago Board of Education. Several of his appointees were to take positions sympathetic to the aims of the Chicago Teachers' Federation, positions which often ran counter to existing theories about progressive, businesslike administration of the public school system. Among these fifteen appointees, three were women: Miss Jane Addams, Dr. Cornelia DeBey and Mrs. Anita McCormick Blaine. A brief look at their biographies gives us a picture of three remarkable individuals whose lives demonstrate, among other things, the diversity as well as the strength of the role of women in the early years of the progressive era. Not simply the wives of prominent men, each of these women was an individual in her own right, with educational or professional credentials which would enable her to make a positive contribution to the Board.

As constituted in the spring of 1905, when Mayor Dunne took office, the Chicago Board of Education consisted of twenty men and one woman appointed by former Mayor Harrison. A brief examination of the backgrounds of these individuals (Leonard, 1905) shows that they typically fell into one of two categories: they were members of the city's business leadership or they represented a particular religious or ethnic constituency. Of these two, the business orientation was dominant; many of the members were connected in some way with Chicago's major industries — banks, foundries, packing houses. They belonged to the Chicago Athletic Club, the Commercial Club, the Union League, the University Club, and the Masons and to the same "mainstream" Protestant denomination churchs; and they served together on civic and reform organizations. In addition to these businessmen, the Board had a few representatives from the city's ethnic and religious constituencies: a rabbi, a few Catholics who also represented Chicago's Polish, Bohemian and Irish communities, a representative of organized labor, and one woman.

Women were a rarity on the Chicago Board of Education. The first woman was appointed in 1888. According to Pierce (1957) "in that year, despite the plea that only businessmen would serve effectively, Mrs. Ellen M. Mitchell was appointed because of pressure from the Chicago Woman's Club." However, there was typically never more than one woman representative at any point. In 1905 this was Mrs. W. C. H. Keough, the wife of a local attorney and herself an attorney. According to the *Tribune* she was "one of the few woman lawyers in Chicago" and "has assisted her husband in his law office for three years." However, she was not appointed for her professional standing but rather as a representative of the Catholic community. She was a member of several Catholic women's organizations, such as the Catholic Order of Foresters, and "the Roman Catholic societies sent several petitions [to Harrison] for her appointment" (*Chicago Daily News*, 1906, p. 14.). The woman who had preceded her on the Board, Mrs. Isabelle O'Keefe, was also a Catholic, the wife of a journalist who later was admitted to the practice of law and who was "employed in a confidential capacity by Armour & Co., especially with ... Philip D. Armour" (*Chicago Tribune*, 1902).

One of Mayor Dunne's key advisors in the selection process was Margaret Haley of the Chicago Teachers' Federation, who had been an active supporter during Dunne's election campaign. In her autobiography *Battleground* Haley (1982) describes her role in Dunne's first appointment, Miss Jane Addams of Chicago's famed settlement Hull House.

> ...I asked him to consider Jane Addams as a type of citizen for appointment upon the Board. He told me that he viewed very favorably the making of this appointment and asked me if I would talk to her about it. When I went as Mayor Dunne's emissary, I found Hull House up in arms against the idea of their head resident going on the school board. Miss Addams herself felt that she should not assume this additional responsibility but, with assurance that Mayor Dunne would not appoint anyone on the Board not satisfactory to her, thus making it possible for her to put into effect her policy for the schools, she consented to accept the appointment, provided that Mrs. Emmons Blaine, who was one of the Harvester McCormicks by birth and a daughter-in-law of the Plumed Knight [James G. Blaine, unsuccessful Republican Presidential candidate in 1884], should serve with her.

Following Miss Addams and Mrs. Blaine, Dunne's third selection was Dr. Cornelia DeBey. Haley (103) observes that Addams "made no opposition" to DeBey's appointment "although Dr. DeBey was probably then, as she was afterward, a thorn in the Gentle Jane's side." With Mrs. Keough still a Harrison holdover on the Board, this meant an unprecedented four women members.

Best known of Dunne's appointees was Jane Addams, undoubtedly one of the outstanding women not just in Chicago's history but in that of the nation. The causes in which she was involved, in addition to the humanitarian settlement house work for which she is best known, include educational reform, women's rights, the peace movement and civil rights. She was a member of the Niagara Movement, which created the NAACP, a delegate to national and international peace conferences and the first president of the Women's Peace Party when it was organized in 1915; she was subsequently awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931. Politically, Addams was one of the original members of the Progressive Party and was to give one of the speeches seconding the nomination of Theodore Roosevelt for President at the "Bull Moose" Progressive convention of 1916 (Goldman, 1955). When Dunne appointed her to the Board of Education in 1905, she was already nationally known and Hull House was the prototype for settlement houses across the country.

In his collective biography of the leadership of the progressive movement, *Ministers of Reform* (1984), Robert Crunden devotes much of his first chapter to Jane Addams and in fact cites the founding of Hull House as the appropriate place for beginning the study of progressivism as an important cultural phenomenon. Crunden argues that in pioneering the "new career of social settlement work for women" Addams became the "preeminent role model for the next generation." Until this time higher and professional education were closed to most women, and even those who managed to earn professional degrees found employment (with the exception of the arduous and poorly paid task of elementary school teaching) difficult to come by. "Women expected either to marry and have children or to become maiden aunts, cultivating beautiful thoughts, neurasthenic diseases, and the children of close relatives" (Crunden, 17). Together with other remarkable women of her generation -- Ellen Gates Starr, Grace and Edith Abbott, Florence Kelly and more -- Addams was to begin to change this picture.

Jane Addams was born in Rockford, Illinois, the youngest daughter of a local businessman. Her mother died when she was an infant, and Addams grew up idolizing her father, John Addams. Crunden argues that many of Jane Addams' dominant characteristics were modeled on those of her father. "Like him, she, too, would be earnest, ethical, independent, and undogmatic" (18). When her father remarried, Jane disliked her new stepmother, who was an "example of the kind of woman approved in her day: cultivated, accomplished, appealing, and entertaining." For Crunden, Anna Addams provided Jane with a negative role model — she would grow up to be everything her stepmother was not (19).

Addams attended college at the Rockford Seminary, and shortly after her graduation in 1881 her beloved father died. During the next several years Addams tried to adapt herself to the life-style favored by her stepmother but grew increasingly unhappy. During a trip to Europe to round out her education she visited London's Toynbee Hall, the first settlement house, and on her return to the United States she and her friend Ellen Gates Starr determined to try to replicate this experiment in Chicago. They settled at Hull House, once the mansion of a wealthy businessman, now standing in the heart of an impoverished immigrant neighborhood on Chicago's West Side. By 1905, when Margaret Haley served as Dunne's emissary in approaching Addams about membership on the Board of Education, she was already one of Chicago's best known and most revered citizens.

Addams' view of education was a broad one; according to Cremin (175-76) she saw the settlement house both as a protest against a restricted view of education and as the living embodiment of an alternative view of education. In describing the breadth of Addams' views on education, Cremin contrasted them with the educational ideas of John Dewey.

> But whereas Dewey turned to a reconstructed school and a reconstructed university as levers of social change, Addams assigned what was at best a limited role to schools and universities in the cause of social reform and turned instead to settlements and similar institutions as educational forces that would energize the community to become itself the most potent of all educative forces. (179)

Addams' own writings are frequently concerned with educational issues. In her *Democracy and Social Ethics*, written in 1902, she set forth her position on the nature and composition of boards of education, an argument that might be expected to give some clues as to her own positions once she was appointed to such a board.

> Is it possible that the business men, whom we in America so tremendously admire, have really been dictating the curriculum of our public schools, in spite of the conventions of educators and the suggestions of university professors.... Has the workingman been silent as to what he desires for his children, and allowed the business man to decide for him there, as he has allowed the politician to manage his municipal affairs, or has the workingman so far shared our universal optimism that he has really believed that his children would never need to go into industrial life at all, but that all of his sons would become bankers and merchants? (190-1)

At the time of her appointment, Addams had already endeared herself to Chicago schoolteachers, and Margaret Haley made no secret of her reasons for wanting Addams on the Board. Haley (102) says that

> For several years, Jane Addams had been peculiarly trusted by the teachers of Chicago. On two momentous occasions, she had proved herself the true friend and wise counsellor of the Teachers' Federation, once when she had advised us to join the Federation of Labor, and again when she had, at a public meeting in February, 1905, assailed the existing and so-called "promotional" scheme which had been established in the schools by Edwin G. Cooley, the Superintendent.

Addams herself addressed the subject of her appointment to the Board in her own autobiographical *Twenty Years at Hull House*. Much of this portion of her narrative deals with her perceptions of some of the key issues that were to divide the Board during the tumultuous years that Dunne was mayor, including those cited by Haley: the role of organized labor in the schools and Cooley's promotional plan. However, she cites as her reason for accepting the appointment the hope that she "might be able to forward in the public school system the solution of some of these problems of delinquency so dependent upon truancy and ill-adapted education" (109). Much of Haley's subsequent disillusionment with "Gentle Jane" is, perhaps, simply the result of their differing sets of priorities.

The second Dunne appointment, Mrs. Emmons (Anita McCormick) Blaine was made, according to Haley, directly at Addams' request (102). Mrs. Blaine was the middle child of Cyrus Hall McCormick, inventor of the reaper, and was raised, according to her biographer, "amidst luxury that was saved from self-indulgence by the constraints of orthodox Presbyterianism" (Harrison, 3). When she was twenty-three, Anita married Emmons Blaine, the son of James G. Blaine, who had had a distinguished career as representative and senator from Maine and who had been the Republican presidential candidate in 1884. Emmons Blaine, while not as wealthy as his counterpart in the McCormick clan, was a prominent clubman and Chicago businessman, president of the Chicago Shipbuilding Company. One son, Emmons, Jr., was born in 1890. In 1892, Emmons Blaine was stricken with a variety of uremic poisoning and died, leaving Anita a widow at only twenty-six years of age. The marriage apparently had been a very happy one, and Anita was devastated. After living for a year in New England, near her husband's aging parents, she returned to Chicago in the fall of 1893 and built an elegant home on the Near North Side, close to that of her mother (56-71 ff.).

From this point on, much of Anita Blaine's life centered around her son. In her concern that Emmons Jr. (usually called "Em") receive the best possible education, Anita soon became acquainted with the writings of Colonel Francis Parker, and she rapidly became an enthusiast for his theories of child-centered education. By 1899, she was ready to underwrite a school which would give Parker the opportunity to put these theories into practice — and would give Em the type of education she wanted for him. Not content with simply providing the funds (her contribution is usually estimated at one million dollars) for the "Chicago Institute, Academic and Pedagogic," later to become the Francis Parker School, she was deeply involved in all aspects of the planning, from physical construction to selection and recruitment of faculty (Harrison, 86-95 ff.). Blaine's combination of interests in progressive education and social reform, plus her connections with Chicago's governing elite families, probably explains Addams' request for Blaine's appointment to the Board of Education.

The third woman appointed by Dunne to the 1905-06 Board was Dr. Cornelia DeBey. Together with Addams, Haley, trades union organizer Mary McDowell and social reformer Julia Lathrop, DeBey was one of the subjects of a 1906 article, "Chicago's Five Maiden Aunts," by journalist William Hard. The article's subtitle, "The Women Who Boss Chicago Very Much to Its Advantage," indicates the perspective from which Hard approached his topic. Unlike Crunden's neurasthenic maiden units, these five women wielded a great deal of political leverage and accomplished needed reforms by acting as the "maiden aunts" of the mythical Chicago "family." While from a contemporary perspective the article is occasionally patronizing and frequently chauvinistic, the author genuinely admires the accomplishments of his subjects. He describes DeBey in the context of an encounter with Philip Armour, head of one of Chicago's largest packing houses, when DeBey intervened in a 1904 meat-packers strike:

> Mr. Armour ... looked up to see standing beside him a very slight woman, with very delicate features. She might have seemed a candidate for a convent if she hadn't been careful, as usual, to wear a man's collar and tie and a fedora hat. (Hard, 1906, 62)

Armour had refused to meet with the strike leadership, even though the men were willing to capitulate and return to work. DeBey's meeting with Armour resulted in his agreement to meet with the president of the Butcher Workmen and to end of the strike, albeit on the employers' terms.

Cornelia DeBey came to prominence in Chicago by a very different route than the archetypal progressive Jane Addams or the patrician reformer Anita McCormick Blaine. DeBey was born in 1865 in the Groningen province of Holland, daughter of Bernardus DeBey, a minister of the Dutch Reform Church, who was also affiliated with the University of Groningen. In 1868, Reverend DeBey emigrated to Chicago, bringing with him about half of his Dutch congregation. Amry Vandenbosch, historian of the Dutch community in Chicago, says that the impetus for the move was the famine which struck Holland in 1867. Vandenbosch adds that for the next twenty-five years, "Rev. DeBey was the leader and counselor of the Dutch in Chicago and a man of great influence on the Dutch through the west." He was a "forward-looking man" who was soon embroiled in a number of the internecine quarrels which appeared to split the Dutch Reform Church regularly. One issue which may have been germane to some of his daughter's later thinking was his insistence on using the English language exclusively in church services, an innovation strenuously resisted by many of his compatriots (Vandenbosh, 18-23 ff.). The DeBey household consisted of the parents, six children and a domestic servant (Swierenga). Interest in the medical profession appeared to run in the family; one of her brothers became a physician and another a pharmacist, while an uncle was also a physician.

While little information is available about Cornelia DeBey's childhood, we can get some clues from a children's book, *Cornelia*, written by Lucy Fitch Perkins. Mrs. Perkins was the author of a highly successful series of children's books written over a period of about thirty years. She was the wife of Dwight Perkins, architect for the Chicago Board of Education in the early years of the twentieth century, and it was apparently through this connection that she became friendly with Cornelia DeBey, during the latter's term of office on the Board. Perkins used DeBey's reminiscences of her childhood as inspiration for the adventures of the title character in *Cornelia*, whose subtitle, "The Story of a Benevolent Despot", indicates much the same character type as Hard's later "maiden aunt."

It is interesting to note the roles that their fathers played in the lives of all three of these women. Addams clearly patterned her life and character upon her father; as Crunden observes, "She ... fused her image of her father with this sense of moral righteousness. Like him, she, too, would be earnest, ethical, independent and undogmatic." Her life reflected her father's sturdy, Protestant values. John Addams' remarriage, forcing Jane to share him with a woman whom she disliked intensely, set up, according to Crunden, a reaction against the frivolity of the kind of social life that most women of her class led. "When Jane finally came to feel that such a life as her stepmother led was profoundly immoral, she began the process of becoming a progressive" (18-9). For Anita Blaine, her father's Presbyterianism provided a counterweight to the demands of the social milieu in which the wealthy McCormick family moved. Anita and her siblings were brought up in an atmosphere in which family prayers and the strict observance of the Sabbath were central to family life, and in which the importance of spreading the word of Christ was evidenced both by their father's endowment of a Presbyterian Seminary "dedicated to strengthening conservative theology in the Midwest" and by the whole family's involvement with the church. "The children could not remember when their home was not a port of call for seminarians, ministers of the gospel, and especially missionaries from far-off lands" (Harrison, 20-1). And, as we have seen, the Rev. DeBey was progressive in many ways: active in promoting the "Americanization" of his Dutch Reform congregation and tolerant, as evidenced by the anecdotes related by Mrs. Perkins, of the activities prompted by his strong-minded daughter's social conscience. Although there is no evidence, it is certainly probable that he supported Cornelia's decision to attend medical school at a time when few women would have made such a choice, and his concern for the education of his children is demonstrated by his employment of a tutor for their instruction (Vandenbosch, 55).

Cornelia DeBey graduated from Cook County Normal School in 1889 and taught briefly in Chicago high schools and at the Normal School. She then returned to school and earned her M.D. from Hahnemann Medical College in Chicago, a school which trained homeopathic physicians, and she began practicing medicine in Chicago in 1895 (*National Cyclopedia*, 456).

During her years on the Board of Education, DeBey was regularly identified by the press as being the spokesperson for the Chicago Teachers' Federation. Certainly the Federation's *Bulletin* demonstrated its approval of her even before her appointment. A 1904 article wrote glowingly about DeBey after her intervention in the stockyards strike.

> ...when it become generally known that Dr. Cornelia DeBey was the woman (involved in the settlement of the strike) there has been a desire on the part of the public, to whom her name was not generally familiar, to know more of Dr. DeBey's personality.
>
> To social settlement workers, teachers in the public schools and, beyond all, the very poor in all the most congested districts of the city, Dr. DeBey has needed no introduction for the past eighteen years.... Her professional work has been wide and her standing among physicians has not suffered because she has deliberately taken on her own shoulders the alleviation of distress among the very poor...

The lengthy article goes on to celebrate DeBey's accomplishments in various fields. It touches briefly on her relationship to the schools and to education in general.

> Her interest in educational matters has always been great. Almost single-handedly she pushed through the state legislature the bill legalizing kindergartens as part of the public school system, and she led the fight that defeated the bill which sought to make married women ineligible as teachers in the public schools. To those who have any interest in the child labor problem it is unnecessary to point out how great a factor in the present improved conditions has been the help given by Dr. DeBey, who has spent every moment of her spare time in fighting this evil.

The article offers a final clue as to the positions DeBey would subsequently take as a member of the Board of Education. It quotes her as discussing the intransigence on the part of the employers which had led to the prolonged strike:

> "There is a type of man who becomes nothing but a machine. Business is his god, and it rules him always.

> He loses his human faculty, he has no sense of justice, and is powerless to analyze a situation.... They have no blood worth speaking of in their veins, and no gray matter worth mentioning in their heads. They are the stumbling blocks set in the path of progress to teach us the lessons of sorrow and patience." (CTF *Bulletin* 3, No. 31, September 16, 1904)

Contemporaries were quick to recognize the significance of Dunne's appointments. In the preface to her book *American Labor: Some Ethical Gains Through Legislation*, written in 1905, noted labor reformer Florence Kelley wrote

> While the present volume was in press, Mayor Dunne of Chicago appointed to the Board of Education of that city, Miss Jane Addams of Hull House, Mrs. Emmons Blaine and Dr. Cornelia DeBey. It remains to be seen how far these able and public spirited women may disprove the argument advanced in Chapter V. [This reference is to Kelley's discussion of the right of women to the ballot. Kelley argues that the first step in this direction is the appointment of women to public boards and commissions.]

Dunne's appointments also received considerable comment in the local press. *The Public*, whose editor Louis Post was an ardent disciple of Henry George and his single-tax proposals, editorialized that the appointments "mark the end of the rule of the tax dodgers over our public schools and the beginning of a regime of sound educational policies." To Post, the appointments were a "marked and gratifying contrast" to previous boards for two reasons: recognition of the role of women in the governance of schools, and the absence of the "canting" business element, which Post hoped meant a shift in emphasis so that the "interests" would give way to a concern for education (*The Public*, VIII, No. 377, June 24, 1905).

The *Chicago Record-Herald* also emphasized the significance of the appointment of three women as a "departure from custom" pointing toward a "general shake-up" of the Board and noted that having four women on the Board was a response to the appeal of the women teachers for fair representation. "The appointment of three women distinguished in educational, philanthropic and sociological circles will prove a welcome surprise to the women teachers of Chicago" (*Chicago Record-Herald*, June 16, 1905).

What actually occurred on the Board of Education over the three years that these women served demonstrated that, just as today, there was no monolithic "women's position" or feminine voting bloc. While the three were generally in sympathy with the women teachers who comprised most of the membership of the Chicago Teachers' Federation, the positions which they took on such issues as the "secret marking" of teachers, the democratization of the decision-making process in the schools through the establishment of teachers' councils, an experiment in segregating students by sex in an effort to curb the high dropout rate among boys, or the proper method of selecting textbooks, frequently diverged. DeBey tended to be the most contentious; her proposed plan for the establishment of teachers' councils early on demonstrated her support of the Teachers' Federation and set her at odds with the superintendent. DeBey became somewhat disenchanted with Addams, whose tendency was to seek compromise and consensus, and, when Dunne's second group of appointees took office in 1906, soon became identified with what the conservative press and churches called the "radical" group.

The reaction of the press to the three women was interesting. DeBey quickly lost the support of the newspapers and others who had lionized her at the end of the stockyards strike. Her eccentric mode of dress and forthright mode of speech easily lent themselves to caricature and misinterpretation. By October of 1906, little more than a year after her appointment to the Board, she and some of the other "radicals" on the Board were regularly attacked in the local press, culminating in an October 10 editorial attacking Dunne and his appointees: "When Mayor Dunne packs the board of education with freaks, cranks, monomaniacs and boodlers...he is doing much to bring Chicago into disrepute" (*Chicago Tribune*, 1906). Addams and Blaine typically remained immune from criticism by the press: the former presumably because of her national reputation, the latter as a McCormick, one of Chicago's leading families.

Mayor Dunne's attempt to reform the Board of Education by filling it with women, reformers and other "non-business" types came to a crashing end with his defeat in his bid for re-election in 1907. Dunne's successor, much to the delight of the local press, removed from office most of the "radical" members of the Board, including DeBey. Although this move was subsequently ruled illegal by the Illinois Supreme Court, so much time elapsed before the restoration of the ousted members that most of the reforms initiated by the "Dunne Board" were eliminated. Addams, DeBey and Blaine all left the Board in 1908: Addams to go on to wider activities in the peace movement, the Bull Moose Party and the civil rights movement, Blaine to continue her interest in progressive education as a private citizen, and DeBey to sink into obscurity. However DeBey apparently never lost her combativeness; during World War I she was several times to be brought into court because of her pacifist activities.

Mayor Dunne's attempt to challenge the prevailing wisdom of a "businessman's board" by installing women, reformers and other "non-establishment" types was short-lived and unsuccessful, in the sense that their proposed changes were not implemented at the time. But Cornelia DeBey's vision of teachers' advisory councils has become a nationwide reality; the arguments of Addams and DeBey against a sex-segregated school system in Chicago ultimately brought an end to the Englewood High School segregation experiment; Ella Flagg Young, chosen by the "Dunne Board" as superintendent of the Chicago Normal School, went on to become Chicago's first woman superintendent. There were no easy answers to many of the problems with which the "Dunne School Board" sought to cope; many of them are still unanswered today. But the three remarkable women appointed by Dunne to that Board amply demonstrated the capabilities of women in such roles; never again would it be quite as easy to ignore their voices.

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Censorship of Written Curricular Materials in Public Schools: A Historical Investigation of Legal Parameters

Robert C. Hanna
University of North
Carolina at Greensboro

Mr. Justice Brennan once affirmed that “‘one of the liberties we Americans prize most highly is our freedom to read what we wish and when we wish’”.[1] No doubt public school teachers would concur, for, while teachers recognize that anyone charged with defining curricula cannot possibly include all written materials ever produced within any given discipline, it is difficult to imagine implementing that curricula with restricted written materials for reading purposes. As soon as limits are placed on reading "what we wish," whether "we" refers to faculty or students, a liberty has been infringed upon. Or has it? Mr. Justice Brennan next noted the curiosity that “‘nothing in the body of the Constitution or the Bill of Rights says anything in terms about a freedom to read...Yet we know that such liberties are there just as surely as if they were expressly written into the First Amendment.’”[2] For good or ill, by the nature of their profession, public school teachers,librarians, and other educators can expect to find themselves at some time in their careers in the midst of an issue of censorship of written curricular materials. It is the purpose of this paper to investigate the historical legal parameters of censorship in general and the past twenty years of cases of censorship in the highest levels of federal and state courts in particular in order to inform educators of who attempts censorship in these precedent setting cases, how and why it is attempted, and with what degrees of success.

That an investigation and explanation of the processes of censorship of written curricular and library materials in public schools is important is made clear within the Statement and Principles on Academic Freedom and Tenure of the American Association of University Professors.

"'Institutions of higher education are conducted for the common good.... The common good depends upon the free search for truth and its free expression.'"[3] Although this principle is stated within the context of higher education, at all levels of education there is necessarily a relationship between searches for truth and written materials. Restricting or eliminating access to written materials reduces the likelihood of finding truth.

Before proceeding with the investigation, however, it is important to specify limitations of this particular investigation. This study will focus on the distribution aspect of censorship on occasions when written materials have been deemed appropriate public school curricular materials by any teachers,administrators, school boards, or students. Such an operational definition excludes cases which deal with the censorship of student newspapers, except as they may be referred to within cases relevant to this study. Another limitation of this investigation concerns a teacher's or student's oral use of possibly objectionable words contained in written materials. To the extent that a legal challenge is primarily focused on what is said as opposed to what is read, such cases as *Keefe v.Geanakos*[4] that involved a teacher who would not agree with a school committee's request to refrain from saying a vulgar term contained in a magazine article which he had assigned as reading homework, will not be considered. A final limitation is the exclusion of cases in which written materials are not added to a curriculum in the first place. A court ruled in *Minarcini v. Strongsville City School District*[5] and had its decision upheld two years later that censorship does not occur when a book has never been added to a curriculum.

Although it has been only in the twenty years from 1972 to 1992 that federal and state higher courts have specifically addressed the issue of censorship of public school written curricular materials, there are several earlier key US Supreme Court decisions involving schools which provided the foundation for the parameters which exist today. According to Mr. Justice Fortas, "as early as 1923, the Court did not hesitate to condemn under the Due Process Clause'arbitrary' restrictions upon the freedom of teachers to teach and of students to learn."[6] He was referring to the case of *Meyer v. Nebraska*, in which an Act of the State of Nebraska "making it a crime to teach any subject in any language other than English to pupils who had not passed the eighth grade"[7] was held unconstitutional.

In 1942, Mr. Justice Jackson delivered the opinion of the Court in *West Virginia State Bd. of Education v. Barnette* that the State of West Virginia could not compel students of the Jehovah's Witnesses faith to salute the flag at school,in part, because "the Fourteenth Amendment ... protects the citizen against the State itself and all of its creatures — Boards of Education not excepted."[8]

Mr. Chief Justice Warren maintained that "scholarship cannot flourish in an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust"and "teachers and students must always remain free to inquire, to study and to evaluate ..." in *Sweezy v. New Hampshire*.[9] Three years later, Mr. Justice Stewart quoted Mr. Chief Justice Warren's words and added that "the vigilant protection of constitutional freedoms is nowhere more vital than in the community of American schools" in *Shelton v.Tucker*.[10]

In 1967, the Supreme Court declared in *Keyishian v. Bd.of Regents of the University of the State of New York* that the State of New York's teacher loyalty oath was unconstitutional, and Mr. Justice Brennan stated that "our Nation is deeply committed to safeguarding academic freedom, which is of transcendent value to all of us and not merely to the teachers concerned." He interpreted the First Amendment as not tolerating "laws that cast a pall of orthodoxy over the classroom." Finally, in 1969, Mr. Justice Fortas delivered the opinion of the Court in *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District* that students, in the absence of actual or potentially disruptive conduct, may wear black armbands in school as a symbolic act. He wrote that "it can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate." He summarized all of the aforementioned opinions by adding that "this has been the unmistakable holding of this Court for almost fifty years."[11]

It was not, however, until 1972 that a major court case centered on a specific objection to a specific written curricular material. *Todd v. Rochester Community Schools* concerned a public high school student's parent who objected to the inclusion of *Slaughterhouse-Five* by Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.in the curriculum of an English course in which the student was enrolled. The parent argued that because the novel "'contains and makes reference to religious matters ... the use of such book as a part or in connection with any course of instruction by a public school district or system is illegal and contrary to ... the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the United States Constitution.'" Presiding Judge Bronson, noting that "some of the legal questions suggested by these proceedings have apparently never been squarely passed upon by any other court in this country," stated that "we have been cited no authority, nor has our own research uncovered any, which holds that any portion of any constitution is violated simply because a novel, utilized in a public school 'contains and makes reference to religious matters.'"[12] The judge sought and found no evidence that the book was taught subjectively by any teacher who either espoused or refuted the religious views contained in the book. Accordingly, the original course curriculum remained intact.

Another 1972 case, Presidents Council, *District 25 v. Community School Board No. 25*, concerned a school board's decision "to remove from all junior high school libraries in the District all copies of *Down These Mean Streets*, a novel by Piri Thomas." The board's decision resulted from parental objection to the book on the grounds that the book "would have an adverse moral and psychological effect on 11 to 15 year old children, principally because of the obscenities and explicit sexual interludes." A group of parents, guardians, teachers, and administrators sought to have the board's decision overturned, claiming that "the Board transgressed the first amendment rights of the plaintiff[s]." Circuit Judge Mulligan rejected this argument, noting first that:

> It is predictable that no matter what choice of books may be made by whatever segment of academe, some other person or group may well dissent. The ensuing shouts of book burning, witch hunting and violation of academic freedom hardly elevate this intramural strife to first amendment constitutional proportions,

second that:

> Here, patently we have no religious establishment or free exercise question, and neither do we have the banning of the teaching of any theory or doctrine.... A book has been removed but the librarian has not been penalized, and the teacher is still free to discuss the Barrio and its problems in the classroom. The action of the Board does not even preclude the teacher from discussing *Down These Mean Streets* in class or from assigning it for outside reading,

and third that:

> The administration of any library, whether it be a university or particularly a public junior high school, involves a constant process of selection and winnowing based not only on educational needs but financial and architectural realities. To suggest the shelving or unshelving of books presents a constitutional issue, particularly where there is no showing of a curtailment of freedom of speech or thought, is a proposition we cannot accept. [13]

Mulligan was satisfied both that the board had the authority to remove the book and that the resolution to do so was adopted in the proper manner.

Four years later, a tenured high school English teacher challenged his board of education's termination of his employment, in part, on the grounds that restoring a censored novel, namely *The Catcher in the Rye* by J. D. Salinger, to the curriculum was protected by the First Amendment and so could not constitute insubordination. In *Harris v.Mechanicville Central School District*, Justice Graves examined both how and why the book was removed from the curriculum in the first place and how and why the tenured teacher's employment was terminated. To begin, in 1973, a conference was held by the school principal, the school superintendent, and the teacher in order to review parental allegations that *The Catcher in the Rye*, an otherwise acceptable book, was being "misused" in class through emphasis on a particular word contained therein. Although "allegedly all parties to the conference agreed that the book would not be used in the curriculum again," the teacher, allegedly without the knowledge and consent of the school administration, restored the book in question to the English curriculum." The school board subsequently met and found the teacher guilty of the charge of insubordination.Although Graves stated that "the record indicates the school administration followed a formal procedure throughout the matter":

> The procedural forms of due process were followed with one major omission: There was no allegation or evidence that the board ever adopted regulations or produced a valid directive for teachers' guidance concerning the teaching of "Catcher in the Rye" or similar books suitable for substitution if possible. Before a charge of insubordination could be properly presented and sustained it would appear the aforesaid action would be essential.[14]

Therefore, the matter was referred back to the board for consideration of a penalty other than dismissal, provided by statute. It seems, then, that, in the view of the court,under certain circumstances, a book may be removed from a curriculum, if an acceptable substitute book is located for it.

In a second case in 1976, that of *Minarcini v. Strongsville City School District*, the United States Court of Appeals, Sixth Circuit, affirmed a lower court's 1974 ruling that no censorship results when a book is not added to a curriculum for the first time, but reversed that court's ruling that the school board had constitutionally removed books from the library. The books in question were *Cat's Cradle* by Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. and *Catch 22* by Joseph Heller. Circuit Judge Edwards found nothing inappropriate about how the board's censorship motions were made and passed during its meetings; rather, he remarked that "the Board's silence is extraordinary" as to why the books were voted to be removed. He concluded that "in the absence of any explanation of the Board's action which is neutral in First Amendment terms, we must conclude that the School Board removed the books because it found them objectionable in content and because it felt that it had the power, unfettered by the First Amendment, to censor the school library for subject matter which the Board members found distasteful." He then explained that, although there is no constitutional requirement for a school to have a library, once a library is established, conditions cannot be placed on its use in regard to "the social or political tastes of school board members."[15] Accordingly, the two novels were ordered reinstated.

The next case to come before a higher court was similar to the aforementioned *Minarcini v. Strongsville City School District*. In the 1978 case of *Right to Read Defense Committee v. School Committee*, a majority of the Chelsea School Committee, a committee directed by state statute "to purchase textbooks and other supplies for the schools,' voted to remove an anthology titled *Male & Female* from a high school library, after receiving a complaint from a parent. At issue was one poem in the collection, described as filthy, obscene, and disgusting. In seeking to keep the book removed from the library, committee members suggested that District Judge Tauro review *Presidents Council* from 1972. He did and found that the "defendants' heavy reliance" on the case "presumes incorrectly that the holding there would afford a school committee the absolute right to remove a disfavored book from a library, without any concern for the First Amendment rights of students and faculty." Unlike the school board's removal of *Down These Mean Streets*, the committee's removal of *Male & Female* was based neither on the criterion that the title was obscene nor on the criterion that the space occupied by the book was needed for other books. Tauro stated that "the record leaves this court with no doubt that the reason the Committee banned *Male & Female* was because it considered the theme and language of [a poem]to be offensive," and, drawing a parallel to Minarcini, stated that:

> The Committee was under no obligation to purchase *Male & Female* for the High School Library, but it did. It is a familiar constitutional principle that a state, though having acted when not compelled, may consequently create a constitutionally protected interest.

He explained that the constitutionally protected interest is "the right to read and be exposed to controversial thoughts and language — a valuable right subject to First Amendment protection."[16]

One year later, in *Salvail v. Nashua Board of Education*, a school board was challenged for removing not a book but a magazine from a high school library. Objections to *Ms.* magazine focused on sexual and political advertisements. District Judge Devine reviewed both why and how the action was taken by the board and determined that the board had erred in both respects. First, he cited *Minarcini*, as well as the more recent *Right to Read Defense Committee*, stating that once having created a library, a board cannot "place conditions on the use of the library related solely to the social or political tastes of Board members." He then focused on the procedure by which the magazine was removed and found and ruled that having adopted the New Hampshire State Department of Education's guidelines for review of any challenge to instructional materials, "the Board was required to follow them in its attempts at removal of *Ms.* magazine from the shelves of the high school library." The board had not, in fact, followed these guidelines and had simply passed a motion at one board meeting to cancel the subscription and remove all issues from the library, as was subsequently done.Devine ordered all back issues to be replaced, the subscription to be renewed, and the board "to follow the current guidelines relative to any complaints about any publication ... whether said complaints are generated by a member of the Board or by any other Nashua resident."[17]

The United States District Court, D. Vermont, decided *Bicknell v. Vergennes Union High School Board of Directors* three months after the United States District Court, D. New Hampshire, decided the above case of Salvail. Just as District Judge Devine had done, District Judge Coffrin reviewed *Minarcini* and *Right to Read Defense Committee* in determining whether or not a school board could remove *The Wanderers* by Richard Price and *Dog Day Afternoon* by Patrick Mann from a high school library, after it had deemed the books obscene and vulgar. Coffrin acknowledged that "those cases hold that although a school board can determine what books will go into a library, and may even determine whether to create a library at all, it may not exercise the same wide discretion in removing works from the shelves after they are purchased." He then rejected the applicability of either case, finding that "whatever merit there may be in such constitutional analysis, it is not the rule we are bound to follow in this circuit." He instead looked to the earlier case of *Presidents Council* and quoted the Second Circuit Court of Appeals' reasoning that "'some authorized person or body has to make a determination as to what the library collection will be'" and that the "'concept of a book acquiring tenure by shelving is indeed novel and insupportable under any theory of constitutional law we can discover.'"[18] Coffrin was satisfied that the school board had the authority to remove the two books and that the board followed proper procedure. The issue of why the books were removed, although brought to light during the proceedings,was held to be irrelevant.

A third case decided in 1979 was *Cary v. Board of Education of the Adams-Arapahoe School District*. At issue was whether or not high school teachers could continue to teach from ten textbooks which had been removed from the curricula of elective courses by a school board. Circuit Judge Logan ruled that, yes, they could, but only within the written guidelines of the school board, guidelines which specified that "'a teacher is free to comment upon, or to recommend that any student read any of the ten books,'" and that "'no student is prohibited from reading any book, except in class or otherwise for course credit.'" He reasoned that "if the board may decide that Contemporary Poetry may be offered; if it may select the major text of the course; why may it not go further and exclude certain books from being assigned for instruction in the course?" He further concluded that "the board was acting within its right in omitting the books, even though the decision was a political one influenced by the personal views of the members."[19]

One year later, in *Zykan v. Warsaw Community School Corporation*, at issue was a school board authorized removal, for no stated reason, and subsequent destruction in a public book burning of a textbook titled *Values Clarification*. There is no indication given in the case whether the book was removed from a classroom or the school library. Of the book burning, Circuit Judge Cummings commented that "no self-respecting citizen with a knowledge of history can look upon this incident with equanimity, but its relationship to the legal issues in this case is tenuous at best." Considering solely the removal of the book from the school, Cummings stated that "it is in general permissible and appropriate for local boards to make educational decisions based upon their personal social, political and moral views." He further explained:

> Noticeably absent from the amended complaint is any hint that the decisions of these administrators flow from some rigid and uniform view of the sort the Constitution makes unacceptable as a basis for educational decision-making or from some systematic effort to exclude a particular type of thought, or even from some identifiable ideological preference.[20]

Accordingly, the circuit judge ruled in the board's favor,being additionally satisfied that the board had followed proper procedures.

An entirely different approach to examining the constitutionality of banning a book from a high school library was taken by District Judge Cyr in *Sheck v. Baileyville School Committee.* Rather than focusing on the merits of prior cases supporting either "tenure" for books on the shelf or broad discretionary powers for local school boards, Cyr examined in more detail the Fourteenth Amendment's prohibition of states' depriving anyone of life,liberty, or property, without due process of law. When presented with undisputed evidence that the Baileyville School Committee not only voted to ban *365 Days* by Ronald J. Glasser for obscene language before adopting the Baileyville School Department Challenged Material Policy but also voted to retain the ban and not follow the policy after the policy's adoption, Cyr concluded that how the book was banned was unconstitutional. Interim injunctive relief was granted, requiring the book to be returned to the library shelf, for "the important principles of federalism, soundly approached, do not require that federal courts cede their constitutional role to local school boards."[21]

It was not until 1982 that the Justices of the United States Supreme Court decided in a 5-4 decision the Court's first, and as yet only, case "dealing directly with … the right to read"[22] in public schools. In *Board of Education, Island Trees Union Free School District No. 26 v. Pico,*[23] "the Court declared that while school boards can remove books from school libraries for vulgarity or educational unsuitability, 'our Constitution does not permit the official suppression of ideas.'"[24] Members of the board of education had "unofficially" directed that ten "anti-American, anti-Christian, anti-Sem[i]tic, and just plain filthy" books be removed from school libraries. Later, the board appointed a Book Review Committee to read the ten books and make recommendations about their future status in the libraries, but "the Board substantially rejected the Committee's report"and "gave no reasons for rejecting the recommendations of the Committee that it had appointed."[25]

The board's actions had been challenged before the District Court, which noted "'that statutes, history, and precedent had vested local school boards with a broad discretion to formulate educational policy'" and had concluded that "'while removal of such books from a school library may … reflect a misguided educational philosophy,it does not constitute a sharp and direct infringement of any first amendment right.'" The removal of the books had been thus allowed. The United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit disagreed, stating both that the board was "'obliged to demonstrate a reasonable basis for interfering with students' First Amendment Rights'" and that there was a need to determine whether the board's "'removal decision was motivated by a justifiable desire to remove books containing vulgarities and sexual explicitness, or rather by an impermissible desire to suppress ideas.'"[26]

The case, having been appealed to the Supreme Court,resulted in a plurality opinion. Justice Brennan, writing for the plurality, affirmed that "the only action challenged in this case is the removal from school libraries of books originally placed there by the school authorities, or without objection from them" and then went on to say:

> In sum, the issue before us in this case is a narrow one,

> both substantively and procedurally. It may best be restated as two distinct questions. First, does the First Amendment impose any limitations upon the discretion of petitioners to remove library books from the Island Trees High School and Junior High School? Second, if so, do the affidavits and other evidentiary materials before the District Court, construed most favorably to respondents, raise a genuine issue of fact whether petitioners might have exceeded those limitations?[27]

In answer to the first question, Justice Brennan noted that, according to the records, library use by students is voluntary. Because "the libraries afford them an opportunity at self-education and individual enrichment that is wholly optional," the attempt of the board members "to extend their claim of absolute discretion beyond the compulsory environment of the classroom, into the school library and the regime of voluntary inquiry"[28] may not be supported by the First Amendment, which "'protects the right to receive information and ideas. *Stanley v. Georgia*... 1969).'"[29] Nevertheless, the Court did not state that a board cannot remove library books.The key factor is why the books are removed. "We hold that local school boards may not remove books from school libraries simply because they dislike the ideas contained in those books and seek by their removal to 'prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion.'" If, on the other hand, books are removed "based solely upon the 'educational suitability' of the books in question, then their removal would be'perfectly permissible.'"[30] In this case, the books were returned because the decision to remove the books rested decisively upon disagreement with constitutionally protected ideas in those books," so the judgment of the Court of Appeals was affirmed.

While the above case of *Pico* marked the first time that the Supreme Court directly addressed an instance of censorship of books in a public school, the ruling concerned only instances of school boards' removing books from school libraries. Six years later, in *Virgil v. School Board of Columbia County, Florida*, the four plaintiffs argued that the judicial reasoning behind *Pico* should be applied to the School Board of Columbia County's removal of a textbook titled *The Humanities: Cultural Roots and Continuities (Volume I)* for passages in Lysistrata by Aristophanes and"The Miller's Tale" by Geoffrey Chaucer deemed immoral,vulgar, sexual, and "inappropriate to the age, maturity, and development of the students in question." District Judge Black, however, held that "this Court need not decide whether the plurality decision in Pico may logically be extended to optional curriculum materials. Kuhlmeier resolves any doubts as to the appropriate standard to be applied whenever a curriculum decision is subject to first amendment review." Black here referred to another case not otherwise relevant to this study, namely *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier,* which concerned censorship of student writing in a school newspaper. This point was "'that educators may limit both the style and content of curricular materials if their action is reasonably related to legitimate pedagogical concerns.'" Thus, the judge said the "removal of Volume I of Humanities was reasonably related to the pedagogical goal of keeping vulgarity and certain matters of sexuality out of the curriculum."[31]

Two additional cases were decided in the following year. The first is *Wexner v. Anderson Union High School District Board of Trustees,* which continued the focus on why a board removed books. At issue were books removed from a library for use in an elective developmental reading course with no assigned reading list. The board examined and removed five of seven books by Richard Brautigan selected for possible use in the course, objecting to obscenities and sexual references these contained. Writing for the majority, Associate Justice Blease focused on the question of whether or not a board can "remove books from the high school library which are not obscene" and cited a section of California's Education Code in ruling that the board did not have such authority. Presiding Justice Puglia dissented on the grounds that the court should have followed the guidelines of *Pico* and investigated "whether school authorities, absent sufficiently compelling reasons, were engaged in an attempt to suppress ideas for the sole purpose of suppressing those ideas."[32]

The second is *McCarthy v. Fletcher,*[33] which returned in part to the original 1972 focus on religious content. Presiding Justice Franson asked if "the board's decision to remove the books [*Grendel* by John Gardner and *One Hundred Years of Solitude* by Gabriel Garcia Marquez] rested either upon disagreement with constitutionally protected ideas contained in the books or upon the board's desire to impose upon the students a religious orthodoxy." However, since the school's superintendent/principal had taken it upon himself to delete the two books from the curriculum, "rather than submitting the evaluations and his recommendation concerning the books to the board, [he] essentially usurped the board's authority... contrary to the board's own policy." Accordingly, the trial court was directed to reexamine the facts of the case and determine why the board voted its acceptance of the revised curriculum.[34]

The final major court case of public school written curricular or library material censorship after 1972 was decided in 1990. *Roberts v. Madigan* was markedly different from the previous cases, inasmuch as all four books in question were entirely of a religious orientation. At issue were both Berkeley Gardens Elementary School's principal's various directives to fifth grade teacher Roberts to remove the *Bible in Pictures* and *The Life of Jesus* from his classroom and to keep his personal *Bible* "off his desk between 8:00 a.m. and 3:30 p.m." and "in his desk," and the disappearance of the school's library copy of the *Bible* after a parent conference.[35]

Circuit Judge McKay affirmed the district court's decision to remove the classroom books in question but to require the return of the *Bible* to the library, stating that"[t]he removal of materials from the classroom is acceptable when it is determined that the materials are being used in a manner that violates Establishment Clause guarantees."[36] In a dissenting opinion, Circuit Judge Barrett maintained that "[t]here is no basis, other than mere speculation, for implying, as does the majority opinion, that the practices in Mr. Roberts' classroom constituted religious indoctrination," inasmuch as "[t]he maintenance of the two challenged books in Mr. Roberts' classroom library was entirely passive in character, just as was Mr. Roberts' practice of reading his *Bible* during the class' 15-minute silent reading period."[37]

A review of the above fifteen cases which have come before the higher courts since 1972 reveals that 1) in every case except the first, a school board or employees of the school district took the initial steps to remove formally the written curricular or library materials in question, 2) every approach to censorship focused on removing entire books or magazines, not just sections of them, and 3) about half the cases centered on both how and why the decisions to censor were made, with the remaining cases focusing primarily on just one of these two aspects. Overall, with nine cases heard on appeal and six not, seven and a half rulings prohibited censorship and six and a half allowed it, with one case directed to trial court to determine why a board of education approved two instances of censorship, before finally ruling at that lower court level on the constitutionality of the censorship.

Clearly, the courts have yet to begin reacting uniformly in these cases when school officials have authorized the removal of written curricular materials from classrooms or libraries of public schools, and equally clearly, there has been since 1973 no legal activity initiated by parents, students, or tax paying community members in general to seek court directives at the highest levels to censor said materials in public schools. One must necessarily conclude that through 1992, no unified body of precedents has been developed and consistently relied upon. Wexner demonstrates that even the Supreme Court's one ruling is not necessarily being applied to the process of determining the legal parameters of censorship, and the most recent major case which "bordered on attempts at censorship" of *Cujo* by Stephen King in a public high school library, 1991's *Moore v.Terwilliger and Berryville Public Schools,* has not even been authorized for publication in the *South Western Reporter,* 2nd Series, even though the case was heard by the Court of Appeals of Arkansas, Division II, on appeal from the Arkansas Board of Review. Instead, this most recent case is"authorized for educational use only"[38] through Westlaw computer access and West Publishing Company's printed publications. It is necessary to turn to the expertise of legal scholars for insight into the future of public school censorship and recommendations based on *Pico* in particular and the other fourteen "official" cases in general.

Inasmuch as *Board of Education v. Pico* is as yet the only case heard and decided by the Supreme Court on the topic of public school censorship of written albeit library materials, any meaningful review of legal commentaries in an effort to ascertain what legal scholars expect in the way of censorship and the courts' rulings in the near future needs to begin with legal opinions written in light of *Pico.* Jane L. Wexton in the Spring 1984 issue of the *Hofstra Law Review* interprets the plurality's position, in part, as "a concerted effort to limit the nature of the substantive question before the Court, presumably wishing to limit the significance of the case as future precedent."[39] Specifically, she finds a major recommendation to make to "all local school boards around the nation," namely, "that library book removals must avoid the substantive effect of suppressing ideas," because, according to the plurality, the removal of a library book by a school board "violates the first amendment rights of students when the removal is motivated by the school board members' disapproval of the ideas"[40] contained in the book. In summary, Wexton maintains that:

> The plurality intimated ... that in making a removal decision, a school board should seek the advice of literary experts, librarians, teachers, and publications that rate books for schools. A board should also adhere to the book review policy, if any, adopted in the school district. Finally, a board should explicitly articulate its reasons for the removal decision.[41]

Donald J. Dunn, on the other hand, finds no such intimation on the part of the Court. In his article in the 1984/85 issue of the *Law Library Journal,* he predicts that"further litigation is a virtual certainty" because "the Court neither defined the parameters of this newly recognized right of access to information nor provided detailed quidelines [sic] for the standard review for such cases." Nevertheless, he offers his own recommendations, based on his interpretation of *Pico* and the other court cases.

He goes on to explain that:

> A mechanism for evaluation needs to be established. This mechanism could be a committee similar to the one used in Pico; however, the committee must be established prior to the time a title is called into question and should have developed some specific criteria for evaluating the suitability of the book. ... An informal or formal election of the membership from among the community is one possible approach. Another is to choose some members by election and some by board appointment. A librarian and at least one student in the school should serve on the committee, either as voting members or ex officio. Because of their training, law librarians could prove particularly helpful on such committees.

Finally, he suggests that:

> Actual decisions about a challenged title can be handled in at least two ways. The committee can make the final determination as to whether to retain a title or remove it, or in a less favored alternative, the board can overrule the committee only by a super majority. The reasons for the removal must be articulated in writing. Such structures give at least the appearance of objectivity and help to protect the board from later challenges of narrow-mindedness.[42]

Norman B. Lichtenstein in the Winter 1985 issue of the *University of San Francisco Law Review* builds on Wexton and Dunn's recommendations that schools should have previously established formal procedures for dealing with censorship efforts. He turns his attention to a rationale for responding to efforts at censorship. Acknowledging that in the 1970s and 1980s the "constitutional umbrella" was finally extended to children, he stresses that "children are treated differently when courts perceive that they lack judgment or capacity to act in their own best interests," so that "the age, maturity level, and mental ability of a child may affect the extent to which constitutional rights will be applied." He explains that books dealing with sexual issues may very well be appropriate for high school students and inappropriate for elementary school students. Equally plausible is the proposed use of a book which may require a certain minimum level of cognitive development. Barring such circumstances, however, Lichtenstein proposes an approach that requires

> ... that students challenging a censorship decision introduce some evidence tending to show that the action is not educationally supportable, but rather is ideological in character. At that point, the burden would shift to

> the school board to demonstrate that its action was supported by a "substantial and legitimate" educational interest and will not burden the learning process. Such an ... interest might encompass the absence of any educational value in the book, the obsolescence of the material or the age and deterioration of the volume.[43]

James C. O'Brien, in the July 1988 issue of *The Yale Law Journal*, prefaced his article with the observation that"Justice Brennan's opinion for the plurality in *Board of Education v. Pico* has confounded commentators." His concern for the future is not so much that school boards will not establish sound procedures and rationales for handling challenges to books, but rather that "officials might mask prejudices behind legitimate administrative or educational rationales,"or that some "members might refuse to articulate any rationale, leaving courts to rely on the crafted opinions of a few school board members."[44] Lichtenstein would seem to agree with this possibility when he says that "the difficulty is that intent is often complex and not easily established."

Finally, Malcolm Stewart, in the Winter 1989 issue of the *Journal of Law & Education* takes a completely different approach to the possibility of censorship of written curricular or library materials in public schools. Insisting that "the assertion that school board decisions are more likely to be ideologically motivated — even if it is true-does not establish a presumptive constitutional violation," he proposes that because "our nation's educational system presumes the desirability of community control over public education,"[45] the appropriate response to future instances of censorship should be more citizen involvement in the political process, presumably by teachers,librarians, and other concerned educators nominating and helping to elect school board members who support the freedom to read, and by attempting to influence those school board members who do not support this freedom. Stewart does not seem to support anyone's seeking redress through the courts.

All questions aside as to the practicality of specifications which Stewart would recommend that classroom teachers take in concert with librarians in anticipation of the need to protect and maintain curricula, it seems clear that the higher courts have promoted the possibility of an increasingly active censorship role for boards of education and school district administrators by specifying why and how they may legally censor written materials, while teachers and librarians are relegated to the passive role of waiting for certain circumstances under which they could seek legal redress and have some expectation that the courts might side with them. Of course, nothing would then prevent a board or administrator from censoring a title all over again by following a proscribed procedure and designating a different reason.

Given the infrequency which cases centering on censorship have reached the higher courts in the most recent twenty year period, not even averaging one case per year, and given the conflicting court opinions both among courts and within courts, including the Supreme Court in its only such case, it is apparent that a unified body of precedents cannot be developed before the turn of the century, even if this were a goal of the courts. The legal parameters of censorship to date indicate that until teachers, librarians,and other educators develop on their own an effective way to act instead of react to attempts at censorship, the "free search for truth and its free expression"[46] in public schools will remain at risk, higher courts notwithstanding.

ENDNOTES

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13. *Presidents Council, District 25 v. Community School Board No. 25*, 457 F.2d 289 (1972), 290-293.
14. *Harris v. Mechanicville Central School District, Mechanicville, Saratoga County*, 382 N.Y.S. 2d 251 (1976).
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18. *Bicknell v. Vergennes Union High School Board of Directors*, 475 F.Supp. 615 (1979).
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21. *Sheck v. Baileyville School Committee*, 530 F.Supp. 679 (1982).
22. Bosmajian, xi.
23. *Board of Education, Island Trees Union Free School District No. 26 v. Pico*, 102 S.Ct. 2799 (1982).
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25. *Board of Education v. Pico*, 2803.
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28. Ibid, 2809.

29. Ibid., 2808, referring to *Stanley v. Georgia*, 394 U.S. 557, 564, 89 S.Ct. 1243, 1247 (1969).

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32. *Wexner v. Anderson Union High School District Board of Trustees*, 258 Cal.Rptr. 26 (1989).

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Editor:	Joseph Watras School of Education University of Dayton Dayton, OH 45469-0510
Associate Editors:	Joseph Green College of Mount St. Joseph, Ohio
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From the Editor

Several people made possible this issue of the *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society.* Dean Ellis Joseph of the School of Education at the University of Dayton supported the project generously. The authors whose papers appear in these pages offered work of the highest quality. The editorial board and the associate editors worked diligently and carefully. The University of Dayton Printing and Design set the format of the journal and arranged for the printing.

The *Journal* offers an important outlet for mature scholars and for students beginning professional careers. In these pages, as at the annual meeting of the Society, papers of all types appear together each reinforcing the other.

Joseph Watras, editor
Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society

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Labor and Learning: Adult Education and the Decline of Workers' Education

Fred M. Schied
The Pennsylvania State University

Although American workers' education can be traced back to the early nineteenth century, the American Federation of Labor's interest and involvement in formal workers' education goes back only to the beginning of the twentieth century.[1] However, from the start, the AFL's attitude towards workers' education, especially an independent workers' education free from union control, was ambivalent.

The AFL's first significant dealings with workers' education occurred when Ruskin College was opened in Missouri in 1901. Under the sponsorship of the historian Charles Beard (a future president of the American Association of Adult Education) and Walter Vrooman, Ruskin College was based on Oxford University's famous workers' education college. Yet despite the fact that British unionists offered to support the college with an endowment, the AFL turned them down. Samuel Gompers, the AFL's longtime president, afraid of more radical elements, felt that the broad educational objectives of Ruskin were at odds with the organizations' business trade union orientation. For Gompers, the business of unions had little to do with education.[2]

However, if the leadership of the AFL was ambivalent towards an education designed specifically for workers, many rank and file members, as well as unionists outside the AFL, were not. After the First World War, a flowering of independent labor colleges and schools threatened the AFL's dominance over the labor movement. As early as 1915 Seattle and Wyoming unionists reported on a successful model of workers' education. The Seattle plan "formulated upon the theory that co-operation with existing organizations and associations would result in much helpful information and assistance with a minimum of expense" created an entire network of groups involved in workers' education, from faculty members at the University of Washington to labor choruses and music study clubs. Most interesting, the Education Committee sought to collect "a book, poem an essay or any piece of literature written by a worker." The Gompers controlled AFL response, ever skeptical of workers' education, was lukewarm. While praising the Seattle organizers, it offered little support.[3]

Other labor organizations were less reticent. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) founded its Workers University in 1917, offering a full course of study. By 1921, over two thousand people had attended the Workers University. The Women's Trade Union League, dedicated to the task of educating working women as to their rights as citizens and furthering unionism, was founded in 1906. Its curriculum included "folk dancing, labor chorus, and literary club along with trade union tactics and labor legislation."[4] Similarly, the Rand School of Social Sciences, affiliated with the Socialist Party, was founded in 1906.[5] But it was the ILGWU, a non-AFL affiliated union, which carried the banner of workers' education over the next decade. Their educational activities were developed under the leadership of Fannia M. Cohen. Cohen saw workers' education as a right to development in terms of culture as well as economic values. As a result, the ILGWU was among the first unions to inaugurate a system of workers' education for its membership. Its education committee declared:

> We make it clear to [workers] that the work of their Education Department is based on a conviction that the aims and aspirations of workers can be realized only through their own efforts in the economic fields, and that while organization gives them power, true education will give them the ability to use their power intelligently and effectively.[6]

The ILGWU publicized the idea of Workers' Universities so much that the AFL was forced to appoint a committee to investigate the idea of workers' education. This 1919 report noted that the ILGWU offered nineteen classes in English throughout New York City as well as courses "consisting of 10 to 20 lectures" on Social Interpretation of Literature, Evolution of the Labor Movement, and Social Problems, among others. In addition, the ILGWU offered educational theatricals "attended by an audience of from 500 to 1,000," and an Extension Educational Service was established by which "every local of the international can have educational activities introduced at their own meeting places." These activities usually consisted of "topics related to the worker and his conditions, like Trade Unionism, History of the Labor Movement, Industrial Democracy."[7] The same report documents activities in labor colleges in Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston and Los Angeles.

In 1920 it became one of the first tasks of the newly formed Committee on Workers' Education to organize a national conference dealing exclusively with education for workers. But first it was necessary to secure information as to "the extent and nature of the movement." The convention itself was to be held on April 2, 1921, so in January of that year questionnaires were sent to twenty-six educational centers located in twenty-two cities in the United States. The completed forms, which were returned by all twenty-six institutions, showed signs that there was a wide range of activity. Indeed, schools throughout the United States were represented, although Southern schools were noticeably absent from the list.[8]

The survey revealed a wide range of information. All completed questionnaires indicated that the major object of the schools was to "spread education among the rank and file." Sixteen considered the training of future union leaders as the major immediate goal, while only three regarded propaganda as a salient aspect of their activities. Most of the questionnaires indicated that the need for social and political equality in the United States could become a reality only through the means of a "constructive social revolution." The Boston Labor College was organized, according to its founders, with "the belief that progress for organized wage earners can be assured by social and industrial policies shaped by their own right thinking, and their ambitions for self-betterment must therefore include a concern for the higher training of the mind." Educators for the St. Paul Labor College designed their program to "provide first, trained and educated workers; second, to develop better citizens; third, to afford some enjoyment hitherto denied." Founders of the Workers College of Greater New York hoped "to train workers to think fundamentally and constructively about economic questions." Those forming the leadership of the Amherst Labor College offered classes for workers "as an expression of the belief that an opportunity for liberal education should be open to all who fell the need for it." and to establish a "working connection between Amherst College and a group of working men and women so that each may offer to the other the window of wisdom that has been gaining through its experience and the joint problem applied to the solution of problems that are common to all."[9]

The report showed that, in fifteen cities, classes met in union halls, while in thirteen cities they assembled in public school buildings. Others reported that classes met in libraries or "other rented facilities." The Rand School, The Work People's College of Duluth, Minnesota and Brookwood owned their own buildings. Union hall preference can be attributed to a perception of "great freedom and independence" from state run public schools, not to mention a general "fear of hostile interests." In addition, "workers are more at home in the labor halls."[10]

The first Conference on Workers' Education in the United States was attended by hundreds of "concerned and interested" parties. The opening statements of the Secretary of Amherst College Classes for Workers, F. Stacy May, addressed the pressing issue of the gathering. His comments were directed at the unfair nature of America's colleges and universities, for they "inevitably tended to reflect the needs and interest of the group for which they are intended." Moreover, "Every college offers and even requires many courses which are useful chiefly to maintain an established program that has come to be accepted as a necessary requisite of the educated gentleman and workers must counteract this particular prejudice so that a required course of study may contribute their culture in its broadest sense, doing much to make colleges genuinely useful organs of society."[11] Fannia Cohen, with an eloquence that initiated considerable applause, outlined the goals of workers' education:

> It has always been our conviction that the labor movement stands, consciously or unconsciously for the reconstruction of society. It strives for a new life. It dreams of a world where economic and social justice will prevail, where the welfare of mankind will be the aim of all activity, where society will be organized as a cooperative commonwealth, where a sturdy love and fellowship capable of enduring daily wear and tear will replace competitive greed, distrust, and selfishness. To attain this need, it is necessary not only to accumulate knowledge, but to develop a social consciousness the student must be trained for self-expression. He should obtain understanding of the great economic and social problems, and social facts which confront him.[12]

In Pennsylvania, where the Philadelphia Labor College enrolled 700 students by 1927, the Director of Workers' Education wrote: "The labor colleges have proven so successful that organizations from other cities are now sending in requests for the services of the [Pennsylvania] Department in order that they may established as labor colleges throughout the state." In Boston, the college's secretary wrote: "Behind it all was a response to a call for men and women who believed in and stood for the organization of the workers, who through its teachings should be more able to advance the interest of the cause they stood for, should be better fitted to hold their own in discussions and dealings with the representatives of the intellectual and moneyed classes whose interests do not always run parallel with those of the workers and whose sympathies are in opposition to unionism and all it stands for."[13]

Israel Mufson, a graduate of Brookwood Labor College, described a Saturday class:

> Serenely and with all the amenities of twentieth century civilization, problems are discussed in as good natured

> mind-meet-mind atmosphere as in the most learned of philosophic associations. It is strange to see jewelry workers, hosiery knitters, operating engineers, clothing workers, painters and what not grapple with such problems as race prejudice, the nationalization of European industries, court injunctions, coal, and on and on and on.[14]

At its peak in the late 1920s, over three hundred labor colleges were established with an estimated enrollment of over 20,000.[15] Despite the explosion of growth of labor colleges and the rather glowing 1919 report, the AFL stance continued to be ambivalent. After praising the ILGWU over "the feeling of the students that the classes belonged to them, that they were at home in them, and took collective pride in them," the AFL committee concluded that "But such classes should be considered a stop-gap. The sound solution is a progressive board of education, responsive to the public."[16] The AFL still considered education to be largely outside the framework of business trade unionism. An independent workers' education movement, with its notion of transformation and a broad definition of education, was viewed as a threat to the AFL's business trade union policy.

The AFL had good reason to be concerned. A.J. Muste of Brookwood College stated that workers' education can provide three functions: (1) make real the theory that education is for all people; (2) end the notion that education is simply preparation for life; and (3) end the idea that labor and culture don't mix.[17] Fannia Cohn, Education Director of the ILGWU, stated the objectives of the workers' education:

> Many realize that the object of our educational system at present is to adjust the individual to the environment with a view to perpetuating our social conditions. But the object of workers' education is rather to adjust the environment to the needs of modern life. We believe that our education program for our members should be based on their daily experiences around the industry in which they are engaged and the union of which they are a member.[18]

This note of social change was echoed by the workers. A comment by Stanley Dziengielewski, a member of the United Mine Workers of America, on workers involved in the labor colleges reflects this view: "From workers' education I want to get an interpretation of the world, and my place in it. In short, I want to know how it got this way: Why are we miners subjected to ninety-seven days of compulsory unemployment every year? Why, when we workers are jobless, must we also be breadless, homeless, and hopeless? They tell us that two hundred thousand of us miners are not needed in the industry. Why is this, and what is to be done about it?"[19]

The success of the labor colleges led to a series of national conferences on workers' education. The conferences resulted in the creation of the most famous labor college of all, Brookwood Labor College in Kantoh, New York and the founding of the Workers' Education Bureau (WEB). The goals of the WEB were to gather information on workers' education, to assist in the educational work of existing labor colleges, and to stimulate the creation of additional workers' education projects throughout the United States. A major effort of the WEB was directed towards curriculum development. The Bureau started a professional journal, Workers' Education, and published two sets of inexpensive and easy to read textbooks known as *Workers' Bookshelf* and the *Workers' Education Series.*[20]

The Workers Education Bureau and the Decline of Independent Workers Education

The AFL, while commending the growth of the labor colleges, continued to be skeptical of the labor colleges' efforts. Partly because of Samuel Gompers long standing anti-intellectualism and partly because of the AFL's established position that education was somehow extraneous to the labor movement, the AFL continued to balk at involvement in the workers' education and the WEB. However, by 1922 the AFL allowed its Education Department to cooperate with the WEB. The AFL soon made its presence known. By demanding a change in the constitution which gave the AFL additional seats on the WEB's executive committee, the AFL soon pushed the WEB to expel some of the more radical labor colleges from the organization, including the Socialist Party's Rand School and the International Workers of the World's Work Peoples' College. The AFL was slowly increasing its grip on the WEB. In a 1923 address to the Workers Education Bureau, Samuel Gompers argued that workers' education should focus on English literacy as opposed to politics. Workers' education should focus on technical and vocational training and leave "higher" education to the nations' colleges and universities. [21]

William Green, Gompers' successor as the AFL's president, continued the attack on the WEB. Green, a strong proponent of vocational training and a militant anti-communist and anti-socialist, seized on two reports that condemned the WEB's Workers' Bookshelf Series as being pro-Communist and anti-religious. These reports were gross exaggerations. Caroline B. Rose, in a detailed content analysis, shows that the books fall into the category of a rather mild socialism. Nevertheless, the result of this imbroglio was the increasing control of the WEB by the AFL.[22] The final battle occurred over the activities of Brookwood. Throughout the late 1920s, the AFL became increasingly concerned with the "radical" activities of Brookwood. Despite protest from the ILGWU and some of its own locals, the AFL withdrew all support from Brookwood in 1928. A year later, James H. Maurer, President of the WEB, resigned after a bitter despite with the AFL's representatives. Maurer claimed that the AFL was not interested in workers' education and that it followed reactionary policies, exemplified by its withdrawal of support from Brookwood. In fact, Maurer continued, since the AFL's involvement in workers' education, there had been a decline in the numbers of individuals participating in workers' education. The AFL, through Spencer Miller, Jr., the WEB's president, now had almost complete control of the organization.

While individual labor colleges continued to exist and in many cases thrive, they had lost their central coordination agency, the Workers Education Bureau, to an AFL more interested in vocational and technical training than in broad based education for social change.[23]

The American Association for Adult Education and Workers' Education

The relationship between the American Association for Adult Education and elements of the workers' education movement were problematic from the beginning. In 1925, when the Carnegie Corporation was beginning its meetings to found what would become the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE), A.J. Muste, chairman of the faculty at Brookwood Labor College stated: "We here at Brookwood are very doubtful indeed whether we are going to go along with the American Association for Adult Education, which is expected to spring out of these conferences." He noted that the individuals present at the conferences "pretty definitely represent a point of view which is not the same as ours." Andrew Calhoun, Brookwood's Director of Studies, stated, "There can be nothing but war between the Adult Education movement with its 'civic' aims and the Workers' Education movement, with its class mission."[24] The battle over who controlled the WEB was carried out in the Bureau's relation to the new adult education association. The WEB was split on whether to accept a grant from Carnegie. After a lengthy debate, the WEB voted 40 to 20 to accept the grant, with the conservative AFL representatives voting in the majority, over the vocal opposition of the independent workers' educators led by Muste.

Worker educators mistrusted adult education because of its connection with the Carnegie name. Carnegie was reviled for his anti-union stance and his brutal repression during the Homestead strike, less than thirty years earlier. The independent workers' educators were anxious about their own movement just at the time professional adult education was created. The independents had begun to lose control of the WEB and, due to the anti-union climate of the 1920s, many independent labor schools were forced to retrench.

Moreover, Muste, along with other workers' educators interpreted Carnegie's vision of adult education as instruction to improve moral development for people too old to attend schools. The means to provide this education, which included universities, open forums, movies, YMCA's and correspondence study, seemed not only too amorphous to Muste but also smacked of an authoritarian delivery system in which the instructor's job was to impart knowledge and deliver material. Workers' education, on the other hand, was purposeful. The object was "to orient the worker, to place him in possession of the principal facts of his environment, to help him interpret the world in which he lives and to make him articulate."[25] The teacher in workers' education was to be a comrade of the students, learning as much from them as they did from him or her. However, pressure for funding and the triumph of business unionism led to an uneasy relationship between workers' educators and adult educators. While they participated in the early conferences of the AAAE and even held offices in the association, their primary commitment was never to adult education but to workers' education, a quite different endeavor.[26]

Workers' Education in the 1930s

Workers' education underwent a dramatic change in the 1930s. First, the Depression resulted in severe financial constraints for all unions. Second, the lack of support from existing organizations led to a decline and finally a collapse of the independent labor colleges. Finally, the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) in the mid 1930s led to the integration of the educational programs within the process of organizations.

Moreover, universities became increasingly involved in the workers' education. Fernbach, in a study commissioned by the National University Extension Association, documents the increasingly instrumental and utilitarian view of education taken by such institutions as the University of Wisconsin's School for Workers. Labor unions, too, became more functionalist in their approach. Thomas Linton, in a classic examination of the United Auto Workers union, notes how the major concern of the UAW was to educate its stewards and to command the loyalty of its members.[27] The transition in formal workers' education activities was now almost complete. Instead of a richly varied independent network of educational institutions which had a vision of a transformed society, much of formal workers' education had become a narrowly focused form of steward training and technical education.

ENDNOTES

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Business Influence on Educational Reform and the Forgotten Teacher

Robert Taggart
University of Delaware

In the current national debate over educational change, reformers repeat their old demand that teachers produce a better product for the nation's sake, or else we will all suffer adverse economic consequences in our standard of living. Throughout the twentieth century, educational reformers with the strongest presence are business men and women who seem to have a single solution to the problem of low educational quality: run schools more like businesses, so that good products will replace bad products. Unfortunately, corporate reformers tend neither to trust teachers nor to understand the conditions and culture of teaching. They tend to view teachers as much the problem as the solution, and they rarely consult teachers (Duke 1984). As a result, teachers resist change, the reforms fail, and reformers renew their attacks on "obstinate" educators, who then have even less reason to modify their behavior.

Terrell Bell, former U.S. Secretary of Education under President Reagan, stated recently that the "ten years since the publication of A Nation At Risk have been a splendid misery for American education," in which "we have not given up the quest to shape education in the super-efficient enterprise that it must become if America is to keep its proud place of leadership in the marvelous Information Age of this decade and beyond" (Bell 1993). In this statement, Bell continues the nineteenth century tradition of gauging educational success by its "businesslike" efficiency. There is a crucial difference, however, between current reformers and those of the century before. Educators and businessmen have in the distant past most often equated efficiency with the process and structure of schooling rather than with student results. In the One Best System, classification, grading, mass uniform recitation, and large buildings were the expected norms (Tyack 1974). When the economy changed enough for specialization to be necessary by the early twentieth century, students became differentiated into parallel courses of study leading to different but presumably equally valuable outcomes. Efficiency became scientific management, a processing of a product with clear quantifiable standards. Despite the efforts of pedagogical progressives, the fundamental definition of effective education as "efficient" did not change until after the reports of James B. Conant (1959, 1961).

In the 1960s, critics from the left argued that the process of education in most schools was inhumane, which led to an inhumane society, and that curricular differentiation led to different outcomes that precluded equality of opportunity, much less equality of outcomes. They also pushed for subsidized school choice so that lower income people could attend the same fine schools as the higher social classes. By the 1970s, Leon Lessinger led the attack with his demand for *Every Kid a Winner!* He insisted that educators be held accountable not only for good teaching, but also for successful outcomes for all students (Lessinger 1970). After continued pressures for equity during the Seventies, many critics argued that educators had sacrificed quality for equality (Ravitch 1983). So, by the early Eighties, with an economy stressed by inflation, stagflation, and Japanese competition, business reformers again took charge with the famous *Nation At Risk* report (*Nation At Risk* 1983). Now it was time to regain ground lost to the liberals by increasing educational standards with a simple solution to "mediocrity": get teachers and students to work harder (Shor 1986).

It was not that business values of efficiency, quantifiable standards, clear-cut goals, and cost-efficiency had ever died. Performance and competency-based education continued in the Seventies, a method which de-emphasized teachers' discretion over classroom techniques for a mechanical view of pedagogy set by experts outside of the school. But now the call was for longer school days and years so that all would have time to strive for higher standards. From the tradition of scientific management came demands to maximize productivity, increase regulatory and prescriptive approaches to education with mandated curricula, and introduce tougher tests, closer supervision and more explicit directions (Johnson 1990). The old hierarchical approach became reified.

In 1983, the Education Commission of the States released *Action For Excellence; A Comprehensive Plan to Improve Our Nation's Schools* (Education Commission 1983). Released the same year as *The Nation At Risk* report, Action For Excellence provided a more prescient agenda than its famous cousin, as its recommendations were more followed in states over the next decade. After all, not many districts have appreciably extended their school days or years as the *Nation At Risk* demanded. Both reports start with the same assumptions, however.

Action For Excellence stated that the nation had structural unemployment because "our factories, techniques, and workers are obsolete." It also called for a "high average level of capability" of "highly skilled human capital," with workers capable of analysis and problem solving so to have "sustained economic growth which is essential" for us to compete in the international sphere. In other words, Japanese and German products had become preferable to American products because of American workers' ineffectiveness rather than poor management decisions that had, in fact, often made it difficult for labor to perform at its highest level. As usual, business people found it easiest to blame the producers of human capital, the schools, rather than those who managed that capital, themselves.

In true business fashion, *Action For Excellence* insisted that schools' failure to produce a high quality product was due to an "absence of clear, compelling and widely agreed-upon goals for improving educational performance," with the result that schools "taught the six R's: Remedial reading, remedial 'riting, and remedial 'rithmetic." As a result, there was a large gap between what educators thought they produced and what business people believed was needed in the work force. The report's eight recommendations provided a blueprint for change that reformers believed could be achieved in a measurable fashion. Recommendation number one called for state governors to improve all education below college, by promoting policies and alliances "to improve education on behalf of economic growth" and see that every school district develops a plan for improving education, focussing on jobs and economic growth, with specific objectives, timetables, and methods for measuring progress in the local schools.

Other recommendations have also been followed in many states: to create more effective business-education partnerships, to fight for higher teachers' salaries, smaller class size, more math and science in the curriculum, more demanding academic requirements, and improved local school leadership, and to promote the sponsorship of projects by business to reduce absenteeism and dropouts while recruiting minorities for college and teaching. Business reformers have yet to attain widespread career ladders for teachers, an objective measurement of teacher performance, or the abolishment of social promotions, but they have not given up on these items.

Their biggest demand is to provide "quality assurance" in education for students and teachers, and this remains the most difficult goal to attain (Berenbeim 1991b). The elusiveness of "quality assurance" is a problem for reformers because they want, in Larry Cuban s words, to move beyond First Order changes to Second Order changes. Most school reforms never go beyond First Order change, which attempts to "enhance existing arrangements while correcting deficiencies in policies and practices." It is much harder to complete Second Order change, which seeks to "alter the fundamental ways in which organizations are put together" with new goals, structures, and roles (Cuban 1991). Examples of "fundamental" changes include nongraded schools, vouchers, and open enrollment districts, all of which exist at some level around the nation. It also includes school "restructuring," in which school staffs have the power to make personnel, curriculum, and budgetary decisions in a spirit of true professional autonomy. The latter reform is not only one of the most publicized goals of school reformers but also one of the most difficult to attain, as it means the potential destruction of the old bureaucratic, hierarchical arrangement so ingrained in American public education.

In the decade since *Action For Excellence*, corporations have undertaken four phases of reform in education in which they have proceeded from episodic interventions in specific schools to a systemic renewal effort. In the first phase, business leaders used a scattershot approach in which they mentored individual students to build self-esteem and good work habits as a method of raising test scores, promoted the use of technology, and trained Head Start personnel. In the second phase, corporations attempted to get educators to apply "sound management principles" so that schools could operate more like well-run companies. This meant the application of rational methods such as setting a well-defined mission supported by coherent theory, an organization plan, and protocols for evaluating results or "outcomes," as they call it. For example, they often tried to reform an entire school district through staff development workshops in Total Quality Management (Berenbeim 1991a).

The third phase has consisted of public policy initiatives in which new intermediaries such as the National Alliance for Business and the Business Roundtable endorsed tax increases for schools and developed state initiatives for programs such as school choice in Minnesota and Wisconsin (Lund and Wild 1993). The most noticeable event during this phase was the adoption by the National Governors' Association of the National Goals 2000 in 1990.

The National Goals 2000 showed its business influence as it stated that the time had come "to establish clear national performance goals in education that will make us internationally competitive" (DeLoughry 1990). Proponents insisted that we needed to "break the mold--decisively in a new way" to turn schools into a "high-performance organization" (Doyle 1991). The business led reformers believed the six goals would be adopted by the legislatures of all fifty states, each of which would require all local districts to subscribe to the goals if they were to receive additional state or federal funds to improve themselves. Experts in six core subject areas were to set "new American standards" toward which all schools would aim, with sanctions set for schools that failed to attain those standards (Clincy 1991). The irony is that the reformers also called for restructuring of local schools that would be "free" to attain the national and state goals, while facing censure if they failed to do so.

A recent Conference Board analysis of 175 corporations demonstrates that business leaders believe some reform goals are much more important than others, based on clear needs of their respective industries. Goal 4, calling for American students to lead the world in math and science ability, is the best-supported goal, as it leads directly to future high-technology employment. Goal 3, calling for more challenging subject matter mastery of English, history, and geography, is also well-supported as businesses provide thousands of employee volunteers and sponsor recognition awards for students and teachers. Goal 5, adult literacy, also receives strong support through local improvement programs of businesses. These three goals all have direct consequences for business as these goals promise to produce workers for businesses. In addition, each of these goals can be monitored through measurable results.

The least supported goals have been the social goals: Goal 6, drug, alcohol, and AIDS prevention, and Goal 1, that "all children will start school ready to learn." Of least concern are programs aiding teen mothers, apparently because the payoff is indirect for the workforce (Berenbeim 1991b). It is clear that corporate reformers interpret the major task of education as the production of skilled future employees. They honor other goals through rhetoric but are willing to do little to solve the underlying problems facing families or even admit problems exist such as social, economic, and racial inequities and lack of employment at wages able to support a family.

Business reformers operate under the myth that if there were only more academically skilled workers then youth in depressed areas would work themselves out of poverty, even though there are few business people willing to locate in such neighborhoods, and little hope that these people can move out of such places. Equal opportunity and social mobility of American citizens are not significant goals of the corporate community; global economic competitiveness and U.S. work force requirements are the real goals, as The Conference Board admits. They want schools to produce highly skilled workers who can "process information" and "make informed decisions and understand the effects of those decisions" (Berenbeim 1991b). Presumably, if workers only thought better, corporations would outperform foreign competitors.

The fourth phase of business-led reform is the current campaign for systemic change. This includes national and state "benchmarks" and a "restructured" workplace which gives teachers more responsibility as front-line workers as well as accountability for results. The expected results include less bureaucracy, more innovation, and enhanced competition among students, teachers, and schools. Ideally, school administrators would facilitate rather than supervise teachers, who would "coach" students into learning. All educators and students would also aim toward national standards. To this end, past U.S. Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander persuaded Congress to establish the National Council on Educational Standards and Testing. NCEST is to supervise eight committees whose members will set standards for subject areas. As of yet, despite the leadership of Diane Ravitch, the Congress has not funded assessment projects, but the corporate reformers will continue to press the issue (Ravitch 1993).

A major reform influence is the U.S. Business Roundtable, a group of more than 200 corporate CEO's. The Roundtable made a ten year commitment to work for educational reform. They developed a list of Nine Essential Components of a Successful Educational System, which has been used by many state Business Roundtables as a guide for school reform. They began by reiterating the corporate reform assumptions that all students "can learn at significantly higher levels" which will be attainable because "we know how to teach all students successfully." School performance must be "outcome-based", with strong assessment strategies, major staff development, increased technology use, and a reward/punishment system to motivate educators, as well as expanded pre-kindergarten programs and health and social services "sufficient to reduce the barriers to learning" (Delaware Business 1992).

Since the Business Roundtable intended that state-level corporate reformers would follow its lead, it is instructive to look at the case of a single state, Delaware, to see how reformers' assumptions are being put into practice. The Delaware Business Roundtable and Delaware Chamber of Commerce organized the Delaware Business/Public Education Council in October, 1990. A subgroup released a survey in March, 1992, noting weak skills in high school graduates seeking jobs, including writing, listening, and work habits (Delaware Business 1992). This report is reminiscent of progressive-era surveys by such men as Abraham Flexner and George Strayer that invariably showed a gap between the operation of an ideal school system and the current situation, which reformers then proposed to alleviate through expensive reorganization (Tyack 1982).

The Delaware Business/Education Council released the Delaware Gap Analysis in 1993, similar to other states' "gap analyses," undertaken by the national Business Roundtable. As elucidated by the survey, there is certainly room for improvement in Delaware's educational system. Math scores in 1993 were just below the national average, their lowest level since 1972, while Delaware's graduation rate was twenty-fifth in the nation. In order to close the distance between current educational performance and the ideal "world-beating" academic standards of National Goals 2000, the report suggested several costly reforms, totalling $55,000,000, equal to 4% of the entire state budget (Hornbeck and

Anderson 1993).

The most expensive reform listed in the report is the institution of year round schools for at-risk students, who represent about one-third of all students in Delaware. This is a refinement of the 1983 *Nation At Risk* report that insisted on more time in school for all students. The next most expensive reform is a complicated program to provide financial incentives for teachers to reward whole-school performance of at least 2% per year, which would hold teachers and principals accountable for results derived from working together rather than from pitting teachers against one another for merit pay.

Other reforms include state or districtwide mentors to assist schools in trouble, and negative consequences for schools that consistently fail their students, including a state takeover in the worst cases. As the authors mention, being the hard-nosed businessmen they believe they are, there will be "no excuses accepted for lack of student achievement" (Hornbeck and Anderson 1993).

One can see the business mentality of these reforms: set clear goals, rewards, and punishments and positive results will follow. Unfortunately, in education, the products are vaguer, since teachers deal with young humans and not mechanical objects to be made, marketed, and sold for profit. Corporate executives, of course, see this fuzziness as a problem of description, not of reality (Carnoy 1990). If educators would only make their goals clear and apply effective procedures, then the products will improve, they reason. The Delaware Gap Analysis states that each school must make an annual "profile report," to include the dropout, graduation, and attendance rates, postgraduate success, and quality of citizenship. It adds that each school should not be compared with others, but only with its own past performance. Since the practice for years in Delaware has been to publish school test results in newspapers, which invites comparison, it is hard to see how competition will be avoided. Perhaps this kind of pressure is what the reformers have in mind anyway.

In order to set clear goals, reformers lobbied the state government to organize the New Directions for Education in Delaware program in 1992 to set high standards in several subject areas, modeled directly on the National Goals 2000 list of subjects. Led by the state superintendent and State Board of Education, four Curriculum Framework Commissions will set "clear, rigorous standards" by 1995 in math, science, social studies, and English/language arts that "all children should know and be able to do" (New Directions 1992). The Commissions include teachers, content experts, and community representatives in a New Standards Project, similar to that in twenty other states. They are to set prototype tasks and field test them so that by the 1996-97 academic year, there will be performance-based assessments in place. By that time, schools will be "restructured" so that each school will have a shared-decision making system of teachers, administrators, and parents, with guidelines set by school boards. There is supposed to be decisive school-based authority over staffing, curriculum, scheduling, and the budget. The hardest part may be setting measurable and meaningful assessment procedures and goals.

Most recently, Governor Carper named an Education Improvement Commission to recommend specific changes as to school decision-making, accountability, and finance so that the legislature can implement them by 1996. The three subcommittees are all co-chaired by corporate executives and educators, with education administrators prominent as committee members. It remains to be seen whether the education administrators will use their knowledge to promote change or to delay it. It is particularly unfortunate that few parents and only one teacher are members (Dennison 1994a). After all, the point of the Commission is eventually to involve parents, teachers, and principals in restructuring the relationship between the state and local authorities, and to develop a Goals 2000 State Improvement Plan that must be submitted to the U.S. Department of Education for funding (Kesler 1994). It is ominous that the Governor has warned reformers that the state cannot afford all of the new initiatives without diverting funds from current programs. As an answer to such concerns, the new Commission is expected to identify "efficiencies" in education as part of its charge, which may include consolidation of the current nineteen school districts, an increase of discretionary funding from the state to local districts, and automatic increases in property taxes--all potential political bombshells that may prove disruptive to the entire reform effort. There has also been a school change initiative project in Delaware called RE:Learning in eighteen schools for the past two years, and a Principal's Leadership Academy at the University of Delaware to train cohorts of administrators as local change-agents, though mostly from other states.

Despite some attempts to change schools, there has been little attention by business reformers in Delaware or elsewhere to the real world of teachers or the conditions within schools. If these continue to be ignored, as they have been consistently by corporate reformers for years, then teachers are likely not to cooperate with reformers. As Ashton and Webb state: "The worth of ecological reforms ultimately will be determined by the effects they have on the classroom behavior of individual teachers" (Ashton and Webb 1986). Business reformers do seem to understand that teachers have a difficult job, but they fail to comprehend the full complexity of the task. A report of the Committee on Economic Development recognizes that "teachers face huge new responsibilities" that "far exceed the expertise or control of the classroom teacher," including special education and a decline in family stability. But then the report states disingenuously that "these are appropriate roles for teachers, and their compensation should reflect their responsibilities," as if more pay would somehow make up for the teachers' extreme vulnerability in situations in which they control only a few of the student variables (Committee for Economic Development 1985). Corporate reformers tend to view school success in almost solely academic terms, whereas teachers see student development as much more than test scores. In interviews with more than fifty teachers, Susan Johnson found that the one theme that unified public school staffs was caring for children, which does not translate well into specific, accountable goals (Johnson 1990). Teachers want to see long-term improvement in children as students and to "make a difference" in students' lives as whole persons, not just in students' ability to attain a certain score on a particular exam (Cohn and Kottcamp 1993).

In addition, classrooms are complicated, fluid places in which a teacher may have up to 1000 interpersonal interchanges a day (Jackson 1969). In such a situation, increasing academic expectations without commensurate control over the inputs means teachers are expected to achieve more without more resources or time, which results in a decline in morale, that can then devastate a teacher's effectiveness or even her will to remain in the profession (Carnegie 1988). As a Delaware state senator stated this year, "Business people need to go to the schools . . . and understand just what is happening in education if they expect teachers to listen to them" (Dennison 1994a).

Corporate reformers fail to appreciate that teaching conditions must be improved before granting teacher autonomy or expecting major changes in teacher behavior. Though one report does recognize that teachers need "good, clean conditions," effective instructional conditions must include more than new paint and light bulbs (Committee on Economic Development 1988). Teachers are even more concerned with time, control, resources, and interruptions to their day, and lack of good conditions in these areas can lead to burnout. In a survey of former teachers, poor working conditions that interfered with instruction was the primary reason teachers left the profession (Harris 1985).

The biggest problem for teachers is the lack of time to do all the tasks they want to complete, as well as those required as a condition of employment. About one-third of teachers in an NEA survey mentioned that they lacked sufficient time for direct instruction, nearly half stated they did not have enough time for class preparation, and more than half said that they constantly or often lacked enough time to counsel individual students or to grade classwork (NEA 1988). Many teachers believe that fragmentation of the school day is the greatest source of stress, because it interferes with attempts to keep a schedule. There also is little or no time set aside for collaboration on a regular basis, as in other professions (Johnson 1990).

Teachers also complain of a lack of resources. An NEA survey reported that a third of teachers believe a lack of space in classroom, storage, and special activity areas poses both quantity and quality problems, and that there are insufficient funds to purchase supplies or equipment (NEA 1988). Few schools provide professional work space for all teachers, with easy access to telephones, computers, or photocopying. Few elementary teachers are free from clerical tasks, whereas secondary teachers are often expected to supervise extracurricular activities for little or no compensation (Johnson 1990). In addition, unlike customers or employees of a firm, children are usually required by law to attend school, are subject to fewer sanctions, are offered fewer extrinsic rewards, and are new each year to the teacher. Teachers also have less control over students than executives have over subordinates, as well as more conflicting goals (Shedd and Bacharach 1990).

Reformers answer that if only educators would clarify their goals, then the tasks could be measured and attained more easily. The problem is that the teacher's job entails many tasks and expectations not set by her that are often in conflict. She is to achieve equity and excellence, promote subject matter acquisition and problem-solving techniques, academic mastery and social skills, independence of mind and conformity to socially accepted behaviors, while maintaining self-esteem and discipline in each child. As Shedd and Bacharach state, few occupations combine intensive, nonroutine problem solving with the management of relationships of large numbers of people. Teachers must be instructors, counselors, and supervisors at one time, and produce solutions to myriad problems with little help (Shedd and Bacharach 1990).

In Delaware, as elsewhere, corporate reformers reply that educators will be able to overcome many of the problems they face through a restructuring of power. Each school site will gain control over more of the variables that confound the teacher's job. Collegiality will be encouraged so that problems can be diagnosed and solved more quickly, enhanced by the clear and attainable goals and incentives offered by the state. Many questions remain, however. Will the academic competencies be set too rigidly or too high for most students to attain? Will the outcome-based assessments be measurable, and if so, be considered efficacious by educators at the school level? Early results are not encouraging. State education officials released results in August 1994 of the second Interim Assessment which show no significant change from the initial assessment of 1993. Since teachers have not had time to change instructional techniques or goals to fit the new assessment procedures, the results are not surprising. But the results as published in the newspaper make the schools look bad and are not likely to increase teachers' desire to be cooperative with reformers (Dennison 1994b). In addition, even if school restructuring results in a noticeable increase in professional control at the local school level, will teachers be able to set their own agendas for solving their problems?

There is little historical evidence that corporate reformers either understand or even respect what teachers do. Why else would there be such a penchant for state and federal standards? Unfortunately, if the current expensive reform package is implemented in Delaware, and if the predicted improvements do not materialize, once again the frustrated teachers will be blamed, and we will continue to expect the schools to attain social and economic results they are incapable of achieving without significant changes outside of the schools (Reitman 1992).

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Teachers Unite:

The 1977 Strike

in Cincinnati

Susan Martin Macke
Indiana State University

In the late 1980s the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers (CFT) became a nationally recognized partner in education reform both for its participation in a cooperative style of negotiations[1] and its development of programs designed to promote the professionalization of teachers. A Rand Corporation study reported that the CFT is a "highly influential union" and that union leaders, such as CFT President Tom Mooney, are "indispensable players in the improvement process from the very beginning."[2]

This position of influence, however, had not always existed; rather, it is in large part due to the nineteen day teacher strike in 1977 when over half the teachers took a stand to gain a public forum for their concerns and to fight for contract provisions that would correct the prevailing economic injustice for teachers, as well as increase their influence in school matters. The striking teachers overcame conservatism and individualism, characteristics traditionally associated with teachers,[3] and realized that they must look beyond their own classrooms to the political and economic issues of the school district for the sake of all teachers.

Teachers nationwide had begun to challenge the traditional educational bureaucracy in the teacher power movement of the 1960s and 1970s when they took to the streets and closed schools. Many teachers acted upon the belief that "power is not *given* to a group. It is *taken* by it."[4] By the early 1970s teacher strikes numbered approximately 130 per year.[5] In 1978 teachers were the most militant public sector groups, conducting 264 of the 481 strikes that year.[6]

Naturally school boards considered these challenges from teachers a usurpation of their traditional authority and resisted with all lawful means.[7] When teachers gained collective bargaining rights, "a realignment of power relationships"[8] occurred, which gave teachers some influence within the bureaucratic hierarchy through the provisions negotiated in their contracts.

This paper will show how the power relationship between the teachers and the Board of Education was altered by the 1977 strike in Cincinnati. In spite of full use of its legal and management prerogatives, the

Board of Education was unable to break the strike. Equally as detrimental to the Board of Education was the loss of public support and trust. The striking teachers' unified and determined stand for economic justice, improved teaching and learning conditions, and some voice in school matters earned them the support of many community members and resulted in some significant contract gains. Consequently the CFT gained power in school matters and gained recognition from community members for its commitment to quality education. Without this strike, the CFT's role as a full partner in education reform a decade later would not have been possible.

Educational Decline

During the 1970s the nation experienced a severe recession that impacted heavily on some school districts. Cincinnati Public Schools, like other urban school districts, were fraught with economic problems. Ruinous decisions of the Board of Education since the mid-1960s had produced a city school system with buildings in a state of disrepair[9] and a school program that was "inadequate and below par."[10] Teacher morale was low due to large class size, with an average of twenty-eight; class time reduced by one period since 1971; some teachers' loss of their free period;[11] and no raises in some years in the early 1970s.[12] An Ohio Education Association salary survey of major cities in 1977 ranked Cincinnati teachers lowest in salaries.[13] During the 1970s many teachers left Cincinnati Public Schools for more lucrative positions in the suburbs.[14]

This dismal salary level did not exist for Cincinnati administrators, however, who were ranked by the Ohio Department of Education in 1977 as the highest paid among the city districts in the state. Nor were they experiencing cutbacks. Since 1972 the school district had lost 156,661 students and 184 teachers but had added thirty-four administrators, including a new layer of bureaucracy to serve a host of new alternative programs.[15]

Since achieving collective bargaining rights in 1968, the conservative Cincinnati Teachers' Association (CTA) had negotiated teacher contracts. From 1968 to 1974 teachers became increasingly dissatisfied with these negotiations and began to consider the militant CFT as a viable alternative. In 1976 the CFT membership of 1,200 surpassed, for the first time, the CTA membership of 850 out of a total of 3,000 teachers.[16] In November of that year teachers elected the CFT as its bargaining representative, twelve years after its founding. CFT President Roger Stephens immediately issued a public statement that the union's goal was to "teach the board a lesson or two" and "to stop the fifteen year decline in the quality of education in Cincinnati."[17]

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Because of the union's history of militancy and open criticism of the administration, the CFT threatened the power of the Board of Education by its mere presence at the bargaining table. The Board of Education wanted to preserve its management control, contain the influence of the CFT, and restrict economic concessions. Provocation, preparation, and punishment all played part in the Board of Education's negotiation and strike breaking strategies. The CFT, on the other hand, had teacher unity and perseverance to support its efforts during the strike. Thus, each side used every legal means to challenge and test the other. As a result of the strike, power was realigned in Cincinnati Public Schools, whereby teachers gained support from community and negotiated contract provisions that increased teachers' voices in school decisions.

Negotiations Begin

Negotiations began on December 16, 1976. The CFT demanded a 16.5 percent "catch-up cost of living raise" because teachers' cumulative raises from 1974 to 1977 had amounted to 11 percent, which was 16 percent below the increase in the cost of living.[18] In addition, the CFT sought major noneconomic issues that included binding arbitration in all contract matters, a lowering of class size from an average of twenty-eight, some input into the teacher transfer policy, and a larger role in developing educational policies through teacher building committees.[19]

On December 31, 1976 the contract expired. The CTA had negotiated a contract for 1977, including a 3 percent raise effective January 1, that was contingent upon their being elected the bargaining representative. When the teachers voted for the CFT, they were gambling that the union could negotiate a better raise. Clearly the CFT had to prove itself to the teachers[20] who were anxious to have a new contract and a raise.

The Board of Education, on the contrary, had no motivation to proceed quickly with negotiations. Without a collective bargaining law in the state,[21] the Board's members could control the negotiations both in timing and content. Prolonging negotiations allowed the Board to exert management control, to save money by postponing a raise, and to test the new bargaining representative.

For two months the Board of Education limited the negotiations to noneconomic issues. Negotiation of economic issues was begun in March, which coincided with the preparation of the annual budget. Superintendent James N. Jacobs expressed "deep concern" on March 7 that there was no money in the proposed 1977 budget for teacher raises[22] and offered to open the financial books to the CFT.[23] The teachers were "riled at the district's 'poor mouth'"[24] story because there was a $7.3 million surplus from 1976,[25] and the 1977 budget was only $5.8 million more than the previous year.[26]

Teachers took action. On March 15, 350 teachers attended the Board of Education's budget proposal meeting, while 500 to 600 others picketed outside,[27] which "raised the specter of a strike."[28] Slogans on signs included "Teacher Families Get Hungry, Too," "You Get What You Pay For," and "The Federation is Fed Up." One reporter noted that the teachers' "show of unity and strength . . . (was) quite impressive"[29] and that "teachers do not quite trust the board . . . they feel the budget should reflect negotiations, not the negotiations reflect the budget."[30]

At the meeting the superintendent expressed "anguish" over the teachers' plight. Board of Education members insisted that they wanted to give teachers a raise but argued that there was no money. They passed the 1977 budget, providing no funds for teacher raises.[31]

To win community support for its position the CFT tried a new strategy. On March 20, it placed in two newspapers an advertisement that asked, "Will teachers have to strike?" It summarized Cincinnati teachers' low wage status and charged the Board of Education with fiscal mismanagement.[32] The Board responded that the advertisement was "distorted."[33]

Negotiations dragged on as teachers worked without a contract and without a raise. After 100 hours of negotiations with little progress,[34] the Cincinnati teachers met on April 6 to consider a strike. CFT leaders charged the Board with provoking a strike. Stephens rallied the teachers saying, "If teachers are ever to have a good contract, we're going to have to make it stick now, this year, this spring."[35] Teacher James Chapman said, "I am ready to strike for a better tomorrow."[36] Teachers generally felt that a strike was the only way to get the Board of Education to listen to them. Eighteen hundred of the district's teachers were in attendance, and approximately 85 percent stood to show their support for a strike,[37] expressing their belief that it was time to take action for the future good of all teachers.

At first the CTA, with a membership of about 850, gave conditional support for the strike[38] but later withdrew it. Their support proved unnecessary because 1,700 teachers participated in the first days of the strike, showing broad based support.

Teachers Strike

The strike began on April 13, 1977. The administration was prepared and was able to keep all schools open,[39] a crucial part of the Board of Education's strategy. Throughout the nineteen day strike about half the teachers were absent, with a high of 57.5 percent at the beginning and a low of 41 percent at the end.[40] Teacher absence at individual schools ran as high as 80 percent.[41] Custodial and lunch room worker absence averaged 33 percent,[42] and student absence ranged from 40 to 50 percent.[43] Nevertheless the schools remained open, allowing the Board of Education to claim victory. Equally important, the Board could identify striking teachers, a vital factor in withholding pay, accumulating strike savings, and taking legal action against strikers.

At the end of the first day, the Board of Education sought a temporary injunction,[44] a strategy that had been instrumental in ending the five day teacher strike in 1968. This time, however, the court did not act quickly. Meanwhile, the Board refused to negotiate, saying that it had to prepare for the injunction hearing.

On the fourth day, the Board of Education took action to further punish striking teachers, beyond loss of pay, by threatening to cancel their health insurance coverage after May 4.[45] Although legally entitled to fire the striking teachers under the provisions of the Ferguson Act, the Board's members chose the threat of an injunction and the loss of health insurance, probably because they expected to receive support from the court and because it would have been difficult to replace 1,600 teachers.

The Board of Education prepared for the injunction hearing but was unprepared for the judge's decision. In an opinion startlingly different from Judge Bert Long's ruling in the strike of 1968, Judge Frank M. Gusweiler stated that the Board of Education's case was "utterly frivolous" and "one of the saddest cases I've ever seen." He denied a temporary restraining order against the striking teachers, stating that it "would accomplish nothing but would add to the utter chaos that both sides have created. You should solve it yourselves" (emphasis added).[46] Striking teachers, who had been prepared to defy an injunction,[47] were elated. Board of Education members, five of whom were lawyers, were anything but elated. Board member J. Howard Sunderman stated, "I am surprised and disappointed. It is clearly an illegal strike and I had expected that it would be enjoined."[48]

Times had changed since the 1968 strike's injuction. The use of an injunction, the strongest weapon of a school board in the 1960s, slowed somewhat in the early 1970s[49] because it was not shown to prevent or shorten strikes. Judges in the 1970s, highly visible in elected positions, tended to reflect society's more sympathetic attitude towards public employees' right to fair bargaining. Many judges, like Gusweiler, began to use more latitude in their responses to requests for injunctive relief as they became "aware of the power-distributive aspect of their decisions."[50]

Tension Mounts

Having been denied the restraining order, the Board of Education filed an appeal and moved into a phase of action that involved taking increasingly stronger punitive measures against the striking teachers. On the sixth day, the Board cut off the striking teachers' medical insurance coverage, two weeks earlier than it had originally stated, and threatened to fire the striking teachers.[51] With renewed vigor, the Board used its economic and legal power, hoping to break the strike and perhaps the union.

As a result, tension escalated between striking and working teachers who saw the strike from very different perspectives that were usually irreconcilable. Picket line abuse, mostly of a verbal nature, began on the sixth day.[52] Several striking teachers subsequently filed suit, including one who had been hit by an automobile driven by a working teacher.[53] Several teachers involved in the strike who were interviewed by the author described the strike as "very acrimonious"[54] with a bitterness between those strikers who "feel that they got everything for others then and now and those who said, 'I can't afford to strike.'" Some relationships between former friends who took opposite ides in the strike were "never the same again"[55] and "even today are still cool about it."[56]

The strike had one positive effect--camaraderie--among a community of strikers who felt "an excitement that only insiders understood."[57] Sustained by their camaraderie, striking teachers endured the struggle and the difficult times, achieving a unity that made the strike and its outcomes possible.

Five Strikers Fired

The picket line abuse provided the Board of Education with an opportunity to take further action against the striking teachers. On the eighth day, the Board announced its plan to fire five teachers for unprofessional behavior during the strike, three of whom had filed suit against working teachers.[58] The Board described its intentions as "routine" but the CFT considered it to be an "overt act of intimidation . . . designed to scare the other people back."[59] The tactic was largely unsuccessful because the number of strikers did not significantly decrease during this time.

The announcement provoked the ire and action of members of the community. Two hundred citizens, some of whom had walked with teachers in the picket lines,[60] gathered on April 23 to form the group Citizens for Responsible Education and to make plans to attend the forthcoming Board of Education meeting.[61] Angry citizens and over eight hundred teachers picketed and packed the Board of Education's meeting the following day.[62] Citizens angrily interrupted the meeting, and Board of Education President Henry C. Kasson said, "The Board will not be shouted down . . . we will not be intimidated nor will we run the public out of the meeting." When these citizens repeatedly attacked the Board for "failure to bargain in good faith," Kasson responded, "It's like we are the bad guys and not the illegal strikers."[63] His plea for sympathy neither persuaded the community members, nor did the public outcry dissuade the Board of Education, which voted six to one to fire the five teachers, further alienating community members of Citizens for Responsible Education.

At the same meeting the Board of Education also stated its intention to demand open negotiations, according to the two year old "sunshine laws," that permitted open negotiation sessions for public employee contracts.[64] The CFT opposed open negotiations and so did federal mediator John Wagner, who declared on April 26 that the media would not be allowed at the negotiations. Thwarted in this effort, the Board of Education then refused to negotiate except in open sessions and did not return to the bargaining table until the sixteenth day.

Throughout the negotiations, the Board of Education never offered to give a raise retroactive to January 1. Rather, it offered only two kinds of raises: a "strike savings" raise that would be equivalent to the amount of money saved during the strike and an "if-come" raise based upon possible revenue income from the forthcoming levy.[65] This strategy could explain why the Board of Education continued to drag out the negotiations during the strike--it was accruing the strike savings to finance a raise and gaining support for passage of a school levy.

During the weekend, five hundred citizens, teachers, students, and labor leaders gathered at a rally on Fountain Square.[66] Teachers also held a rally to hear speakers including Albert Shanker, president of the AFT, who encouraged them to stand their ground and reminded them of the long-term goals of their militancy. The striking teachers remained steadfast in their commitment to bring about change for all teachers.

Injunction Granted

Finally, on May 3, Judge Gusweiler issued a restraining order, but he stated, "I can find no evidence that either side has made a serious effort to accommodate a positive result."[67] Although balanced in his criticism, he had favored the teachers and their collective bargaining efforts by having given the negotiations process more time. Stephens stated that "this is the toughest day of the strike that will be the real test of our courage and convictions. Defiance is justified because when you have a just cause, you have an obligation to disobey a law in an effort to change it." One news article reported that "teachers walking the picket lines say the decision to disobey the court order was not a hard one to make."[68]

Most of the striking teachers defied the court order, and Stephens was prepared to go to jail. Only 125 teachers returned to work,[69] while 1225 teachers continued to strike.[70] A news reporter noted that "the union's loyal supporters have sacrificed a full paycheck . . . the CFT's strength has been impressive . . . . Even board members admit that they didn't expect it without CTA support."[71] Board member Edward Geers said he "had hopes for a lot more . . . if 100 is all there is, I can't say that I'm overjoyed . . . . I hoped that about a half would return."[72]

The Board of Education did not seek contempt charges, partially for fear of provoking "martyrdom"[73] if teachers were sent to jail. Clearly the stamina, determination, and commitment of the striking teachers, as well as their financial sacrifice, impacted on the Board and proved stronger than the legal power behind the injunction.

Ending the Strike

After six days of refusing to negotiate, the Board of Education's stalling techniques were no longer tolerated. On the sixteenth day, the federal mediator Wagner required round-the-clock negotiating in private.[74] Two days later, the CFT rejected an offer that the Board of Education considered "fair and reasonable."[75] In response, the Board used its power to end the strike and voted unanimously[76] to "unilaterally . . . implement their contract terms effective immediately."[77] Again threatening to fire the striking teachers, Kasson stated, "We are ultimately going to end the strike . . . (even though) there may be teachers no longer employed by the system picketing."[78] Angry citizens picketed his apartment that night.[79] Expressing "widespread indignation" over the unilateral settlement, one thousand CFT members voted "overwhelmingly" the next day to continue the strike.[80]

On May 8, the CFT negotiating team obtained several changes in the Board of Education's settlement offer. On May 9, teachers voted to accept the contract offer. Thus, a nineteen day strike ended.

Highlights of the final contract settlement as stated in the *Federation Teacher* are as follows:

1. Wages: 6% pay raise effective immediately and a 3% raise retroactive to Jan 1 if the school gets any additional money from any source by Dec. 31.
2. Arbitration: Tenured teachers who are dismissed may go to binding arbitration. Other grievances regarding contract violations may go to advisory arbitration with the Board of Education having the final say.
3. Shared authority: teacher building committees will meet monthly to make recommendations about the contract, educational policies, and programs in the school.
4. Class size: no agreement was reached on this issue.
5. Teacher transfers: seniority will be the basis for determining voluntary transfers.[81]

In terms of teacher work conditions, the 1977 contract defined by the minute the length of the school day, outlined detailed procedures for student discipline and high school student absences, and required that any grade given by a teacher can be changed only with the principal's initials.

Strike Overview: Gains and Losses

One way to determine who "won" the strike is to compare the initial demands of the CFT with the final contract provisions. In this respect the Board of Education was the winner. The contract, generally considered by the CFT to be weak,[82] definitely favored the Board of Education in economic terms because the six percent raise, "strike-savings raise," had cost nothing, being entirely paid by the strikers with the $1.5 to $1.8 million saved[83] from their withheld wages. By negotiating an "if-come" raise, the Board did not place any burden on the existing budget and also guaranteed strong teacher support of the levy.[84] In addition community members would more likely vote for the levy because the strike had dramatized the teachers' need for a raise. The Board of Education had also been able limit the arbitration demands of the CFT and had totally ruled out consideration of class size, an issue with major economic as well as pedagogical ramifications. Based upon these provisions, the Board negotiated a contract that was economically in its favor. In these terms, then, teachers "lost" the strike.

Teachers, however, won in several significant areas that would prove instrumental in establishing the role of the CFT as a partner in education reform in the late 1980s. Several aspects of the contract provided "basic building blocks"[85] in contract language that enhanced teachers' rights, according to Tom Mooney, a member of the 1977 negotiating team. The contract included significant language that enhanced teachers' voices in school matters at the district level and gave teachers more control over their work. It was agreed that long-term planning was "essential for an efficient and effective education program" and that "any Board of Education committee shall include representation from the Federation." The contract also stated that "all teachers have the right to scrutinize the entire budget for their schools."[86] By the late 1980s the involvement and the credibility of the CFT in matters of education reform were taken for granted by community members.

Of long-term importance were the newly created teacher building committees that provided a forum for teacher voice in building policy. Even though teachers were limited to making recommendations to the principal, these committees prepared the way for the creation in the 1980s of district-wide committees with equal teacher-administrator representation and an equal voice for teachers in making recommendations to the superintendent in matters related to school reform. In this way the traditional imbalance of power was reduced.

Another important gain for teachers was the support of the citizens who became an attentive audience when teachers expressed their concerns about the quality of education. In the early 1980s the CFT enhanced this community support by developing a coalition with

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citizens to pressure the Board of Education finally to take action about class size and grading.

The Board of Education, on the other hand, provoked community criticism and even outrage with its strikebreaking tactics and negotiation stalling techniques. In addition, public attention drawn to previous Board decisions that favored management over teachers and students further alienated citizens. Consequently the Board lost public trust, and the teachers gained a realignment of power in community support.

None of these teacher gains would have been possible had the strikers capitulated. Their commitment to economic justice, improved teaching/learning conditions, and teacher voice combined with their willingness to make personal financial sacrifice earned the respect of community members. The school board members also learned that the united striking teachers were not going to return to a subservient role in the education hierarchy. They had been willing and able to challenge the power of the Board of Education. The 1977 strike provided the foundation for the next ten years of CFT activism, which further realigned the power in the educational bureaucracy in Cincinnati to establish the CFT as a significant partner in school reform in the late 1980s.

ENDNOTES

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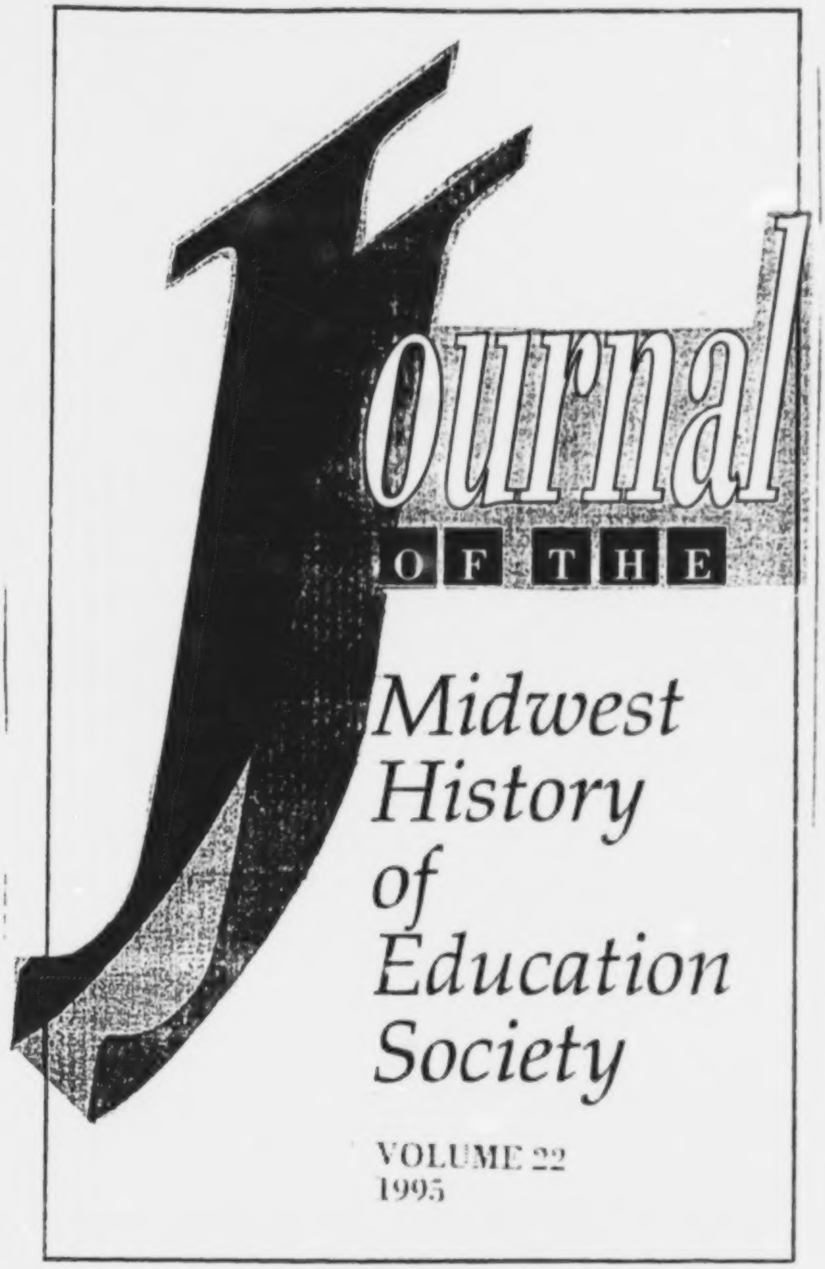

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The State and Popular Education in Wisconsin: Teachers' Institutes, 1880–1920

Jim Carl
University of
Wisconsin-Madison

Teachers' institutes were the dominant form of teacher education in Wisconsin in the late nineteenth century. This was especially true of teachers in rural areas, who would be adjudged poorly educated by today's standards. A normal school education was a rarity for teachers in the common schools until well into the twentieth century. Most rural and village school teachers had neither access to a high school education nor the option of attending a county training school for teachers until the 1920s, when these two forms of schooling became widespread. During the period between the Civil War and World War I, teachers' institutes were ubiquitous. To use Dane county in 1887 as an example, 257 of the county's 425 rural teachers attended institutes that year, while only 67 teachers had attended or graduated from a normal school. Even in the city of Madison, only six teachers out of thirty-nine attended or graduated from normal school; and Madison's teachers received much of their training through "institute work" at weekly Saturday morning meetings.[1] For most people seeking employment in rural schools, teachers' institutes were the only form of formal teacher education available. In the late nineteenth century, teachers' institutes played an important role even for teachers in Wisconsin's urban schools.

In spite of the past popularity of teachers' institutes, much of the history of teacher education ignores their role. Unfortunately, there is sometimes a tendency for historians to investigate only those institutions which exist and flourish, albeit in altered forms, at present. In the history of teacher education, then, research has often centered on the growth of normal schools and university schools of education, in part because of the roles these institutions played in the systematization and professionalization of public education. Often neglected by the historian, at least until recently, have been those public school institutions that have, for all intents and purposes, ceased to exist: the one-room rural school and the teachers' institute.

Yet studying the alternatives to the modern educational system can also be a fruitful method of gaining insight into school and society: first, because a focus on unsuccessful educational institutions illustrates conflicts within education, and second, because these past "failures" may serve as guideposts for current educational reform. Teachers' institutes were written about extensively in the nineteenth century because many administrators viewed them as a viable form of teacher education.[2] Few histories of teacher education of the past 20 years devote attention to teachers' institutes, the exceptions being Paul Mattingly's "Educational Revivals in Antebellum New England," Wayne Fuller's *The Old Country School*, and Kenneth Zeichner's "The Role of the Teacher's Institute in Nineteenth Century Wisconsin."[3] These three outstanding works provided a starting point for this article.

In the process of investigating teachers' institutes, a central question emerged: Why did teachers' institutes fold? I argue that teachers' institutes, after a half century of variegated existence, came to have no place in the professionalization ethos of both the normal schools and the state Department of Public Instruction (DPI). Increasingly, other forms of teacher organization began fulfilling similar social outlets for teachers. From 1910 to 1920, normal school administrators and the state superintendent began to extricate themselves from the business of organizing and conducting teachers' institutes because these local affairs could no longer enhance the status of much of Wisconsin's educational leadership centered in normal schools and cities.

Some of the causes of the demise of teachers' institutes are found in moves to consolidate rural schools, to credential country teachers beyond passing grades on yearly exams, and to supervise teachers in rural schools. Thus teachers' institutes went the way of the one room school house and the county superintendency. This explanation is not enough, however, because teachers' institutes continued to survive even after the normal schools and state authorities withdrew official support. In the end, the teachers stopped attending because of the availability of other forms of educational and social outlets, including local County Training Schools for Teachers, regional teacher associations, teacher reading circles, and the rise of mass entertainment.

This article describes teachers' institutes, discusses their importance to the rural teachers who attended them, and examines the links between the institutes and the state normal schools and DPI. Through an investigation of these three areas, I conclude that 1) by their nature, teachers' institutes were neither prone to bureaucratic control nor suitable for the dissemination of a professional body of knowledge, and hence, became increasingly anachronistic to the growing system of public education,

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and 2) teachers stopped supporting the institutes as other educational institutions and forms of popular entertainment, providing similar functions, grew in size and scope.

Teachers' Institutes in the Late Nineteenth Century

Perhaps the most striking feature of teachers' institutes in Wisconsin was their multiformity. Teachers' institutes varied in length of time from one or two days to three or four weeks. Their curricula were characterized by a tension between remedial academic work and professional development. Their tone was often hortative, as they spread the message of the common schools. Others again were designed to make the teaching methods in the rural schools more uniform. Some were designed to attract new people to teaching, while others were centered on more experienced teachers only. Superimposed on this picture of teachers' institutes as diverse and varied, however, is a fifty year history of state superintendents and heads of normal schools attempting to standardize the institutes through bureaucratic guidelines. This standardization peaked in 1899, when State Superintendent L.D. Harvey converted DPI suggestions to requirements.[4]

Since teachers' institutes came in so many different varieties, it is difficult to describe a typical one. Suffice it to say that teachers' institutes were a form of teacher education in which leading educators at the town, county, or state level organized gatherings of teachers at different locations for short periods of time in order to impart academic and professional training. In addition, the teachers' institute was a form of rural culture, and these gatherings were important to the rural communities which hosted them. Finally, until the early twentieth century, the teachers' institute represented the only formal teacher education that most rural teachers received.

By the early 1890s three groups of administrators had a stake in the governance of the institutes--the county superintendents, who were required by state law to hold at least one institute per year; the normal school policy makers, who helped conduct institutes in rural areas surrounding each normal school; and the state superintendent, who was responsible for authorizing institutes in those counties deemed furthest from normal school reach. The normal schools and DPI received from the legislature a fixed amount of money each year for conducting institutes, while the county superintendents received money raised from teacher examination fees, and more importantly, from modest tuition payments by the teachers in attendance. The three groups had different motives for sponsoring institutes. For the county superintendent, the chief concern each year was ensuring an adequate supply of certified teachers to meet the school districts' demands. Hence, teachers' institutes would be held at least in part to attract new teachers. The normal

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schools sought to bring the normal school curriculum to rural teachers and recruit students to their schools. A substantial proportion of normal school students had previous teaching experience. The state superintendent sought to raise the status of rural teachers while at the same time advancing the careers of state level school administrators

Two other groups also had interests in the institutes--the conductors and the teachers. The institute conductors usually consisted of normal school teachers, high school principals and teachers, and city and county superintendents. Usually a university professor or a prominent local citizen would also be called upon to deliver a keynote lecture. With the exception of the normal school conductors, who were on the road several months each year, no one made a career conducting teachers' institutes. Conductors took time from their regular duties to run institutes, usually earning some extra money in the process.

The institutes were very popular with the rural school teachers. Zeichner estimates that statewide, 1/3 to 1/2 of all teachers attended institutes each year in the late nineteenth century.[6] Teacher institutes were never compulsory for teachers, although state superintendents often supported bills in the legislature to that effect.[7] Informal pressures encouraged teachers to attend, however. These informal devices centered around certification and hiring requirements. At the turn of the century, there were three ways for teachers to become certified: they could attend a normal school or the university, they could attend a high school which offered a teacher training course, or they could pass an exam administered by a county or city superintendent. For most rural teachers, the third route represented the only choice.

County superintendents often held annual teacher examinations at the close of the institute, some superintendents even added five points to exam scores just for institute attendance, and exam questions were often based on the institute curriculum.[8] The degree of difficulty of the certification exams is open to some debate. According to Mary Bradford, who had climbed the educational career ladder from rural teacher to city superintendent, her 1874 exam for a third grade certificate was so easy that "anybody with common sense and with recollection of one or two good teachers, could have answered." She passed the exam without attending a teachers' institute.[9] According to an institute student of 1885, however, the third grade exam was unnecessarily difficult. This student asked, "Is a third grade teacher expected to be acquainted with every rock in the sea?"[10] Probably the difficulty of the exam varied according to the demand for rural teachers, with the exam being reduced to a formality in areas of acute teacher shortages. Whatever the degree of difficulty, the lack of uniform standards in exams proctored by county superintendents conflicted with the systematizing objectives of state education officials in Madison.

The other informal pressure compelling teachers to attend the institutes consisted of warnings and admonishments from educational administrators. As one educator explained, "The teachers who will not make some sacrifice to attend them [the institutes] are not worthy to be employed."[11] Again, in situations where many teachers competed for few jobs, a rarity in the rural schools since the pull of town and city schools attracted so many rural teachers, participation in institutes could be taken into account when the local school directors made their hiring decisions. More often than not, however, the teaching position went to the lowest bidder.[12] The fact that teachers could get paid while attending institutes during the school year also motivated teachers to attend.[13] Admonishments from education officials and preparation for third grade certificates were unlikely by themselves to cause nearly one half of rural teachers to attend institutes annually; teachers probably attended in spite of pressures from the educational hierarchy.

Teachers' Institutes and the Rural Teachers

Teachers' institutes were social events. Local newspapers announced and covered the institutes; the public attended the evening lectures; and the *Wisconsin Journal of Education* published the participants' resolutions in its "Notes" section until the 1890s. For young women teachers in rural areas who lacked the resources to attend a normal or high school and who were not yet inclined to migrate to the burgeoning cities, the teachers' institute held at a county seat or a large town offered opportunities for comradery and socializing without parallel. Attending a teachers' institute for the teacher of a one-room school often meant a first train trip, the opportunity to board away from home, and the excitement of meeting new people.[14]

One example of the institutes' popularity among teachers and rural communities is taken from a *Wisconsin Journal of Education* article entitled "Three Plucky Schoolma'ams," in which three young women travelling by train to their first teachers' institute were snowed in before reaching their destination. As they lacked the cash to pay for a hotel room, they hired themselves out as domestic servants during their unscheduled stopover and then travelled to the institute the following week.[15] Not only does this article illustrate, rather glaringly, teaching as an extension of domestic labor within a gendered occupational hierarchy--it also demonstrates the institutes' popularity among rural teachers. Perhaps the most compelling evidence for the popularity of the institutes is the fact that even in the 1910s, when a passing grade on a third grade exam was no longer the only requirement needed to teach in the common schools, over 10,000 teachers per year continued to participate in institutes.[16]

In addressing the popularity of teachers' institutes, there is a difference in interpretation between Zeichner's article and Fuller's book, with Zeichner interpreting the glass as half-empty and Fuller seeing it half-full. Zeichner's article is critical of claims of success made by institute sponsors in the late nineteenth century. He argues that descriptions in the *Wisconsin Journal of Education* prior to the 1890s paint the institutes in glowing, but unrealistic terms. For example, almost all institutes passed resolutions praising the conductors and lauding the usefulness of institute work. On occasions when attendance at institutes was poor (and most institutes drew from 50-200 teachers), accounts of those institutes blamed the weather or teacher apathy rather than suggesting that the institute program had little to offer. Perhaps the firmest ground Zeichner has for characterizing the institutes as dispensable and unpopular is the fact that over half of Wisconsin's teachers stayed away from institutes each year.[17]

Zeichner stresses three examples that were critical of the institutes. First, he quotes Mary Bradford, herself a frequent institute conductor, as observing that institutes were often used by conductors to grandstand rather than help teachers in meaningful ways: "But there were a few men who were regularly engaged in important service for the state, who it seems to me were following after 'false gods.'" Zeichner also quotes Superintendent L.D. Harvey's 1900 biennial report to the state legislature, in which he argues that institutes often had "defects": the repetition of the same work from year to year, the reliance on political connections rather than teaching competence in the appointments of conductors, and the excessive reliance on the lecture method of instruction-- all served to lower the quality of the institutes. Third, Zeichner uses an 1899 article by teacher Ida Baker, who states that "any teacher can accomplish more in one hour in her room reviewing than in the whole week of institute classes."[18]

Wayne Fuller, on the other hand, stresses the popularity of the institutes by emphasizing their functions for rural communities and appeal to rural residents. As evidence of this local control of teachers' institutes, Fuller stresses that they were financially self supporting and that the county superintendents had control of the timing of the institutes, much of the curriculum, and the selection of conductors. Indeed, county superintendents often passed over more famous educators in order to select "lesser-known men and women for their conductors and teachers." Fuller keeps in mind that the county superintendency was an elected position, and these officers would show responsibility to the farmers who elected them. The author goes so far as to dub the county institutes "the rural young people's colleges."[19]

It seems to me that the popularity of the institutes cannot be discounted, despite the often exaggerated claims of some institute sponsors and the criticisms of contemporary observers and participants. Mary Bradford states that, "They [the teachers] were receiving barely a living wage, and many of them could scarce afford the expense incurred for the two or three weeks of institute attendance."[20] Nevertheless, nearly one half of the Wisconsin's teachers were willing to pay the dollar or two entrance fee, in spite of their low salaries. Fees at teachers' institutes remained far less expensive than tuition at normal schools.

Although Ida Baker's article levels serious criticisms against the institutes, she also praises them. In another passage, she states the following:

> The friendships, the acquaintances among the teaching fraternity of the country, the relations of trials and successes, the pointers in regard to position, the chances to do one and other kindnesses and to appreciate the kindness of a thoughtful superintendent, and the chance to talk shop all we want to without being ill mannered are things worth saving.[21]

Hence, when approaching the topic of teachers' institutes, social and cultural aspects of importance for teachers and local communities need to be emphasized along with decisions made at higher levels. Otherwise, an understanding of the institutes' decline would be incomplete.

Since the teachers' institutes were such important social events in the lives of rural school teachers and communities, county superintendents continued to sponsor the institutes even when the normal schools and the state superintendency quietly withdrew their support in the 1910s. Despite the professional aspirations of the educational hierarchy in directions away from the institutes, several thousand teachers continued to attend yearly until the 1920s. Zeichner reports that "authorization for the holding of teachers' institutes continued to appear in the annual edition of the Wisconsin Laws related to Education and was finally repealed somewhere between 1946 and 1953."[22] What, other than withdrawal of official support, compelled teachers to stop attending the institutes?

It seems that the growth of two other educational institutions for teachers could have influenced at least some of them to divert their attention away from the institutes. First, reading circles for teachers grew in popularity during the early years of the twentieth century. Groups of teachers gathered a few times each year to discuss books that all the teachers taking part in the reading circle had read. In some states, as many as 5,000 teachers were enrolled in reading circles, and for a time in Wisconsin the State Department of Public Instruction sought to regulate them.[23] In 1912, a committee of the Wisconsin Teachers' Association (WTA) even recommended that reading circles be made compulsory for beginning teachers.[24] The reading circles often provided the same social and educational stimulation as the teachers' institutes, with the exception that the reading circles met for a few hours at a time while the teachers' institutes, being larger and more formal affairs, could last several weeks.

Another educational innovation for teachers that grew during the early twentieth century was the network of regional associations of Wisconsin teachers. The WTA began dividing into regional grouping in 1890. By 1914, the WTA had branched into several sections: the Northern, the North Central, the Central, Lake Superior, the Northwestern, and the Southern. All held yearly meetings which lasted two or three days and had formats that were similar to the nonacademic institutes.[25] For example, the 1914 Southern Wisconsin Teachers' Association meeting featured several local and out of state speakers, and the topics included talks on literature and medicine.[26] Thus, teachers formerly attracted to the institutes now had the choice of reading circles and regional association meetings.

Finally, it is essential to remember that other forms of popular education, including granges, workingmen's clubs, and the Chautauqua movement also declined in the early twentieth century. Perhaps the reasons for the general demise of these cultural forms can help explain the decline in popularity of teachers' institutes. Using the Chautauqua movement as an example, the decline "has been attributed to the swift popularity of radio, to improved roads and mass produced automobiles, and to the advent of talking pictures." Perhaps the growth of mass entertainment, marketed on a national scale by the 1920s, had an adverse impact on the teachers' institutes. Rural areas became less isolated and more integrated to population centers in the 1920s. Although earlier innovations such as the telephone and rural free delivery started this process, widespread use of the automobile by rural residents extended it and made "modern" forms of education and entertainment accessible.[27]

Teachers' Institutes, Normal Schools, and the State Superintendency

Beginning in 1867, the normal schools had partial responsibility, along with the county superintendents and the state superintendent, for conducting teachers' institutes throughout the state. Each normal school had a district in which to hold institutes and a teacher assigned to conduct them. As the number of normal schools grew, from three in 1872 to seven by the early 1890s, the number of districts increased proportionally.[28] These "normal institutes," as the normal schools called them, were often six weeks long and were organized at the request of county superintendents. Coordination of these normal institutes lay with the Board of Regents of Normal Schools and the state superintendent, who also served on the institute committee. By 1892, the normal schools helped to organize 85 institutes in 60 different counties, with over 5,000 teachers in attendance at an annual expense of approximately $7,500. By 1910, the Board of Regents of Normal Schools allotted $13,448 for teachers' institutes, out of which $9,466 paid for conductors' salaries.[29]

From this point on, however, normal school spending for teachers' institutes decreased. In 1911 the normal school Board of Regents spent $4,558 on the institutes, and by 1914, only $1,959 was earmarked for them.[30] The year, 1914, also marked the last year for the Board of Regent's standing committee on teachers' institutes. By the 17th biennial report, the president of the board of regents mentioned the teachers institutes as a thing of the past when discussing rural education. "The board, with the active cooperation of the state department and the local superintendency offered a mild substitution for continuous normal work, in institutes, or short term normal schools under the direction of faculty members specially qualified for that work."[31] The board of regents tabulated no expenditures for institutes in 1918. Hence, in this year the normal schools abandoned institute work for good, and seemingly without explanation.

Normal school educators had viewed the institutes, and by extension the training of rural school teachers, with ambivalence. The institutes were considered as only temporary and partial solutions for the education of rural teachers. For example, a pamphlet covering the 1898 St. Croix teachers' institute describes it as "but a two week's chunk of a State Normal School with a reduced faculty."[32] The normal schools' ambivalent policies regarding the teachers' institutes are understandable considering the normal schools' other interests. In his article "Wisconsin Normal Schools and the Educational Hierarchy," Jeff Wasserman persuasively argues that Wisconsin's normal schools were often more interested in building college level liberal arts programs than they were in the narrower focus of teacher education.[33]

It seems that normal school educators had three policy choices regarding rural teacher education. The first was to devote attention to teachers' institutes, which the normal schools did with varying degrees of effort until funding dropped off after 1910. The second was to establish a course of study for rural teachers on normal school grounds. Two year courses for the training of rural teachers were implemented in the normal schools beginning in 1909, and this program of study replaced the academic course, which was in reality the high school curriculum.[34] The program was decidedly unsuccessful. At least as far back as 1881 most administrators knew that "graduating from normal school has become synonymous with turning one's back upon common school work."[35] Total rural course enrollment in the nine normal schools stood at 444 in 1914 and 396 in 1920. Numbers such as these could not have made much of an addition to the rural teaching corps. In the eyes of normal school administrators, there was little prestige in training young rural women to teach in one-room schools, whether courses of study were offered at normal schools or whether these educators travelled to remote sections of the state. For the rural students who gained admission to the normal schools, most saw rural training courses as steps back to farms, while enrollment in other courses of study provided opportunities for more lucrative urban employment.

The third policy avenue open to the normal school educators was to join forces with the state superintendency in lobbying for higher certification requirements coupled with state aid to all rural schools that conformed to minimum central guidelines. Ultimately this is the path that the normal school educators chose to take.

The state superintendency sought to further standardize and supervise the teachers' institutes until 1910, when state funding from the legislature to DPI for institute work was cut in half, from $14,000 to $7,000 yearly.[36] Supervision of the institutes by the state superintendency peaked in 1899, when Superintendent Harvey gained greater control in certifying conductors and elevated the annual meeting of institute conductors in the city of Madison to the status of a conductors' school. A few years later, Harvey left his position to assume the presidency of the Stout Institute in Menomonie (an expanding normal school) and his successor, Charles Cary, hardly mentioned the teachers' institutes in his biennial reports.

Around the turn of the century, Wisconsin's state educational administrators began devoting more rhetoric and resources to the conditions of the rural schools, with their criticisms becoming ever more strident. "The old country school is moribund and must disappear," announced one editorial. "Poor teachers, in so great proportion to the whole number, are the bane of the rural school," suggested another.[37] In the *Wisconsin Journal of Education* and the biennial reports of the board of regents of normal schools and the state superintendent, the backwardness of the rural schools received more press at the same time teachers' institutes were discarded as a method of rural teacher education. The state superintendency used the following methods to improve the status of rural common school teachers: increasing certification requirements beyond passing grades on exams, creating positions for rural school inspectors, earmarking state funds to provide minimum wages for teachers and supplemental funds to the rural schools, and founding County Training Schools for Teachers. Without exception, these policies bypassed the teachers' institutes.

Regarding certification requirements, the normal schools and the state superintendent were able to get laws changed in 1908 so that all teachers needed at least six weeks attendance at a professional school for a third grade certificate, and teachers could renew their certification by attending a six week summer course rather than retaking the exam, as many returning third grade teachers had been doing each year.[38] Over the next two decades, certification required ever increasing amounts of formal schooling: in 1913 two years past the common schools were required, one of which had to be "professional training;" by 1917 every teacher had to have at least two years of high school in addition to a one year professional course; and by 1927 every new teacher had to be a high school graduate in addition to obtaining one year of professional education, usually in a normal school or county training school.[39]

Through the efforts of county superintendents, with support from DPI, the first county training schools were established in 1899. These schools were small, with one or two teachers offering a two year course of study for common school teachers. Nevertheless, by the 1920s the thirty-three county schools had a hand in educating the bulk of the state's rural teachers. The normal schools and the state superintendency were often critical of these schools, claiming they were expensive to operate and often drew students from the same areas as the normal schools.[40] Undoubtedly the county schools began to serve some of the same educational functions as the teachers' institutes, and these schools had numerical success in placing teachers in rural schools.

New state guidelines also encouraged teachers to remain in rural schools. A 1915 act subsidized the salary of all teachers who were graduates of a normal training course and had at least one year of teaching experience. In addition, a minimum wage of $40 per month for rural teachers was established at approximately the same time, and rural schools rated "first class" by state inspectors also received state aid of $50 per year.[41] During the early twentieth century, the state superintendent sought greater control over the county superintendents. To this end, the county training schools were attacked as inefficient, a growing staff of rural school inspectors reported to Madison rather than to the county superintendents, and the county superintendents were compelled to document more and more information.

As the county superintendents, underpaid as they were, devoted more time to satisfying state regulations, they had less time for teachers' institutes, for it was the county superintendency that still possessed much of the initiative for the institutes, despite state administrators' rhetoric to the contrary. Yet, normal schools and DPI decided to pass the institutes by, and in the process, the central authorities neglected the education of the rural common school teacher. By withdrawing state funds and expertise from the institutes, the informal pressures for teachers to attend were removed while the social and cultural motivations for rural teachers to take part in institutes lingered.

In the move to professionalize, the state normal schools strove to attract a student body of future high school teachers and educational administrators and interpreted their commitment to teacher education as one function among many, while the state superintendency moved toward the growing systematization of rural and urban schools alike. Jurgen Herbst interprets the history of teacher education in the United States as an abandonment of the elementary school teacher. "Normal pedagogues and professional educators, by and large, had given up on America's largely female elementary school teachers."[42] Since these educators approached the teacher education of elementary school teachers as an endeavor which they were required to undertake but hoped to avoid, it is little wonder that the teachers' institutes, so important to the rural school teachers, were abandoned.

Conclusion

Teachers' institutes, then, contained a tension. On the one hand, the normal school leadership and the state superintendency attempted to standardize the institutes. On the other hand, local farmers and teachers used institutes as a form of popular education and culture. Wisconsin's educational leadership resolved this tension in the early twentieth century by withdrawing support for the institutes, concentrating instead on extending the reach of the normal schools as a means to professionalize. However, many rural teachers continued to attend institutes even after the normal schools and the state superintendency withdrew support.

By understanding the teachers' institute as a form of popular education, we can perhaps more fully explain their decline. First, teachers began to organize into reading circles and regional associations. These institutions formed alternatives to the institutes. Second, the automobile and the growth of mass entertainment contributed to the demise of preindustrial forms of popular education. Socio-technological developments--mass produced automobiles and mass communications--also helped propel the systematization of mass schooling forward. Perhaps, then, there is more to the story of the decline of the teachers' institute than professionalization.

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English Education During World War II: Images in American Educational Journals

Stuart Foster and
O.L. Davis Jr.
The University of
Texas at Austin

In April 1940, seven months after the outbreak of war, German troops occupied Denmark and invaded Norway. What some British and American observers had called the "Phoney War" erupted into sudden fury. The awesome Blitzkrieg did not cease until Hitler's armies smashed their way through the Low Countries and France. Most of Europe fell under the domination of the Third Reich. The victorious German army assembled just thirty miles from the English coast, poised for an invasion of England. Only Britain, supported by Commonwealth forces and pledges, remained to counter Hitler's legions.

Although the expected invasion never came, the British people prepared for "total war." For five and a half years, from September 1939 to May 1945, every aspect of British civilian and military life was shaped by the brutal experience of war. No individual remained unaffected. No institution remained unchanged. Schools and their pupils were not exempt.[1]

Even before Britain declared war on September 1, 1939, almost two million school children and their teachers were evacuated from the nation's cities. This mass exodus, undertaken in the expectation of massive German bombing of English population centers, became a central metaphor of the war. Evacuation thoroughly disrupted children's education even as it sought to protect their lives. For thousands of city children who were not evacuated, their schooling simply ceased. Evacuated schools struggled mightily to continue ordinary educational programs, but problems overcame most of the best efforts of teachers and reception area officials. Even after this great evacuation drained away to an ignoble conclusion, the government spawned subsequent evacuations of school children in the face of major emergencies.[2]

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The Blitz was the first and most prominent of these emergency circumstances. Long expected, the Luftwaffe's bombing campaign opened suddenly and terrorized major English cities for more than nine months. Beginning on September 7, 1940, London was bombed on seventy-five of the next seventy-six days. On November 14, Coventry suffered a ten-hour raid which killed more than 4,000 civilians and destroyed a third of this industrial city. Thousands of school children and teachers suffered evacuation again during the Blitz, many to remain separated from parents for the remainder of the war. Bombing also destroyed more than a thousand school buildings. In one of London's boroughs, for example, only one of ninety-one buildings escaped damage. At its end, the Blitz claimed more than forty thousand civilian deaths and left two million people homeless. One in five London homes was destroyed. Despite optimistic reports that the British withstood the bombing with their stereotypically stoic fortitude and resilience, the reality remained grimly different, but seldom publicly acknowledged. British officials knew the seriousness of the situation. One report noted, "Of course the press versions of life going on normally in the East End of London are horribly distorted. There was no bread, no electricity, no milk, no gas, no telephones. There was, therefore, every excuse for people to be distressed." This war differed from others Britain had waged. It was truly a total war.[3]

The Early Years of War: Informing the American Audience

Westward across the Atlantic, the United States continued to claw from beneath economic depression. It failed to join the League of Nations following the Great War and, throughout the 1930s, remained officially isolationist in foreign affairs. The new European war, however, found most Americans sympathetic to the Allies, especially to Britain. This interest fed on dramatic reports from newspaper and radio journalists. American educators, in addition, had access to portrayals of wartime English schooling within the pages of their own professional journals.

These accounts began as a trickle in the Fall of 1939, but their numbers slowly escalated throughout the war. American teachers and administrators came to know about, if not truly to understand, the rigors of schooling during wartime. These articles had two additional effects. However tacitly, they fostered American support of the British cause. They also served to sensitize and prepare American educators for their own wartime emergencies when the U. S. entered the war. Long ignored, analysis of these articles adds a largely unrecognized dimension of the war's impact on American educational life.

Understandably, most of these articles published near the beginning of the war were written from news accounts or from the perspective of

English educators.[4] As the war wore on, American educators who had earlier visited England or who had a special interest in English education began to write about wartime British schools. Articles authored by English educators also became prominent features in a number of American journals.

As the war drifted into 1941, many articles about English schooling appeared. Professor I: L. Kandel, for example, offered an explanation for this increasing thirst for knowledge of the British wartime situation: "Never was there so a great a need of understanding and perspective as in these days of crisis. Never was there as much need of knowledge to combat misunderstanding between countries whose future is in the balance."[5] In that same month, these ideas were echoed in the editorial of another journal. It warned American educators, "At times like the present few people can preserve a cloistered aloofness toward the situation in Europe."[6] The vast majority of these articles explored the massive effects of evacuation and wartime bombing on the lives of English school children and teachers.

Consequently, American educators followed these and other English wartime educational matters in some detail. They learned of the government's careful planning and execution of the evacuation process and of the uncommon disadvantages and alleged benefits afforded by this massive undertaking. For example, Harry N. Rosenfield of New York University's School of Education mirrored official English statements in his comments that evacuation constituted "one of the greatest mass migrations in all history" and was awed that "the whole plan worked as well as it did."[7] Similarly, Seattle's superintendent wrote, "Yet triumphant above myriad hardships and frustrations has been that immortal something which we call school - the spirit of teachers, and boys and girls living, working, and enduring."[7] Fascination with evacuation continued throughout the war.

Particularly striking was the amount of specific detail contained within the articles published in American educational journals. Not only were readers informed about the practical and logistical problems of evacuation, but also the intimately personal experiences associated with the enterprise. For example, American educators learned in detail what school children could carry on their train journeys to their new, and unknown evacuation destination. As one report explained,

> Each child carried with him hand luggage containing a child's gas mask, a change of underclothing, night clothes, house shoes or plimsolls, spare stockings or socks, a toothbrush, a comb, towel, soap and face cloth, handkerchiefs, and if possible a warm coat or mackintosh and a packet of food for one day.[8]

Another article reported the experiences of a fourteen year-old girl who arrived tired, confused, and frightened by the prospect of finding a new home. She arrived with her little sister whom her mother insisted remain with her and her two other sisters. She wrote in her diary,

> We trudged wearily along, knocking first at one house and then at another, asking the same question over and over again: 'Are you willing to take any evacuees please?' Sometimes the answer was 'Yes,' at other times 'No.' Gradually we became fewer and fewer, till only a handful of tired and forlorn looking girls turned down a road. I was one of them. All the occupants of the nearby houses came out to look at us, the children crowding round us, staring in wonder. About half an hour passed but it seemed ages, and then one lady in the group standing round us said, 'I would like that little girl and her sister please,' so my other sisters Edith and Joyce went off down the road.[9]

Readers of these articles became acutely aware of the human dimension of wartime conditions and the distinctively personal experiences of evacuation. Each person had a private story to tell; newertheless, a number of experiences typified the commonplace. For example, many articles point out that some children benefited enormously from evacuation. Leaving the grime and smog of a city slum, many children found new delights of life in the countryside. Other children developed emotional scars from their separation from parents, in some cases, for six years. Still others resented the habits and rules of their new foster parents and were eager to return home, even to the bombing, at the earliest opportunity.[10] Some accounts related the disturbing and alienating affects that evacuation had on parents. Agnes E. Meyer, along with her husband, Eugene Meyer, publisher of *The Washington Post*, visited Britain in November 1942. She reported some of the debilitating affects of the war on mothers in England. Meyer told a story, recounted to her by a friend, of one mother who desperately wanted to visit her evacuated child.

> For months she had saved her meager earnings to add to the government allowance for a railroad ticket to visit her little boy in the village where he was billeted. The foster parents were considerate and sent mother and child into the garden to be alone. The favorite candy, which formerly had been the boy's Sunday treat, did not interest him because he had better desserts every day. The little toy could make no impression on a lad who now had a rocking horse. Bored with this semi-stranger

> he ran back to the house and to his new, more alluring life. My friend could do nothing to comfort this mother who had lost her only son. She sat staring out of blank eyes, at the two grimy, useless packages in her hands.[11]

Such a poignant story reflected the harsh reality of living in a society consumed by war.

American Educators Learn from the Evacuation Experience

Several articles appearing in American journals raised the issue of the appropriateness of evacuation and suggested that it may have caused more problems than it solved. For example, an article in *The American Teacher* argued that, "the damage resulting to educational services from aerial attack is, however, almost certainly less than that produced by the preventive measure of evacuation."[12] Similar views were shared by a review published in the *Journal of Educational Psychology*. This analysis claimed that greater psychological damage was caused by separating youngsters from their parents through evacuation than from the harm inflicted by air raids. The report concluded as follows:

> In short, children show greater adaptability, and recover well from air raid effects, but the strain of separation from parents by evacuation is generally greater, and the effects more profound. Every investigation has demonstrated the fundamental importance of the home ties in the emotional development of the child.[13]

Numerous articles referred to problems associated with evacuation such as lack of school equipment, disruption to daily routines, inadequate facilities, overcrowded classrooms, and the paucity of male teachers. However, in considering the drawbacks of evacuation, most attention was allotted to problems of juvenile delinquency. Authors of many articles remembered that, although evacuation was first carried out in September 1939, the intensive bombing of British cities did not occur until September 1940. As a consequence, thousands of evacuees drifted back to their urban homes. An article in *The School Review* estimated that, "more than half of the children removed from the cities at the start of the war have returned because bombing has not materialized" and claimed that over four hundred thousand children were receiving no schooling. *The Education Digest* reported that since schools remained closed in the cities "children are simply running on the loose." Several of these articles reported extracts from readers of the *London Times* outraged by the presence of street gangs and the lack of formal education and discipline. In another report, Agnes Meyer remarked that petty theft was frequent, that the blackout encouraged teenage lawlessness, and that as "thousands of young girl war workers are away from home and parental supervision for the first time illegitimacy is causing some concern."[14]

Nevertheless, despite such responsible criticisms, other writers approved of the evacuation policy as necessary in order to save children's lives. This argument was strengthened by observations "that over half of London's schools have been bombed."[15] Yet, surprisingly, many journal articles did not make continued reference to the factor of children's safety. Indeed, most articles reflected on the positive effects of evacuation.

Accordingly, American readers learned that some English educators believed that the immersion of city children into rural life had salutary benefits on both their health and their general attitude to life. Indeed, some articles noted that, despite the shortages and widespread suffering caused by the war, English children had never been healthier. In a long article about the mental and physical well being of English school children, one author concluded that "the available evidence suggests that on the whole neither the physical nor the mental health of English children has been seriously affected."[16]

This conclusion was explained by information that appeared in other American journals. Throughout the war, the British Government provided daily school meals to more than 750,000 school children, free medical and dental facilities for all, and the availabile milk for every British child attending school.[17] Furthermore, several articles praised the massive extension of nursery schooling during the war. Before the war, British local education authorities provided only twenty-one nursery schools, but by the end of 1942, nearly one thousand were operating. The necessity of mothers to work in essential war industries stimulated the rapid rise in the availability of nursery facilities for their children. In fact some authors claimed that the expansion of nursery schools was one of the major long-term successes arising out of the bleak wartime experience.[18]

Despite the massive dislocation and upheaval caused by the war, several articles emphasized that British school teachers worked to create a normal school environment. Many articles referred to the "amazing normality" of school life in Britain. One author remarked that "the aim of the schools has been to keep education as normal as possible; "another described the achievement of stability as a "miracle." A U. S. Army officer, formerly an assistant superintendent of schools in New Jersey, was impressed by his observations in England that "no attempt was made to propagandize or indoctrinate the children with a hatred for all things German" and noted that "the British, amazingly enough, went about doing their daily tasks and the English school teacher went on to teach the ordinary school subjects." Only one author complained that "schools had to abandon much of the old school curriculum."[19]

Preparing America for War: The Example of English Schools

Following American entry into the war, the purpose of many articles about wartime British schools changed. They continued to inform but now they contributed to strengthening the peculiar sense of unity between Britain and the U. S. so essential to the successful Allied war effort. By sharing British wartime experiences, the articles helped to inure educators to the ravages of war.

These articles also fueled American preparation for war. During 1942-43, a flood of articles in American education journals drew on the British experience explicitly to assist wartime preparation in the United States.[20] Significantly, one of the first articles published in any American journal following the U. S. entry into the war was entitled, "What We Can Learn from England."[21] An address by Professor Max Black at a "Conference on War Problems of the Schools" in Urbana, Illinois, held just ten days after Pearl Harbor, drew extensively on the British experience and offered an informed perspective of education during times of war. Professor Black, then at the University of Illinois, had been a member of the University of London's faculty when Britain entered the war. Central to Black's view of education was that, as evidenced by the example of Britain, schools in the United States likely would undergo "enormous changes," but that they must not become a war casualty. He emphasized that the most important function of wartime schools was that they play their part in preparing for post-war reconstruction.

> If there is one thing which ought to be clearly before the minds of all of us engaged in the present conflict, is that victory itself is not enough. This is one thing the English have been taught by bitter experience to understand. We are fighting to win not only the war but the peace as well, and winning the peace means starting now.[22]

Other authors shared Black's conviction. They argued that, although schools in America should play an important role in wartime, they should not be so distracted as to deviate from upholding the traditional ideals of a liberal education.[23]

By learning about the British wartime experience, American educators became informed about the need to prepare their schools for a wide range of war-related issues. Some articles stressed the importance of establishing nursery schools for the children of women war workers. Others detailed the use of gas masks, discussed teaching children during air raids, and suggested how best to remove and transport students to the safety of the nearest bomb shelter. One article described a panoply of activities in which English youth were engaged to support the war effort. Drawing on President Roosevelt's comment that the war was one in which every man, woman, and child had a part to play, the author suggested that American youth should be diverted towards similar activities.[24]

Extensive preparation by American educators for the coming war was advocated some nine months before Pearl Harbor. Written by a supervising principal in New York, the author warned that, "it is the moral responsibility of every school administrator to be awake to the dangers." He drew on an "eight months study of what has been done in the British Isles" and implored the need for "vigorous action." The article is breathtakingly detailed and strident in its advocacy. The author considered issues such as training school nurses for gas attacks, the transportation of children from dangerous areas, the need for loud speakers and sirens in the school grounds, and comprehensive specifications for the construction of trenches, sandbag walling, and arched shelters. He emphasized the need for precautionary measures to be planned in minute detail. For example, he advocated the following precaution:

> School buses should be equipped with special devices such as, lookout devices while transporting children to and from school. Buses would need to be repainted and camouflaged so as to prevent their being easy moving targets for strafing by pilots. Operation of buses should be confined to the time of day when visibility from the air is the poorest.[25]

Likely, few American educators seriously accepted this detailed advice. The article, on the other hand, clearly contributed to the language of national defense preparation during that year.

American educators obviously were extremely concerned by the effects that war would have on U. S. education. They seemed eager to learn from the British experience. For example, in this regard, *Education for Victory*, the renamed *School Life* published by the U. S. Office of Education, announced that, "because of widespread interest on the part of schools in air raid protection and evacuation planning and the desire to make any helpful information available *Education for Victory* will devote a regular section to these problems."[26] Accordingly, in the same issue, an informative article appeared written on the basis of advice offered to Detroit school officials by a London school administrator who visited Detroit. As the war continued, an increasing number of articles outlined precautionary measures for protecting school children from air raid attack. Significantly, many of these articles were based upon the advice and experience of English educators.[27]

American Support for Britain and Fostering Anglo-American Unity

Several journal articles reported the various ways Americans supported the British war effort. Regardless of the intention of the author, such accounts undoubtedly boosted American morale and strengthened feelings of admiration and comradeship between the U. S. and Great

Britain. American educators learned, for example, that some of London's nursery schools were established with funds sent from the United States. Also, articles provided information about how Americans eagerly were housing British "refugee children." According to one article, "requests for them exceed available numbers" and the author emphasized "this unparalleled opportunity for strengthening the ties of the already closely co-operating English speaking peoples." In addition, other articles reported gifts sent to British school children.[28]

Articles over the course of the war referred approvingly to the unified purpose of the Allies and the brotherhood of the English speaking peoples. As such, by emphasizing significant American contributions and the subsequent gratitude of the British, these articles boosted American morale and reinforced the idea that Americans and Britons were marching toward victory. For example, an English headmistress wrote as follows:

> We are glad to be given this opportunity to write to America for we should like to thank you for all you have done for us. When, in 1940, we were forced to stand alone with our backs to the wall, it was America who came to our aid and we do not cease to be grateful for that.[29]

The enormous hardships endured by British teachers and school children exhibited in some articles likely had the effect of alerting American teachers for the sacrifices they, too, would make when the U. S. entered the war. Following that entry, articles emphasized how London teachers stoically overcame enormous difficulties in order to play their role in the nation's quest for victory. In this respect, an editorial introduction to a dramatic account written by a British educator warned American teachers, "if we think we are having a hard time - well perhaps we'd better read this!" Similarly, another American journal editor commented, "Teachers in the United States who find their work difficult may consider themselves fortunate that, as yet, they have not had to carry on teaching in air-raid shelters."[30]

Many articles referred to the "heavy burden" borne by British teachers during the war. Some are written by Americans who observed British teachers at work, and others by English teachers themselves. The theme of self-sacrifice runs through all of them, and the notion that all should "play their part" in the war effort resounds loudly and clearly.

American teachers must have been influenced by such accounts and by the ubiquitous belief that individuals needed a sense of mission to preserve common ideals worth fighting for. Without doubt some of these articles were written explicitly to motivate American teachers to sacrifice for the national good just as their British counterparts were doing.

These gentle motivations were undergirded by strong and deliberate efforts to influence American educators. In early 1943, the British Government established the *British Information Service* with offices in New York, San Francisco, and Chicago. This organization sought generally to inform Americans about Britain. More than this, however, the organization sought to maintain and increase American support for the British war effort and to reinforce the wartime unity of the two nations. Accordingly, the British Information Service sent out a steady stream of "information" to American educational journals. These articles, although accurate, constituted explicit British propaganda to influence American teachers. In addition, The British Information Service sponsored educational exchanges and conferences and offered American teachers a variety of "loan packets" containing material portraying the British school experience for classroom use.[31]

Another British organization called "Children of the Fighting Forces" explicitly promoted Anglo-American friendship and cooperation. For example, this agency sent packets of letters written by English school children to US state departments of education. These letters were used in many classrooms across the United States and undoubtedly had an impact on those who read them. The letters portrayed some very vivid and harrowing experiences and were intensely moving. The English children wrote with an appealing innocence and simplicity as evidenced by these extracts: "We have not got skyscrapers like you have in America. Thank goodness for if we had they would be as flat as pancakes now. I wish I lived in California right now as I would have some oranges and lemons. I have not got a father. He got killed during a raid. He was on duty and my mother was left with three more besides me."

Seductively persuasive, the letters draw their American readers into sharing the British experience and thus emphasize the special relationship between the two nations. That many of these letters targeted Californian schools raises the interesting prospect that the British organization's officials believed they should enlist the support of citizens on the West Coast who otherwise may have been distracted from European concerns by the war in the Pacific.[32]

Consideration of the Purposes of Education in Wartime

Several articles emphasized the British experience in deliberations about the extent to which schooling in America consciously should be altered as a result of the war. Indeed, many educators on both sides of the Atlantic were eager to wrestle with this basic question. Emerging from these articles is the commonly held belief that, despite the dislocation of war, the existing values and ideals of education should not be perverted by the expedience of war. Some articles, for example, noted approvingly that throughout the war, spending on British education continued to increase. William C. Bagley, commented, "This, England's way of planning ahead for the fourth year of the most costly and devastating of all wars, deserves wide publicity in the United States." Similarly, other authors were impressed by Britain's attempt to preserve and support its educational system even as it endured harrowing wartime difficulties and suggested that this was a salutary lesson for America.[33]

In their observations of the course of education in Britain, some authors vehemently advocated the preservation of education and expressed considerable alarm at those who felt school children should become agents of the state. For example, an English education officer argued that schools should not be diverted from their traditional goals.

> The educational service of a country reflects the values of the community which sets it up. And when a totalitarian war changes the values of the community, it is hard for the school to withstand the pressure and to retain a normal sense of values. If the post-war society is to be totalitarian, there is nothing to be said against this. But it is this very evil of the complete domination of the state over the life and actions of the individuals which we are fighting.[34]

Many American authors, as well, looked to the future and implored that education not be impoverished by the exigencies of war. Typically, these arguments were based upon the theme that, "after winning the war will come the winning of the peace - a work that we shall hand over to the generation now in the schools."[35] These articles advocated that schools should not be diverted from their true educational purpose by the war, nor should the purpose of education be confused with the war aims. Orway Tead wrote accordingly:

> To turn educational enterprises largely over to special training purposes is to bring up a generation which is in danger of being strangers to the very undergirding of life and outlook which they are being asked to work and fight for. It will be next to fatal if in the continuing war we bring on a body of young citizens who are technically competent but morally untutored and humanely illiterate. Our faith in education, I repeat, is sublime. But it will be a faith warranted by performance and results only if we keep the educators loyal to their faith and the fighters loyal to their function.[36]

A large number of the articles underscored the belief that education had a vital role to play in preparing citizens for a future after the war ended. In this vein, some articles focused not so much on how education in Britain was being affected by the war itself, but instead, on how education in Britain was to be shaped beyond the war. Notably visions of the post-war world were concentrated in articles written between Fall 1943 and Summer 1945. As the war neared its end, British and American educators increasingly urged that military victory constituted a unique opportunity to reform key educational matters in both countries.[37]

Planning for the Postwar World: The British Experience and its Impact in America

Several authors commented on the sweeping changes in British education to result from the 1944 Education Act. This wartime legislation authorized a radical departure of policy and practice from the existing organization of British education. Its most salient features included a raising of the school leaving age to 15, separation of elementary and secondary education, and provision for widespread compulsory education at the secondary level. Authors in American educational journals variously described the 1944 Act as "one of the most sweeping measures in the history of education," "the biggest, most significant reform ever undertaken," and as a symptom of the "positive whirlwind of change sweeping through the English system." One observer informed readers of *The School Board Journal* that on visiting England he had observed the following spectacle:

> People who have not been satisfied merely to maintain schools through the grim unpleasantness of the blitz but who, in the midst of total war with the enemy only minutes away, are confidently planning for the greatest educational advance in their history.[38]

Editors of American educational journals surely believed that U. S. educators genuinely were interested in such matters. They also thought that the British experience should influence peace time educational planning in the United States. Consequently, they detailed information about changes occurring in the British education system as result of the 1944 Act. *Education for Victory,* for example, regularly published news about the British legislation in a section devoted to "News From Abroad."

Some journal articles, however, went beyond this important educational legislation by recognizing that Britain's desperate need for the postwar recruitment and education of teachers mirrored that of the United States. Other articles focused on postwar problems such as the need for newly constructed school buildings to keep up with the mood of optimism and renaissance expressed by British educators. Indeed, through the use of architectural plans, photographs, and elaborated accounts, periodicals such as *School Executive* and *The American School Board Journal* informed American school administrators of Britain's proposals for school planning.[39]

Consequently, articles related to the theme of postwar reconstruction became an increasingly important feature of American educational journals as the war drew to a close. Authors stressed the importance of Anglo-American unity in the years to follow. Several articles emphasized the important role that education must play in fostering feelings of brotherhood and mutuality. For example, many authors noted that the British Government had advocated the teaching of American history in English schools in order to avoid a traditionally nationalistic view of history.

Articles also suggested increased cultural exchanges between the two countries in order to foster greater understanding and friendship. Significantly, *Education for Victory* eagerly approved the proposal of the British Education Minister, R. A. Butler, to establish "future international co-operation among Allied Ministers of Education."[40]

A recurrent feature of many American educational periodicals was the belief that Britain and America had a peculiarly close, cordial, and productive relationship and that its continuance was desirable in peace time. One American writer remarked, "We thrill at the devotion and heroism of these British youth and pray that they may soon see the dawn of a new day in which they and American youth can display those same high qualities of service in a world at peace."[41]

Similar sentiments were expressed in articles published in other American journals. They advocated greater Anglo-American cooperation in educational matters and a strengthened belief that the unity of "these like-minded nations" was essential to the future of a civilized world.

Images and Impact: A Final Word

Between 1939 and 1945, American educators were exposed to a flood of images and experiences portraying life in a Britain besieged. These often graphic accounts documented the disruptive, and often harrowing, impact of war on British school children and their teachers to an American audience genuinely interested in British education. Commonly, the journal articles served to inform an interested and engaged readership. As the war progressed, other articles drew on British experience to enable Americans to prepare for the inevitability of war. They also influenced American deliberations on the role and function of schools in times of crisis. Furthermore, such accounts provided a valuable reference point for shaping the future of American education in the postwar world. More than this, however, the accounts contributed to the maintenance of American morale and prompted intense feelings of unity and brotherhood as the American and British people advanced towards a common goal. Such images and portrayals likely had a profound although long unacknowledged influence on American educators and the nature of American schooling in wartime.

ENDNOTES

1 See, for example, Angus Calder, *The People's War* (London: Granada Publishing Ltd., 1971); Norman Longmate, *How We Lived Then* (London: Arrow Books Ltd., 1973); Arthur Marwick, *War and Social Change in the Twentieth Century* (London: MacMillan, 1974); Robert Westall, *Children of the Blitz: Memories of Wartime Childhood* (London: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1987).

2 The magisterial account of English wartime education remains Peter H. J. H. Gosden's *Education in the Second World War* (London: Methuen, 1976). Wartime evacuation of English children has received extensive attention. See, for example, B. S. Johnson (Ed.), *The Evacuees* (London: Gollancz, 1968); Carlton Jackson *Who Will Take Our Children?* (London: Methuen, 1985); Ruth Inglis, *The Children's War* (London: Collins, 1989); Jonathan Croall *Don't You Know There's a War On?* (London: Hutchinson, 1988). For a portrayal of evacuated teachers, see O. L. Davis, Jr., "The Invisible Evacuees: England's Urban Teachers During the First Autumn of War, 1939," *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* 18 (1990): 39-51.

3 The war had an impact on all aspects of daily lives. For example, one survey carried out on September 12, 1940 observed that 31% of London's citizens did not sleep the previous night, 32% received less than 4 hours sleep, and only 15% enjoyed more than 6 hours sleep. Nigel Kelly and Martyn Whittock, *The Era of the Second World War* (Oxford: Heinemann, 1993): 51. See, also, Evan Davies, "British School Defense Activities," *Education for Victory* 1 (November, 1942): 3.

4 The first article to appear in an American educational journal was Harriet Shoen, "The Evacuation of School Children from Britain's Crowded Cities and Industrial Areas," *School and Society* 50 (September, 1939): 399. It was constructed entirely from accounts published in the *London Times* of September 1-5 "which reached New York City on the evening of September 16."

5 I. L. Kandel, "The Organization of English Education," *School and Society* 53 (February, 1941): 134-137. After the war, Kandel, a professor at Teachers College, Columbia University, wrote the standard history of American wartime education. See his *The Impact of the War Upon American Education* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949).

6 "Education in a Time of Crisis," *The School Review* 44 (February, 1941): 81.

7 Harry N. Rosenfield, "The First Major Casualty of the War," *School and Society* 51 (June, 1940): 721-722; Worth McClure, "The Schools of Britain Carry On," *The American School Board Journal* 108 (March, 1944): 47.

8 Harriet Shoen, "The Evacuation of School Children From Britain's Crowded Cities and Industrial Areas," *School and Society* 50 (September, 1939): 399.

9 F. J. Relf, "Saving the Children of London," *The Educational Forum* 11 (March, 1947): 317.

10 Some authors chose to portray the evacuation of school children to rural areas as a positive experience. See, for example, Norman Wymer, "Bombs Bring Rural Understanding," *The School Executive* 64 (March 1945): 48-49; H. L. O. Flecker, "The School Situation in Wartime England" *School and Society* 51 (March 1940): 403-404. Other articles, however, were more critical of the debilitating affect evacuation had on British school children. See, for example, John H. Moehle, "Bombs and Books," *American School Board Journal* 102 (March, 1941): 30-32; W. E. Williams "In Wartime Britain," *The Education Digest* 5 (March, 1940): 17-19; "Offsetting Educational Demoralization in England" *School Review* 48 (April, 1940): 245-246; Margaret D. Clarke, "Wartime Tasks

of a London Teacher," *The Grade Teacher* 62 (March, 1945): 16, 65; Lawrence A. Averill, "What is the War Doing to Europe's Children?" *The Educational Forum* 6 (March, 1942): 241-245.

11 Agnes E. Meyer, "Britain's Children in Wartime," *Journal of the National Education Association* 32 (January, 1943): 3.

12 Max Black, "What Has Happened to the Schools of England?" *The American Teacher* 27 (March, 1943): 8-11.

13 Frank Bodman, "Child Psychiatry in Wartime Britain," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 35 (May 1944): 301.

14 "Offsetting Educational Demoralization in England," *School Review* 48 (April, 1940): 245. W. E. Williams, "In Wartime Britain," *The Education Digest* 5 (March, 1940): 18. Agnes E. Meyer, "Britain's Children in Wartime," *Journal of the National Education Association* 32 (January, 1943): 6.

15 "Offsetting Educational Demoralization in England," *School Review* 48 (April, 1940): 245.

16 Max Black, "What has Happened to the Schools of England?" *The American Teacher* 27 (March, 1943): 8-11.

17 See, for example, A. L. Binns "British School Finances During and the War - and After," *Educational Administration and Supervision* 29 (April 1943): 242-247; H. G. Stead, "The Impact of War on English Schools," *The Education Digest* 8 (February, 1943): 54-57; "British Schools in Wartime"' *Texas Outlook* 27 (November, 1943): 11-12; Max Black, "What Has Happened to the Schools of England?" *The American Teacher* 27 (March, 1943): 8-11.

18 "Wartime Nurseries and School Medical Services in Great Britain," *Education for Victory* 2 (July, 1943): 21-23. Martha M. Eliot, "What We Can Learn from England," *Child Study* (Winter, 1941): 35-37, 61-63.

19 W. E. Williams, "In Wartime Britain," *The Education Digest* 5 (March, 1940): 17; "British Schools in Wartime," *Texas Outlook* 27 (November, 1943): 11-12; Max Black, "Wartime Education in England," *Journal of the National Education Association* 31 (February, 1942): 41-42. "Wartime Handicaps and Achievements of Britain's Lower Schools," *School and Society* 59 (April, 1944): 247. Elmer S. Holbech, "Bombs Didn't Close the British Schools," *School and Society* 60 (October, 1942): 273-275.

20 As America became embroiled in war so the amount of detailed information on war preparation in Britain grew. For example, this study located only six articles concerning education in the war written in 1939 and 1940. However, during 1942 and 1943, forty-one articles were identified; often they were written for the explicit purpose of assisting war time preparation in the United States.

21 Martha M. Eliot, "What We Can Learn from England," *Child Study* (Winter, 1941): 35-63.

22 Max Black, "Wartime Education in England," *Journal of the National Education Association* 31 (February, 1942): 41-42.

23 See, for example, A. Hooper, "Problems of Teaching Mathematics in Schools in England," *The Mathematics Teacher*, 37 (October, 1944): 262-269; H. G. Stead, "The Impact of War on English Schools," *The Education Digest* 8 (February, 1943): 54-57; Florence Hale, "Education in Conquered Countries." *The Grade Teacher* (September, 1942): 8-9; Elsie V. Parker, "British Schools in the War," *The American Teacher* 26 (March, 1942): 9-12.

24 L. D. Gresh, "How English Youth are Helping Win the War," *Journal of the National Education Association* 31 (March, 1942): 87.

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25 John H. Moehle, "Bombs and Books," *American School Board Journal* 102 (March, 1941): 30-32.

26 "Announcement" *Education for Victory* 1 (November, 1942): 3.

27 See, for example, Evan Davies, "British School Defense Activities," *Education for Victory* 1 (November, 1942): 3-4.

28 Evan Davies, "How England Cares for the Children of Women War Workers," *Childhood Education* 19 (December, 1942): 164-166; Agnes E. Meyer, "Britain's Children in Wartime," *Journal of the National Education Association* 32 (January, 1943): 3-5; Roxana S. Gandy, "The Education of Refugee Children," *Educational Outlook* 15 (January, 1941): 82-86.

29 Helen Heffernan, "School Teachers Carry On in Wartime England," *California Journal of Education* 12 (November, 1943): 46-54.

30 Margaret D. Clarke, "Wartime Tasks of a London Teacher," *The Grade Teacher* 62 (March, 1945): 16; "Education in a Time of Crisis," *The School Review* 49 (February, 1941): 81.

31 "New Loan Packets on Great Britain," *Education for Victory* 2 (October, 1943): 14.

32 See, for example, Helen Heffernan, "School Teachers Carry On in Wartime England," *California Journal of Education* 12 (November, 1943): 116; "Correspondence with British Children," *California Journal of Education* 12 (August 1943): 46-54. A feature of the British propaganda campaign was the widespread effort to encourage American educators to support the British war effort and share in the common struggle. In this regard, American teachers, through publications of the American Federation of Teachers, were able to learn of the British experience. Indeed, in August 1941, teachers in America were offered extensive excerpts from letters written by Elsie Parker,the Ex-President of the National Union of Teachers in England, depicting the wartime situation in British schools and openly appealing for American support.

33 W. E. Williams, "In Wartime Britain," *The Education Digest* 5 (March, 1940): 17-19; Walter C. Bagley, "England's Budget For Education To Be Larger Than Ever," *School and Society* 55 (March, 1942): 605. Mary E. Murphy, "English Elementary and Secondary Education in Wartime," *Educational Record* 22 (April, 1941): 130-137.

34 H. G. Stead, "A British View of Education and War," *High School Journal* 23 (October, 1940): 261.

35 See, extracts from the Times Educational Supplement, printed in "Education in a Time of Crisis," *The School Review* 69 (February, 1941): 83.

36 Ordway Tead, "Education Goes to War," *The Saturday Review of Literature* 26 (March, 1943): 21.

37 See, for example, Frederick L. Redefer, "England Learns from War," *Progressive Education* 20 (November, 1943): 318-321; Worth McClure, "The Schools of Britain Carry On," *The American School Board Journal* 108 (March, 1944): 47; H. C. Dent, "Recruiting Teachers in Great Britain," *The School Executive* 65 (October, 1945): 56.

38 Wallace R. Klinger, "Postwar Education in England," *The Education Digest* 12 (November, 1946): 22-23; Eugene C. Kent, "The Shape of Schools to Come," *The Education Digest* 10 (May, 1945): 46-48; Max Black, "What Has Happened to the Schools of England?" *The American Teacher* 27 (March, 1943): 8-11; Worth McClure, "The Schools of Britain Carry On," *The American School Board Journal* 108 (March, 1944): 47.

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39 Eugene C. Kent, "Britain Prepares Large School Building Program," *School Executive* 64 (December, 1944): 28-30; "Postwar Lighting in Britain's Schools," *The American School Board Journal* 110 (March, 1945): 56; "Discussion Precedes Building in England," *The Nation's Schools* 36 (December, 1945): 40.

40 R.A. Butler cited in "Links in International Education," *Education for Victory* (November, 1944): 2.

41 L.D. Gresh, "How English Youth Are Helping Win the War," *Journal of the National Education Association* 31 (March, 1942): 87.

Intercultural Education and Negro History During the Second World War

Sherry L. Field
The University of Georgia

The United States' entry into World War II heralded a new sense of direction, purpose, and change for educators. For many teachers, World War II provided impetus for classroom discussion of current events and the construction of new units of study. While most educators agreed with the necessity of revised roles, goals and aims, duties and curriculum for wartime elementary and high schools, other teachers insisted that the proper time for children to participate in conservation efforts, in scrap and salvage drives, and in productive leisure time activities was outside the normal school hours. A vivid contrast to this attitude of exclusion was voiced by Elizabeth Coleman, a Chicago educator. She said that "at no time, in peace or in war, can businesses, social agencies, government, or the schools ignore the responsibility of adapting their products or programs to the needs of the society served. To remain static in the face of social change results in failure in peace as it does in war."[1]

As schools began to rethink their role in wartime education, the very fabric of American society changed. To support and prosecute the massive war effort, the United States experienced massive changes, some of them wrenching. Volunteers and conscripts flowed into training camps and prepared for battlefront assignments. Businesses and industries joined forces to outfit soldiers and to produce weapons, ships, and aircraft, as well as the supplies to maintain far dispersed forces. Housewives joined the work force in record numbers for military victory.

During the war years,American schools responded to the social pressures of the times because they are highly resilient social institutions. Little has been recorded, however, about the nature and extent of these changes. For example, in the only historical treatment of schooling during the Second World War, I.L. Kandel, professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia, writes, "The process of self examination had already been started during the years of the depression; it was further stimulated by the changes of totalitarian ideologies to the ideals of democracy. World War II served as the culminating test in a process which had already begun."[2]

A major part of the educator's reflection and self examination of which Kandel wrote was also reflected in the greater American population. Much attention was given to speculation about how to organize a "new world order" when World War II came to an end. A debate over the advancement of a United Nations organization raged, and the pitfalls of the League of Nations were recounted. Messages about intercultural, international, and global education were especially prevalent in the professional educational literature of the times and in newspaper and magazine reports. An analysis of the intercultural education content of educational periodicals and literature published between the years 1934 and 1944 revealed that two hundred and twenty articles from forty-two periodicals had been published in the previous decade.[3] The majority of these articles contained information about "intergroup relations, examinations of the concept of race, characteristics and problems of special groups, and analysis of the treatment of groups in literature."[4] Several trends were reported in the study, including a "preachment of the American ideal of fair play in a moralistic tone" and sociologically unrealistic "pep talks."[5] Authors identified needs in the areas of specialized teacher training and teaching materials. As in the popular literature of the time, these intergroup education articles looked to the schools for solutions to the problems.

Still, even as numerous lofty ideals about the future of America's people and their place in a peacetime world became commonplace by the midpoint of the war, tensions on the home front did not go unnoticed. Race riots in Detroit, East St. Louis, and Harlem were widely reported prior to and during World War II, as were instances of religious intolerance and acts of violence toward immigrants during the war. Despite its boast of democracy, America had "failed to solve the problem of its minority groups and hostility between national, racial, and religious groups ranged from "a voiceless holding aloof to open combat and injustices that makes mockery of our principles."[6] Minority groups struggled to advance socially and economically during the war, and even though minorities experienced overt discrimination and were often under represented in military service, they were encouraged by their representative newspapers to support the war. For example, Drake and Cayton, who have reported extensively about life in the south side of Chicago, reveal that "most Negro papers continued to follow the policy that the *Pittsburgh Courier* dubbed the 'Double V'--a fight for the victory of democracy at home as well as abroad."[7]

Highly publicized social issues of tolerance and intolerance gave rise to the publication of many articles by educators and citizens urging

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social studies teachers to advance racial and religious understanding. Most educators expressed righteous indignation, some speculated about probable reasons for the social ills; others compared the times to World War I; some suggested solutions to the problems. Not surprisingly, it was widely reported in America that the public school classroom would end social injustice.

Initial Efforts Toward Intercultural Education

Some educators were determined to introduce activities in schools which would promote kindness, fairness, and unity. From the rhetoric surrounding intercultural education in professional journals and popular magazines, two themes emerged. To some, intercultural education meant learning about peoples of the world in order to achieve a world community. Citizenship themes, those of being a good neighbor, being fair, and being understanding were encouraged. Understanding the interrelationships of the world's nations and realizing that similarities exist among different peoples was identified as an aim of intercultural education. Examples of programs in two schools illustrate the revision of school programs to incorporate elements of intercultural education.

The San Dimas Elementary School District was located in a small California town of 2,700 with twenty percent "Mexican and Mexican Americans."[8] By 1940, racial tensions were running rampant in the community. With the assistance of some respected educators, a practical community intercultural program was implemented with the formation of a group of Mexican American "young people" with the specific purpose of seeking solutions to school and community problems. In 1941, a seventh and eighth grade intercultural club was organized to plan problem solving and recreational activities. In school, eighth grade units of study were designed to improve attitudes. In 1942, an intercultural club for adults began with language classes, war programs, monthly educational meetings, and social events. In 1943, Claremont Colleges administered for the San Dimas children a summer school program which included music, dancing, crafts, and languages. Recreational programs for children and young people, as well as an educational program for adults, were begun. The San Dimas Community Council, formed in the fall of 1943, soon opened a Community House to tend to the health needs of children, developed a 1944 summer program for children, started a teen recreation center, and sponsored a nursery school to assist in the teaching of English to young children. The success of the program was described as "painfully slow" but one which was producing "definite changes" in the community.[9]

In Hamtramck, Michigan, teachers were determined to meet the needs of their community, which was ninety percent Polish, largely independent, and surrounded by Detroit. They became aware that pupils in elementary schools held serious prejudices. When young people left Hamtramck, they almost always experienced difficulties adjusting to a new environment. Consequently, they often returned home. To solve this problem, teachers enhanced the fifth-and sixth grade social studies curriculum with a project to help resolve racial conflicts and to help ease tension between children and their foreign born parents. One teacher's efforts were reported by Helen F. Storen,[10] director of social studies in the district. During a current events class, student discussion led to the resolve to find out more about the nationality groups of the community represented by class population: Polish, Ukrainian, Italian, German, Austrian, and Czechoslovakian. School events recorded in the teacher's journal revealed the following activities: construction of a large world map and location of countries of origin, writing statements about why students' parents came to America, an oral report about the problems faced by parents when they came to America, a listing of sources of disagreement between parents and children, a comparison and contrast of the lives of the students with those of the parents, a study of contributions by cultural groups to the community, an exhibition of foreign made articles, visits by parents during the exhibit, and study of other communities in which many foreign born adults lived.

Chicago Public Schools Negro History Project

Although educators and the general public wished for improved relations between various cultures, effective leadership was necessary for any reform to take place. Still, some school districts, school leaders, teachers, parents and students made valiant efforts to initiate change in their schools and their curriculums. For example, the Chicago Public Schools sought better racial understanding with a massive contribution to the social studies whereby "the Negro youth is taught to respect himself and the white youth is taught to appreciate Negro achievements."[11]

After attending the Negro Exposition of 1940 several times, teacher Madeline R. Morgan "became impressed with the contributions that had been made by Negroes in science, health, art, and literature to American life." She began to "dream and hope for the time when Negro boys and girls would be given an opportunity to read about the achievements of our leaders and their deeds." Morgan began to speak to her school principal, Miss Elinor C. McCollom, about the possibilities of creating a Negro history curriculum for young Chicago school children. The principal encouraged her to propose a plan to Dr. William H. Johnson, superintendent of Chicago Schools. She presented a plan to Johnson to augment the existing social studies curriculum with a study of the Negro's contributions to America. Superintendent Johnson realized that "the logical place to teach a real and practical democracy is in the public

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school, and there also is the logical place to begin the practice of ideals."[12] He readily accepted the plan.

Dr. Johnson appointed a committee to research the history of the American Negro. According to the *Monthly Labor Review*,[13] Madeline Morgan and her chosen partner for research, Mrs. Bessie King, were assigned to the Bureau of Curriculum and were "relieved of all teaching duties and devoted their entire time for 18 months to this subject and work." The larger biracial committee was composed of elementary school principals and teachers. Extensive research ensued, primarily conducted at the George Cleveland Hall Branch at the Chicago Public Libraries, the University of Chicago libraries, and the Chicago Art Institute. As units of study were finished, they were submitted for approval, suggestions, and corrections to outside experts. Among the experts who reviewed the material were Carter G. Woodson, editor of *The Journal of Negro History*; Melville Herskovits, anthropologist at Northwestern University; Avery O. Craven, professor of history at the University of Chicago; Charles H. Wesley, president of Wilberforce University; and Walter Johnson, professor of English at the University of Illinois. Experts within the district included Maudelle Bousfield, then the only Negro high school principal in Chicago, Ruth Jackson, the only Negro elementary school principal, Eleanor McCollum, principal of Emerson School, Lois Morstrom, principal of Betsy Ross School, and three Negro history teachers who were selected on the basis of their outstanding teaching performances: Clara Anderson, Du Sable High School; Thelma Powell, Wendell Phillips High School; and Samuel Stratton, Du Sable High School.

Superintendent Johnson explained the purpose of the new social studies material:

> The pupils of our public school must learn about these achievements of the Negro; just as they have learned about the Pilgrims . . . ,the Indians . . . , and the immigrants from Europe. . . . The Negro has given his toil, his talents, and even his life to create and perpetuate our democratic way of life.[14]

In separate accounts, both Johnson[15] and Morgan[16] submitted aspects of the development of Negro history curriculum units for use in the elementary schools of Chicago. The units of study were developed for each elementary grade level, one through eight. In the primary grades, community life was to be studied, and "stories were written for these grades that show the Negro not only as private and public servant, but as educator, musician, and scientist."[17] The intermediate grade curriculum included attention to Negro relations with early white settlers, to plantation life, and as part of the general study of Africa. The upper grade curriculum included the study of Negroes during the Revolutionary War and the Civil War, achievements of the Negro after emancipation, and contemporary Negro leaders. More specifically, the organization of these curriculum units is amplified below:

Grade One: Community Helpers

This study included "Billy's Ride" where students learn that there are brown policemen and "Sally's Ride to the Farm" where students learn about "the services rendered by the Pullman porter." In addition, there were stories about Marian Anderson, concert singer; Florence Prince, symphony writer; and Paul Lawrence Dunbar, poet.

Second Grade: Community Helpers Continued

The stories in this unit of study focused upon George Washington Carver, agronomist; Dorothy Maynor, singer; R. Nathaniel Dett, composer; and Langston Hughes, poet.

Third Grade: Occupations and Faraway Cultures

This unit of study included details of life in West Africa's Dahomey. It detailed the lives of Chicago's Negro Neighbors such as Maudelle Bousfield, high school principal; Arna Bontemps, author; and Dr. T. K. Lawless, dermatologist. A continued study of songs and poetry from Negroes was also found in the third grade unit of study.

Fourth Grade: Early Settlers and Negro Inventors

The fourth grade unit of study featured Jan Matzeliger, inventor of the shoe lasting machine; Granville T. Woods, inventor of electrical appliances; William Trial, settler in the Indian territory; and Paul Robeson,singer.

Fifth Grade: Early Settlers and Plantation Life

Fifth grade students encountered Chicago's first settler, Jean Baptist Point de Saible; plantation life in Virginia; economic and industrial contributions; and contributions of folk music and spirituals.

Sixth Grade: Explorers/Discoverers

Sixth grade students were taught about Negroes who traveled with early explorers, including Alonzo Pietro, who piloted Christopher Columbus' ship Nina back to

> Spain; Estavenico, who discovered Arizona and New Mexico; and Matthew Henson, the only American to accompany Admiral Perry in his discovery of the North Pole.

Seventh Grade: Negro Soldiers in Revolutionary War & Civil War

> The seventh grade unit of study encompassed the Revolutionary War period to the Spanish American War period. Biographies of accomplished Negro Americans included those of Booker T. Washington, Mary McLeod Bethune, Mordecai Johnson, Blanche K. Bruce, William E.B. DuBois, Carter G. Woodson, Harry T. Burleigh, Henry O. Tanner, James Weldon Johnson, and James Bland.

Eighth Grade: Famous Militaristsand Contemporary Negro Leaders

> In the eighth grade unit of study, students learned about West Point Military Academy graduates Henry Ossian Flipper, John Alexander, Charles Young, and Benjamin O. Davis; Pilot Robert Smalls, for whom Camp Robert Smalls at Great Lakes Naval Training School is named; and, among Chicago community establishments, the Chicago Negro Art Center, the Hall Library, Good Shepherd Community Center, Provi-dence Hospital, several insurance companies and businesses, and three newspapers–*The Chicago Defender, Pittsburgh Courier,* and *Chicago Bee.*[18]

All the stories were tested in classrooms. That is, they were first read to students so that reactions and interest could be noted, and so that vocabulary difficulties could be found, if any existed. Content of each story was mindful of student interest, capabilities, and existing social studies curriculum. According to Morgan, "the children, both white and colored, were eager to hear the stories and were surprised to learn that Negroes had made so many contributions to the development of American life."[19] Selections from the stories provide insight into the types of history teaching in elementary schools prevalent during the war years. For example, a first grade story, "Sally's Ride to the Farm," told the following story of a Negro train porter:

> Now the train was coming to a big steel bridge. Under the bridge was a wide, rough river. Sally did not like the high bridge. She did not like the tumbling, dirty, brown water. Sally sat as far back in the corner of her seat as

> she could. Just then, a smiling, brown faced man, dressed in a clean white coat, came down the aisle. He was called the Pullman porter. He saw Sally and he knew that she was frightened. He sat down beside her. He began to tell Sally a story. He told her that when he was a little boy he lived very near this big river. The river had been his friend because he had fished and waded in it. He liked the river!
>
> 'See,' he said, pointing to a little house near the shore, 'my house was like that one. It was very near the river too.'
>
> Sally looked at the house. She looked at the river. Suddenly, she wasn't frightened any more. She was thinking of the fish that lived in the river. She was thinking of the little colored boy who swam and waded in the river.
>
> 'Yes,' said Sally happily, 'I believe I like it too.'[20]

Malcolm S. MacLean, president of Hampton Institute would certainly have opposed the content of this story. He claimed, "We have poured millions of dollars of public money into the education of thousands of American youngsters and thus wasted the whole investment by making cooks and red caps, janitors and elevator men, shipping clerks, and ditch diggers out of the graduates in science, law, education, social studies, and the humanities."[21] Indeed, stories such as this were a part of the Negro History Curriculum in Chicago. Similarly, a third grade story of African life had a purpose of "showing that the African farmers are not carefree:"[22]

> The African Negroes have to work very hard for a living. Most of them make their living by farming. Farming is not easy. There are two long rainy seasons. Sometimes the storms damage the crops. Often the hot boiling sun bakes the earth. This makes hoeing very difficult. Sometimes the birds and the insects eat every sign of vegetation. These things alone show that the farmer has to work hard if he is to have any crops.[23]

Teachers also seemed enthusiastic about the new Negro History Curriculum. According to Morgan, "Some teachers reported, 'When I read the stories about Negroes my room is as quiet as death. The children simply love the stories.'"[24] Another teacher reported that "the study of Negro history in my eighth grade class led to pupil research activities. Simple research methods were introduced. So many books from the library came in and such lengthy discussions followed that it became necessary for me to organize a Negro history club."[25] Hundreds of letters poured into the Chicago school system as citizens began to hear about the new Negro History units of study. Morgan revealed her findings from many school children and teachers after the initiation of the program, and she highlighted the vast amount of attention it produced:

> Many articles are appearing in school newspapers and city papers about Negro contributions, and the children enjoy finding material about Negroes. Plays, round table discussions, and stories about Negroes are taking a greater place in school programs. Forty states have been reached and almost a thousand sets of units have been mailed since September. Among some of those receiving the units are people so far south as South America; as far north as Maine; as far west as California; as distant as Italy and Africa; and the United States Office of Education in Washington, D.C., the board of education, social agencies, ministers, principals, teachers, soldiers, colleges, city interracial commissions, and interested citizens.[26]

The Chicago Negro History implementation seems to have been successful, although, possibly since the project was not conceived until 1940, long term results were not reported for some time, if at all. We know that the Negro History Curriculum was in practice at least from 1942-1945. Evidence of the continued widespread use of the Negro History curriculum in Chicago schools remains to be found. Superintendent Johnson, in his 1943 report stated "the anticipated results are worth any effort, because they mean a unification of our country from within and a strengthening of our democratic ideals."[27]

Chicago was probably the only city in the United States to implement a widespread program about Negro history so ambitious for the times. New York State's course of study boasted inclusion of "The Negro in American Life" in Grade Five,[28] and Pittsburgh schools recommended the "pervasive approach" to history teaching in fifth grades by including "study of the Negro song and spiritual as evidence of true folk music."[29] The magnanimity of these efforts must not go unnoticed. The intent of intercultural education was expressed by the Children's Book Committee of Teachers of English: "If we are to win the peace as well as the war, it is essential that we provide tomorrow's citizens with the fullest possible understanding of the world which will be theirs."[30]

To be sure, these early efforts to educate young Americans about varied cultures seem unsophisticated. The record of their implementation is important to the field of curriculum history, however, so that the rich memories may be shared in the future. As modern school districts across the United States reflect upon and revise their present multicultural education courses of study, a glimpse into past efforts seems prudent.

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Patriotism and Education in der Vaterland of Texas During World War II

James W. Morris
University of Texas at Austin

Appearing December 11, 1941, in the weekly *Fredericksburg Standard*, was a front page editorial written by Colonel Alfred Petsch. In this newspaper column, Petsch recounted his disagreements with the "foreign policies of Mr. Roosevelt" and with Roosevelt's "apparent war inclinations." Yet Petsch strongly condemned the Japanese empire and its "engines of death . . . killing our soldiers, sailors and civilians," and he urged "every citizen of the United States to support the country's objective whole-heartedly and unequivocally." This objective, he asserted, was "the continued existence of our nation as an independent country," and for its protection "every true American will subscribe cheerfully his every resource and his very life." Petsch continued his call to arms, "The question is not whether we will serve the nation; it is how we will serve. The young and able bodied men, the finest specimens of our people will be called upon (in many instances volunteer) to tender their very lives as service to our nation. Every citizen's property resources must support the war program in fair proportion. Everybody must carry his part of the load. There is no excuse, and we trust there will be no opportunity, for any citizen to shirk his duty. This now is our WAR, every citizen's fight."[1]

Apparently, Petsch, like many Americans, assumed a wartime duty for the schools of his community. Indeed, many schools throughout the country did become involved in war related activities. However, the nature of their wartime participation merits fuller exploration.

The Impact of the War Upon American Education by Isaac Kandel identifies new demands that the war placed upon educational institutions: "The normal programs of secondary schools had to give way to a large extent, if not wholly, to programs of 'Education for Victory' and to vocational preparation." According to Kandel, schools were undecided about replacing traditional academic studies with courses designed to prepare students for the armed forces or other wartime occupations. "It was not clear," writes Kandel, "whether the high schools should prepare youth directly for some form of war service or whether they should bend their efforts to maintaining the academic tradition as far and as long as possible."[2]

Clearly, Fredericksburg High School, in rural Fredericksburg, Texas, was inclined toward the latter goal: the maintenance of its academic traditions in the face of political, economic, social, and cultural changes brought on by America's entry into World War II. Superintendent S. H. Smyre succinctly articulated this goal. In describing his "business as usual" approach to administering the Fredericksburg schools during wartime, Smyre announced that "no substantial change has been made in the curriculum."[3] Almost fifty years later, this same sentiment on curricular changes is echoed by teachers, students, and community members as they remember wartime schooling in Fredericksburg, Texas.

During World War II, American civilians and soldiers shared responsibility for the services and sacrifices demanded by total war. Moreover, the physical heroism of the military forces was matched, deed for deed, by the moral heroism of those men, women, and children who remained behind. Thus, both civilians and soldiers were inseparably linked by a sense of togetherness based on common purpose and mutual appreciation.

World War II affected the civilian population of the United States. America's schoolchildren made numerous wartime adjustments related to events taking place halfway around the world. Spaull's analysis of the relationship between war and society yields four distinct themes in this regard. First, the war disrupted normal school activities; second, actual curricular changes were suggested on national, state, and some local levels in response to the demands of war; third, schools were expected to participate along with communities in activities and programs that supported America's war effort; and, fourth, the psychological effect of war on society placed enormous responsibility on the schools for the generation and preservation of morale.[4] Each theme is further developed in this portrayal of wartime schooling in rural Fredericksburg, Texas.

The Setting

Fredericksburg, Texas, the Gillespie County seat, is home to many descendants of its original German inhabitants. In May of 1846, a hundred and twenty German settlers gathered on the bank of a stream meandering through the hill country of central Texas. On this spot, overlooking an oak grove, the German immigrants unloaded their worldly possessions from twenty ox drawn wagons. Green hills, abounding with game, rose and fell much like those of the fatherland, providing a climate suitable for raising sheep, goats, and cattle.

Although the cedar, oak, and cypress trees of the area hardly resembled the great coniferous forests of Germany, and the nearby streams were tiny compared to the great rivers of Europe, the immigrants were delighted to be in their new home. Here was a place to make a fresh start, to build "homes and public buildings that were reminiscent of the fatherland but with a southwestern influence."[5] Fredericksburg had within its boundaries "people of many types and talents -- skilled craftsmen, builders, tradesmen, farmers and professional men."[6] Representing all classes of European society, these settlers were "people of integrity and perseverance; God fearing, industrious, and thrifty."[7] Most inhabitants of Fredericksburg, regardless of vocation also farmed the land. Thus, in keeping with the tradition of their native Germany, very few of these settlers built residences on their farms. Instead, they clustered their homes together in the village of Fredericksburg, residing in what remains "the most German of all the German settled towns in Texas."[8] Even today, almost one hundred and fifty years after its settlement, a clear majority of Fredericksburg's six thousand residents are ethnic Germans and the culture of "Der Vaterland" permeates this rural Texas community.

Disruption: the First Consequence of Wartime

One of the first casualties of World War II was Fredericksburg's interscholastic sports program. Within a month of Pearl Harbor, Fredericksburg High School athletic officials announced the cancellation of the 1941-42 basketball schedule. They stated that the decision was based on the "inability to secure transportation for players to the games"[9] in anticipation of gasoline and tire rationing. An alternative to the interscholastic basketball program emerged in the formation of an intramural program.

Six senior teams and six junior teams, "all of whom invaded the animal kingdom to select a team name,"[10] began intramural play the last week in January. The teams played a ten week schedule with games on four weekday afternoons. Wednesdays were scheduled for practice sessions. Mildred Roundtree, a high school English teacher at this time, remembered that "canceling basketball was no big thing" in Fredericksburg. "Back then we were a football town. Very few people followed basketball." According to Roundtree, "the only people who got upset were the players and their parents."[11] However, in the autumn of 1942, Fredericksburg High resumed interscholastic competition and played its regular football schedule against neighboring schools. Taking notice of the football schedule, the basketball supporters voiced their protests and successfully prevailed upon school officials to resume the school's prewar schedule. Consequently, both sports continued regular interscholastic competition throughout the war.

Significantly, Fredericksburg High School had no physical education program, in its curriculum before or immediately after World War II. Neither did it establish a wartime physical fitness program as a response to the poor physical condition of young men who sought to enlist in the service. Nationally, the physical condition of Americans who sought to join the armed forces during both world wars was abysmal. In Fredericksburg, if young men were not physically fit for military service, the school officials neither assumed the responsibility nor attempted to develop a new school program to remedy the situation.

The war also created a void in the agricultural work force of Gillespie County. Many daily wage farm hands chose to enlist and serve in military forces rather than to labor long hours for low wages. To alleviate this manpower shortage, Fredericksburg High School students were recruited by the local Agricultural Adjustment Act office to assist peanut farmers during the fall harvest of 1942. Farmers were advised that high school students were willing to help with the harvest and that interested farmers should contact the AAA office in Fredericksburg to make the necessary arrangements for student work. The high school boys labored each day after school and on Saturdays. When the harvest was completed, they were paid the customary per acre wage for their work.

A relatively minor disruption of the regular school program was a change in the beginning and closing hours of the school day. The school board voted to begin the new schedule on Monday, February 9, 1942. "The Fredericksburg Public Schools shall open at 10:00 a.m. and continue until 5:00 p.m. each day except Saturdays and Sundays with one hour recess beginning at 1:00 p.m. for lunch."[12] The Board gave no reason for the change. This "War Time" school schedule lasted only a few weeks, until April 20, 1942, at which time the regular class day reverted to the normal 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. schedule.[13] No other mention of a "War Time" school schedule appears in the Board minutes for the duration of the war. Moreover, this temporary inconvenience is not remembered by interviewed former students and teachers at Fredericksburg High School.

Undoubtedly, the most disruptive consequence that the war had on education, both nationally and in Fredericksburg, was the exodus of teachers from schools to the military service or to war related industries. Most taxpayers remained either unaware or unconcerned that spending money on buildings and facilities was no guarantee of a quality education. All too often, they voted bonds for bricks and mortar rather than to raise taxes to increase salaries. Thus, many teachers opted for higher paying jobs in wartime industries. However, the increased prospect for more money was not the only reason teachers resigned their positions during the war. Many joined military service for avowedly patriotic purposes. Throughout the war, those teachers who remained at their jobs were expected to carry their fair share of the load. Elected officials and school administrators required teachers to participate in various war related activities. Governor Coke R. Stevenson, for example, designated February 16, 1942, as a legal holiday throughout Texas, but he demanded that State Department of Education employees and all public school teachers use the holiday to assist with the selective service registration of men throughout the state. Fredericksburg teachers participated as directed.[14]

Rural schools were hardest hit by the wartime teacher shortages.[15] These rural districts paid lower salaries to teachers, and the working and living conditions in these areas were frequently less desirable. A survey by the United States Office of Education estimated in 1943 that the turnover rate was more than twice as high in rural schools as in urban schools. However, this statistic does not disclaim the fact that teacher shortages were also problematic for America's urban schools. By war's end more than a third of all competent teachers employed in 1940-41 had left teaching for higher paying jobs elsewhere.

Teacher shortages forced school systems to initiate emergency measures: employing women teachers who had left the profession to get married, engaging substitutes and less experienced teachers, lowering standards and granting emergency certificates, increasing the load of teachers who remained in their positions, dropping certain courses, and in rare instances, awarding salary increases and bonuses. However, these measures failed to stem the migration of teachers from the profession. Consequently, experienced teachers were often replaced by inexperienced young people who had been granted emergency certificates, although some of those teaching on emergency certificates were "former teachers with fair preparation."[16]

Fredericksburg High School struggled with mixed success to deal with the repercussions of wartime teacher turnover. In 1939, the high school faculty numbered five men and five women under the leadership of a female principal.[17] By war's end, after repeated wartime personnel changes, the faculty of Fredericksburg High School assumed a completely new look. In 1945, the staff comprised only one man, who joined with nine women to teach in the high school under the administration of a male principal.[18] Entries in the wartime school board minutes reveal that board members expressed continued concern about midyear teacher resignations which "hampered educational progress."[19] Teacher turnover at Fredericksburg High School was common. In fact, the Fredericksburg Standard reported a vacancy on the high school faculty because a newly hired teacher "resigned on Wednesday after having reported for duty on Tuesday."[20] Undoubtedly, most wartime replacements stayed on the job longer than a single day. In their June 1942 meeting, the school board declared that "any instructor who resigns his position or severs his relationship with the school except through death or other unavoidable circumstances shall forfeit all rights to any part of his or her annual salary payable during the summer months."[21] However, this policy was not strictly enforced; records indicate that the board granted leaves of absence with no penalty for up to three years to both men and women teachers with "exceptionally high standards of instruction" who left for "patriotic duty," throughout the war.[22]

On January 7, 1943, the board suspended several longstanding requirements for employment in the Fredericksburg Public Schools. They agreed to hire younger, less experienced people, and married women.[23] The marriage bar was not reinstated at war's end.

Wartime Curriculum: Continuity and Change

Curriculum changes prescribed at Fredericksburg High School during the war largely were cosmetic and inconsequential. Mildred Roundtree, an English teacher at Fredericksburg during the war, recalled that "we didn't teach anything differently during the war, although sometimes we did talk about the war and what was going on." She continued," I also taught music. We sang a lot of patriotic songs and conducted assemblies with patriotic themes."[24] Roundtree's recollections are substantiated by Art Kowert, publisher of the *Fredericksburg Standard*. He also recalls that the schools attempted to "continue teaching students just as they had before the war."[25]

Official records of the Texas Education Association reveal several course offering changes during the war years. The annual superintendent's reports list eight new courses that were introduced at Fredericksburg High School during the war: Spanish, physiology, music, modern history, English history, trigonometry, health education, and vocational agriculture. Three of these additions (Spanish, health education and vocational agriculture) persisted in the postwar curriculum, although the other five disappeared after only a year or two.[26] One explanation for these course changes is the instability of a teaching staff pressed into service.

It is not clear if German was taught during the war. W. C. Westerfield, who taught at Fredericksburg High School before the war and became its principal in 1948, alleges that German classes were phased out of the high school curriculum in the early 1930s due to a "lack of interest." [27] Further, he takes credit for returning both German and Spanish to the high school curriculum in the late 1940s. Mildred Roundtree disagrees with Westerfield, maintaining that high school German classes were discontinued during the war as an overt demonstration of patriotism.[28] Her account is supported by Hans Bergner, a 1939 graduate of Fredericksburg High School, who later served as Fredericksburg school superintendent. Bergner remembers German language classes at the high school as late as 1939, but he is unable to verify what happened to German classes at Fredericksburg High School during the war.[29] State Department of Education records, on the other hand, offer a contrasting view. Instead of supporting accounts of no foreign languages in the high school during the war years, official state records reveal that the high school routinely offered three year sequences in German throughout the war years, and that a Spanish course was offered every year except one (1942-43).[30]

Another war related change at Fredericksburg High School was the addition of the National Youth Administration Defense Course for out of school youths. This vocational training course was designed to prepare workers for jobs in the defense industry. Early in the new year following the Pearl Harbor attack, Fredericksburg High School sponsored this defense course and provided classroom space for seventeen local youths between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five. From 7 to 10 p.m., five nights a week for ten weeks, these youths were taught wartime vocational skills at no personal cost. The federal government furnished supervisors, instructors, and cost free consumable raw materials (e.g. lumber), but operation and control of the Defense Course remained in the hands of the Fredericksburg schools.[31]

Practical Patriotic Activities: Drives and Collections

In a 1943 address to the National Education Association, John W. Studebaker, United States Commissioner of Education, applauded the contributions of American schoolchildren to the war effort. Studebaker praised pupils' wartime ventures: selling bonds and stamps amassing scrap iron for war industries, appropriating old garments for the Red Cross, growing Victory gardens, and collecting waste paper and waste fats.[32]

This picture has another side. The success of the children's experiences is staggering, but it offers little insight into the process that produced these results. In her wartime article, "Making War Drives Educational," college director of rural education, Kate Wofford emphasized the importance of using "democratic procedures" to conduct war drives, emphasizing the appropriateness of having students plan, implement, and evaluate these drives. Moreover, Wofford opposed "any form of adult domination" that might cause the activity "to deteriorate into an exploitation of the children for the benefit of the state."[33] Under Wofford's criteria, the wartime drives at Fredericksburg High School were patriotic but educationally insignificant. These activities represented a unified effort by schoolchildren to serve their country on the home front, but neither students nor teachers appeared to be particularly involved in the planning process.

Barely two weeks after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the teachers and trustees of all the schools in Gillespie County, including Fredericksburg High School, met in the office of County Judge Henry Hirsch to "hear an explanation of the role they are to play in national defense."[34] This meeting dealt with the sale of defense bonds and stamps in the Gillespie County schools. A week later, at a second meeting with teachers and trustees, Postmaster R. W. Klinghoefer explained in greater detail how teachers could impress upon students the importance of the Defense Bond-Stamp programs at their respective schools. Klinghoefer declared that "the teachers of the various schools are to make a survey of their schools and report to the County Judge's office the number of stamps that will be needed for their schools." The postmaster expected that all school officials would participate in this undertaking, set to begin after January 1, 1942.[35]

Nine months later, Judge Hirsch once again enlisted the help of Fredericksburg's teachers and students in the war effort. During the previous summer, a community wide scrap metal drive disappointingly netted only one thousand tons of scrap. Judge Hirsch announced that a second scrap drive would be held between October 5 and 17.[36] This second drive was designated a school project and every school in Gillespie County became an authorized Junk Scrap Depot. A contest was held among the schools in Gillespie County, and a "Scrap Metal Queen" from one school was selected and crowned.[37] At the end of the drive, each school sold all of its collected scrap and kept the proceeds.[38] During this second scrap drive, a *Standard* editorial reminded Fredericksburg's high school students that their effort was part of a great attack "against the worst enemy within our borders today. This enemy [starvation at the steel mills] could stop our factories from making guns and ships and tanks and planes." Local school pupils were exhorted to join this great "Junior Army" and to gather up "rusty pipes, broken bed springs, and air guns that won't shoot any more" so that American factories could "turn this junk into bombs for the Nazis and bullets for the Japs."[39] The success of this second scrap drive may be inferred from a subsequent account in the *Fredericksburg Standard* stating that "the entire community is indebted to the teachers for the patriotic assistance they are giving to this program."[40]

Later in the war, the students of Fredericksburg High School were asked to assist in another kind of war drive. In January, 1944, the Fredericksburg School Board agreed to conduct a blood donation drive for the armed forces. San Antonio's Mobile Blood Donation Unit petitioned the school board for permission to direct this drive and requested the high school's Home Economics building as its headquarters. School board members acknowledged the possibility of "interference with the progress of school" but justified the drive, acknowledging that it offered the opportunity to the greatest number of citizens in the Fredericksburg area who "otherwise would be prevented from rendering such service [giving blood] to our armed forces."[41]

The Development of Home Front Morale

The onset of World War Two ignited a firestorm of patriotism in Fredericksburg. Even so, German ethnicity remained a source of discomfort for many who lived in this small Texas community. Their culture may have been German, but their politics were American. Residents of Fredericksburg still bristled at the hostility they had encountered during World War One, when many German Americans were immersed in the rising tide of xenophobia that swept Texas and the nation. During this period "one hundred percent Americans" demanded the eradication of German culture, including the elimination of German as the language of instruction in ethnic German communities. Many German Americans changed their names and the names of their businesses, and numerous towns, streets and buildings with German names were rechristened.

German Americans who lived in Texas were not immune to wartime prejudice and discrimination although, among the state's minorities, they were outnumbered only by Negroes and Mexican Americans. While melding into the general pattern of Texas life, German Texans, particularly in the hill country, retained much of their traditional German culture which apparently fostered resentment among non Germans who lived nearby. "In medicine, in engineering, in ranching and in many other fields, German Texans are heavy contributors to the state's general prosperity," yet the size of the German ethnic group in Texas allowed it to operate as a society within a society.[42] German Americans in Texas considered themselves "trapped in a crisis of loyalty."[43] Their unquestioned allegiance was to their adopted homeland, although they loved their German culture. Evidence of their loyalty was incontrovertible. For example, Louis Jordan was a local hero whose exploits were known by every citizen of Fredericksburg. Jordan, football captain at the University of Texas, was named to Walter Camp's first All American team, and was later the first officer from Texas killed in France during World War One.

Of considerable importance during the Second World War was the fact that Fredericksburg was also the birthplace and boyhood home of Admiral Chester Nimitz, America's first five star admiral. Nimitz served his country as wartime Commander in Chief of the Pacific fleet. He directed "more military power than had been wielded by all commanders in all previous wars."[44]. Nimitz' position of prominence and responsibility and his ethnicity were sources of immense pride for the German Americans of his hometown. Dubbed "Fredericksburg's favorite and number one citizen" by the City Commission, Nimitz became the first native son honored with a special day. Just three weeks after Pearl Harbor, on December 27, 1941, Fredericksburg celebrated a citywide "Chester W. Nimitz Day." In honor of the occasion, the *Fredericksburg Standard* printed a letter written by prominent Austin attorney and former state official, T. H. McGregor. Contrary to the anti German sentiments expressed by many Texans, McGregor's letter celebrated both Nimitz' accomplishments and his ethnicity, and included the following passage:

> Putting Chester Nimitz at the head of our Pacific fleet stirs a feeling of pride in the bosom of all Texans. He was born and spent his childhood in Texas -- in Central West Texas -- in Gillespie County, at Fredericksburg. He is of German extraction -- is pure German in his blood lines. I will wager my law license that he speaks German as it is spoken along the Rhine. His father was not only a pioneer but was a refugee from Germany -- a fugitive from conditions of tyranny which were intolerable to free men...I have always believed that the Germans who were impelled to come to America in 1848 and other years along about that time were more to be admired for their courage and love of liberty than were the Pilgrim Fathers.[45]

Chester W. Nimitz was an authentic American hero, commanding thousands of ships and millions of men. To citizens of Fredericksburg, Nimitz served both as a link to world events and a buffer against ethnic prejudice and resentment. During the war years, hardly a week passed without a feature article appearing in the Fredericksburg newspaper updating his exploits in the Pacific or recalling stories from his boyhood in the Texas hill country. Ethnic Germans living in Fredericksburg, eager to reaffirm their loyalty and patriotism, thrilled to the exploits of Admiral Nimitz, an American naval leader who shared their German heritage.

The German language continued its prominent usage in Fredericksburg. The *Fredericksburg Standard* also printed a German language edition titled the Wochenblatt, which was necessary because some seventy-five percent of Fredericksburg's population was ethnic German, and half of the townspeople spoke German at home.[46] The *Wochenblatt* ceased publication in 1946 at the end of its 73rd year. Art Kowert, its managing editor, stressed that "there were plenty of subscribers, but not enough advertisers who would pay to have type set in both English and German."[47] During the war, however, the high school principal, B. L. Enderle, attempted to prohibit students from speaking German on the high school campus. Interestingly, the success of this

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mandate is remembered differently by teachers and students. Mildred Roundtree, the high school English teacher, recalls that the students feared punishment for speaking German, so they stopped conversing in German on the playground and around the campus.[48] On the other hand, Belton Klinksiek, a high school student during those years, claimed that the principal's directive was ignored, (as is often the case by students)and that German was spoken on the campus of Fredericksburg High School as it always had been.[49] Arguably, in Fredericksburg, the use of the German language in ordinary discourse was not affected by wartime conditions.

German ethnicity did not diminish the manifest patriotism of Fredericksburg's citizens. For example, Hans Bergner, the aforementioned Fredericksburg native who later served as school superintendent, recalled that his father, a Lutheran minister in Gillespie County, had been jailed in Tennessee during the First World War. Reverend Bergner had refused to stop preaching in German because it was the only language that many in his congregation understood. Young Bergner refused to let his father's earlier imprisonment dampen his patriotism for the American cause. When Japanese bombs fell on Pearl Harbor, Bergner, a 1939 graduate of Fredericksburg High School, was attending Texas Lutheran College . Like many of his friends, Bergner was anxious to quit school and join the fight in Europe. "We couldn't wait to get over there, even though our parents thought we were crazy. They were afraid that we had a glorified idea of what war was like. Their greatest fear was that we would leave and never come back."[50] These fears were not unfounded. A number of Fredericksburg's young men were killed in service to their country, a fact that did not go unnoticed by students at Fredericksburg High School. On May 30, 1945, the senior class presented Fredericksburg High School with a bronze memorial plaque to be inscribed with the names of graduates "who have paid the supreme sacrifice in World War II."[51]

Most accounts of Fredericksburg's school life during wartime recall events and activities that reinforced morale while demonstrating unwavering loyalty to America and its way of life. Art Kowert, whose family published the *Fredericksburg Standard*, remembered no instances of trouble or pro German sentiment within Fredericksburg's ethnic German community. Kowert asserted emphatically that the citizens of Fredericksburg were "patriotic, red blooded Americans."[52] Erna Dietal Heinen, however, hinted at the possible existence of pro German sympathy in Fredericksburg during the war. Heinen was a Fredericksburg native who taught in San Antonio during the war years, but who often returned home to visit with her family. She alluded to wartime rumors of government investigations into the loyalty of some of Fredericksburg's citizens.53 Possibly significantly, German was not spoken in Heinen's home, and her family expressed little interest in the remembrance of German culture or customs. To support her argument of possible pro German sentiment in the Texas hill country, Heinen recalled a story, likely apocryphal, of a man in nearby Stonewall, Texas whose two sons fought, according to their father's wish, in World War II—one in the United States Army and the other in the army of Nazi Germany.

Ethnic Germans in Fredericksburg seemed ambivalent about Nazi Germany. Certainly they were unable to forget their cultural ties to the Vaterland. However, their loyalty was never to Hitler's German war machine. During World War I, "loyal" Americans had directed their military and civilian war efforts against German forces when they disparagingly called "Huns" and "krauts." German Americans seemed relieved when World War II presented "loyal" Americans with an alternative target for their resentment. Ethnic Germans found in the Japanese a new enemy whose culture and physical appearance differed greatly from that of most Americans, and whose moral code seemed totally unaffected by "the ethical principles of the Christian faith."54 Indeed, Japan represented a fitting foe for the citizens of Fredericksburg. Here was an enemy whom German Americans could feel comfortable fighting.

Throughout the war, subtle inconsistencies appeared in Fredericksburg's newspaper coverage of wartime events in Europe and in the Pacific. The *Fredericksburg Standard* benignly referred to America's enemies in Europe as "Germany," "the Germans," or "Nazis." The Japanese, however, were usually called "Japs", and frequently they were portrayed in a negative manner by the local press.

Newspaper accounts of V-E [Victory in Europe] Day and V-J [Victory over Japan] Day indicate a pronounced cultural bias. Following the surrender of Germany in May of 1945, the Fredericksburg Standard ran the following headline, "PEACE IN EUROPE MARKED WITH SOLEMN OBSERVANCE." The accompanying newspaper article asserted that Fredericksburg was not the scene of rousing celebrations like those occurring throughout other parts of the United States.

After V-J Day in August of 1945, the *Fredericksburg Standard*'s headline read "JAPS SURRENDER," and the article described a joyous celebration in Fredericksburg marked with "fire sirens and the ringing of church bells." This pro American, ethnic German community perceived America's victories over Germany and Japan differently. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that, in Fredericksburg, these dissimilar emotional reactions to similar events can be explained, in part, by identifiable, preexisting, ethnic and cultural biases.

Conclusion

Any reflective examination of American high schools during World War II must keep in mind several factors before drawing conclusions about the impact of war upon the schools' curriculum. In order to maintain both historical accuracy and reasoned interpretation, considered factors should include: community size, geographic region, ethnic composition, local history, and economic realities. Previous understandings of wartime schooling have been based on a disproportionate number of urban settings and situations. This study suggests that generalizations reached in these previous accounts of school practice fail to acknowledge fully the heterogeneity of American education during the war years.

Fredericksburg High School served a remote rural community in the hill country of central Texas. School officials explicitly attempted to maintain the school's academic tradition throughout the war rather than devoting its resources to preparing students for service in the armed forces or for work in war related industries. This is not to imply that no changes occurred at Fredericksburg High School during World War II. On the contrary, this study reveals that a number of wartime changes did take place at the high school, but that these changes represented a response to community and cultural demands rather than a concerted effort to fuel the American war machine.

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Rural Education During World War II in Ellinger, Texas

Anne P. Uglum
The University of Texas at Austin

While World War II was devastating to people around the world, the effects of the war were felt especially in the small rural communities around the United States. For several years previous to World War II, rural education had been a target for educators and committees intent on improving schooling in these areas. Rural schools were some of the poorest in the nation, and the lack of wealth manifested itself in the form of inadequate instructional materials, seldom used because of their urban viewpoints, and poorly prepared teachers who were forced to teach under difficult conditions.

By the early 1940s, surveys of education included judgmental statements about rural education, such as "every commonly employed statistical measure suggests that the quality of the educational service provided by rural schools, . . . falls far below national norms."[1] The onslaught of World War II only magnified the problems of the rural schools. Faced with rationing, teacher shortages, and an unstable political climate, these schools were forced to be additionally creative in educating their students.

In a report published by the Commission on Rural Education and the War, rural schools were challenged in the following ways:

> to strive more efficiently than ever before to help each individual . . . a) understand the basic principles and values of democracy, b) develop a deep-seated confidence in and loyalty to democracy and all that it means, c) take part in some real-life activity that makes a significant contribution to the life of the community and gives each child a feeling of responsibility for maintaining and improving the democratic way of life.[2]

Other reports concentrated on what experts believed to be some of the major problems faced by rural schools during World War II. From a report entitled "War Time Guide Posts for Rural Youth," rural schools were admonished to address five major problems: (l) How is democracy to be taught? (2) What shall be the relation of schools to the farm labor shortage? (3) Shall the rural schools' program be accelerated? (4) How shall the threatened teacher shortage be met? and (5) What administrative adjustments are needed?[3] Suggested solutions were long on rhetoric and short on practical solutions, and they always included the footnote that these suggestions should be implemented at the state and local levels, yet with no direction as to how to make the changes.

Near the end of the war, the largest problem to hit the rural schools was the teacher shortages caused by the war. At a White House Conference on Rural Education in October of 1944, Howard Dawson reported that over 50,000 persons were teaching on emergency certificates issued by state agencies to ease the teacher shortage.[4] Many of these individuals were unqualified and possessed little education beyond high school or even elementary school. Because rural schools usually paid low salaries, they rarely attracted qualified, well trained teachers. Consequently, emergency certified teachers, consequently, constituted the bulk of rural teachers. Rationing affected school materials available for students, and other services, such as busing, were either eliminated or curtailed by the war. Rural schools were hit so hard that President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in his remarks to the White House Conference on Rural Education, commented that "[w]e cannot be proud of the fact that many of our rural schools, particularly during these years of war, have been sadly neglected."[5]

Many parts of the country faced similar problems as rural education in Texas did. The Texas Legislature had focused some, but inadequate, attention on the problems of rural education prior to the outbreak of war. In the late 1930s, the Equalization Law was passed by the Texas Legislature. This legislation demanded longer school terms, better prepared teachers, and financial support for weak school districts.[6] Further attempts to reform rural schools in Texas failed because rural communities dominated the legislature. Thus, a "totally decentralized system of education"[7] continued in Texas, with each tiny community exerting its personal influence over the local school. This becomes clear in a study of the modifications of the curriculum, war drives, rationing, and the impact of the war on the children in Ellinger, Texas.

Ellinger, Texas, and the General Effects of World War II on the Ellinger School

Ellinger is located in Central Texas. The town is primarily a farming community composed of people mainly of Czech or German origin.

During the era of World War II, the town had approximately 250 residents. In 1936, a new school had been built. It featured three large classrooms, an auditorium that also served as a gymnasium and lunchroom, and a kitchen.[8] This school offered instruction in grades 1 through 10 and had three full-time teachers. In contrast to most reports on rural teacher preparation at that time, the teachers in Ellinger were well educated and had earned teaching certificates. The two teachers interviewed from that era, Mrs. Irene Meyer who taught grades 1-3 and Mrs. Ruby Martinek who taught grades 4-6, had teaching certificates from Sam Houston State Teacher's College.

The teachers of Ellinger had success with their pupils, with many of their former students going on to neighboring high schools to become valedictorians, salutatorians, and honor students. Classes at Ellinger School were small, and the students received individual attention from the teachers. The students also learned to become independent workers because when the teacher was working with one group of students, the others were either doing homework or tutoring the slower students. In addition to these positive aspects, Ellinger was a tight knit community and the teachers had the full support of the community and parents. All these factors combined to create a school environment in which, as Mrs. Irene Meyer remembers, "we were like a family . . . and the students would help each other."[9]

Prior to Pearl Harbor, the ongoing conflict in Europe had little affect on the small community of Ellinger, even though most of the people living there could trace their ancestry back to Czechoslovakia or Germany. Blanche Hrachovy Pater, a student at that time, recalled "we would call each other . . . Nazi. . . that was the ultimate in calling somebody bad, but we didn't know what it meant because the war didn't affect us. . . I never thought my German friends were like the Germans in Germany."[10]

This rural American innocence was shattered on December 7, 1941, with the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor. The next day, a Monday, teachers across the nation tried to explain the news to the students and comfort and soothe them. Mrs. Ruby Martinek, for example, remembered events on December 8th:

> We called an assembly of the students and teachers and all met out in the gymnasium. We talked about how our entry in World War II might affect our lives. We sang some patriotic songs. We said a prayer and the students were very aware that we were going into something that was going to affect their lives and the lives in their community and country greatly.[11]

Students had a different perspective of what happened. Blanche Pater recalls:

> I remember my first grade teacher explaining that Monday in December, writing Pacific Ocean and Hawaii on the board and trying to explain the war to us . . . I think most of us had a difficult time because we had no concept of 'states.' We were so isolated . . we couldn't possibly imagine even California.

Clearly, the war was to have an effect on everyone. New expectations of teachers and the educational system were formed. Men left teaching positions to enter military service, leaving vacancies that had to be filled mainly by females in the local community, some of whom received quick certification. Ellinger was fortunate not to be affected by the departure of qualified teachers, and the Ellinger teachers soon became the leaders in the community. For example, they dealt with the government regulations on issuing ration booklets, organized scrap metal and paper drives, and helped with the Red Cross. Many teachers in rural communities may have felt burdened and overwhelmed by the sudden increase in work, but the teachers in Ellinger believed they owed something to the community and the nation, or as Mrs. Meyer commented "I was real proud to help out."

Within the school and its day-to-day proceedings, the war's influence was subtle, yet present. Overall, the curriculum of the typical rural school did not change radically with the beginning of World War II. Rural schools at this time had few authorities to whom to answer, and as such, continued to educate their students to meet what teachers felt to be the needs of the community. As Elizabeth Yeager points out, "Expectations and resources simply were different for rural American communities."[12] Thus, the impact of the war tended to be expressed mainly in extracurricular and symbolic activities, such as scrap drives, growing victory gardens, and the buying of war bonds. Still, a few curricular modifications were made.

Curriculum Modifications Made in the Rural Schools in Response to the War

In an article by Lois Clark on adjustments that could be made to the war curriculum, she stressed that most of the adjustments "[could] be made by modifying the activities or instructional materials used in the units or courses now in effect."[13] However, the modifications suggested by Clark were not sweeping reforms. Clark's wartime suggestions were ways simply to improve rural schooling, such as requiring mastery of basic skills, maintaining physical health and fitness, and teaching students how to apply their learning to real life situations.[14]

As for specific subjects, the war influenced classroom topics and themes. In arithmetic, Clark suggested that teachers use examples related to the war, such as how much gas or rubber was needed in solving word problems. In art or music, the theme of democracy could be used, especially with school plays or pageants. An increased emphasis on health and physical fitness was suggested, and in other areas such as science, language arts, or social studies, the war could be used to explain conditions for rationing, to suggest subjects for English themes, or to explain the importance of democracy.

At local levels, school administrators tried to determine in what way "the public schools [could] best serve the needs of this nation."[15] This included teaching the principles of democracy and freedom, maintaining morale, teaching the aims of the war, increasing the emphasis on physical education, and building leadership qualities. At Ellinger School, although teachers received no guidance on how to teach these important lessons, they still managed to instill a sense of pride in America and also bring the war into the curriculum. As Barbara Hrachovy, a former student, remembers that the war "was entwined all day long. . . it was just there throughout the entire day."[16]

Discussion on why certain things were rationed became a lesson in economics and geography. As Mrs. Martinek recalls, students "came to realize that no country is self-sufficient in meeting all our needs. Nations are interdependent one upon the other." She further remembers impromptu lessons in supply and demand. "When students would ask, 'Well, why can't we get more gasoline? Why can't we get more tires?' I would try to explain to them that we didn't have enough raw materials to produce what was needed."

Geography also became important to students as they searched the globe to find out where beloved uncles, brothers, and fathers were stationed. Australia, Guam, Bataan, and the Philippines became more real for the students when they had a loved one fighting in those areas.

The most important change in the curriculum, albeit of a symbolic nature, was the increased emphasis on democracy, freedom, and patriotism. Assemblies were held at least twice a week, where students would gather together to say prayers and to sing patriotic songs. Charlie Hrachovy, a former student, remembers the patriotism at school vividly. "I think the flag and the pledge of allegiance was very important to us . . . there was a lot of pride in being an American."[17] Students were also encouraged to support the men fighting for our country. As Blanche Pater recalls, "we made joke books. We were always making things for the service people . . . The teachers encouraged us to write letters to our family members . . . as a writing assignment."

Every part of the school curriculum was affected in some way by the war. Although most of the changes were not dramatic or long lasting, they were memorable and helped to shape a generation of students.

War Drives and Rationing: Their Effect on Rural Schools

The war's largest impact on the schools, particularly rural schools, was in extracurricular and community activities. Scrap metal and paper drives were held. Bonds and war stamps were bought for the duration of the war. Victory gardens were planted at home and at school. These activities were important, not only for the aid provided to the war effort, but also because war drives were vehicles for educational opportunities. For example, Kate Wofford commented on how war drives could be a healthy outlet for tensions caused by the war. In addition, children's hatred of and fear toward the enemy and their tendency toward destructive activities such as war games could be channeled into the more constructive activities provided by the drives.18 War drives also provided the children with the sense that they were needed, were a viable member of the community, and were doing their part to help the war effort.

But affective gains were not the only positive aspects of war drives. They could also be used in the classroom as a starting point for class discussions about why bond and stamp sales were necessary, why scrap metal needed to be collected, and why conservation was important.19 Victory gardens were also able to play an important role in the wartime curriculum. Through a school victory garden, students could learn the importance of proper nutrition and science in everyday life. Victory gardens helped students gain an understanding of how activities throughout the world were related to each other and to the activities in their own community.[20]

In Ellinger, the war drives and the outside community activities in which students participated played a vital role in both their education and their awareness of the war. Paper drives, scrap metal drives, and buying bonds were part of every schoolchild's life. The students at Ellinger even converted their school flower gardens into victory gardens filled with vegetables that they could eat.

These activities were seen as ways that the even the smallest of children could help the community. As a local newspaper article of the time pointed out, "To the child. . . the idea of being a patriotic citizen is not for mere show, but is for the purpose of helping, even if that help is small."[21] Many of the students helped out by buying stamps towards buying a bond. The school created contests to see which class could save the most money in war stamps. An important thing to remember is that when the children bought bonds, they were not only helping Uncle Sam, but they were also being taught the valuable lesson of how important it was to save.

For those students who found money difficult to come by to even purchase the ten cent stamps needed to buy a bond, there were other ways to help out. Barbara Hrachovy remembers collecting scrap metal.

"There was an old railroad near our house . . . I would go looking for the railroad spikes for the scrap iron and it was helping the war effort if you could find some kind of metal." In whatever way the students participated in the war drives, they learned. Through it all, the school was the central, stabilizing factor in these rural students' lives.

Perhaps the hardest part of the war for the millions of people on the homefront was the widespread rationing that occurred. Almost all commodities, from meat and sugar to gasoline and tires were effected. The rationing was particularly difficult for those living in rural communities. To conserve gasoline, children walked to school. In the warmer months, to save shoes, children came barefoot to classes. The rationing was particularly hard to live with when the weather suddenly turned bad. Mrs. Meyer remembers those instances vividly. "Sometimes the weather would change during the day and [the students] had no raincoats. . . I remember many times when I would take three or four layers of newspapers and put it over their shoulders." Students who were younger during the war, such as Barbara Hrachovy, remember other hardships that gasoline rationing caused. For example, she remembers being homesick because she had to live during the winter with relatives in town to be closer to the school. Gasoline rationing restricted transportation for everyone and further isolated the students of Ellinger and other rural schools in the nation.

Rationing affected Ellinger's school lunch program. Ellinger was a poor school that received government help during wartime. It received surplus agricultural commodities, such as prunes, cheese, milk, and grapefruit juice. Mrs. Martinek particularly remembers the school's lunchroom cooks. "Our cooks were good and they used what we had to the fullest. . . They were very creative because we did get good meals -- tasty and nourishing."

Little children were warned by Mrs. Meyer to not take more than they could eat and to save food. If the students finished several of their meals completely, they qualified to become a Clean Plate Commando. Not all children, however, were happy about doing their parts. Barbara Hrachovy particularly remembers her feelings about the surplus grapefruit juice provided.

> At a certain time of day, you lined up and went up on the stage and they had these huge tumblers of this grapefruit juice which was so bitter and so awful, but you had to do your part and drink the whole thing.

Rationing of chocolate, at least from the children's point of view, was particularly troubling. Instead of real chocolate, they received imitation chocolate that, in the words of Barbara Hrachovy, "tasted horrible." The rationing was difficult, but they learned valuable lessons, such as saving for a rainy day and conserving materials. In addition, as Charlie Hrachovy remarked, ". . . because of the shortages that we went through, you appreciate what you now have and the abundance."

World War II and its Lasting Effects on Rural Children, Schools, and Communities

Perhaps the people most affected by World War II are the ones least heard from in publications about this era. These are the schoolchildren who lived through that era and whose lives were irrevocably changed by world events. Children across the nation were faced with fathers, brothers, and uncles going off to war. They were scared and frightened and very aware that something terrible was happening in the world of adults.

The reaction of the children in Ellinger, Texas probably was similar to those of children across the nation. Children were scared that they would never see their brothers, uncles, or fathers again. For Blanche Pater, whose brother Daniel was fighting in the Pacific arena, one of her main memories was of her parents constantly "praying . . . that [Daniel] would return."

The war was with the children every day and there was little they could do to escape. The children saw movies featuring the Flying Tigers of China or dealing with famous battles such as the Battle of Midway. At recess, children pretended to be American soldiers fighting the Germans or Japanese. Even when they went to town to buy goods at the local store, they would be reminded of the people from their town serving in the war by a display case which had souvenirs sent home from the soldiers serving abroad. The war was not just something heard about over the radio broadcasts. It was everywhere.

World War II clearly affected American education. Its impact on rural schools like the Ellinger, Texas, school is also apparent in the statements made by former teachers and students. Because some local schools officials, however, viewed many of the war activities as extraneous to their accustomed curriculum, they did not use the war as an opportunity to revitalize their sometimes sagging educational programs. Observations such as these were evident even near the end of the war. Roscoe Pulliam, for example, wrote in an article that by the end of the war, "important values in long-time social education and immediate vital information about the war effort. . . have been lost."[22]

Statements such as this may have been true, but for the people who lived through the World War II era, the effects were real and persist fifty years later. Students and teachers learned the value of saving and the importance of not wasting food and other materials. All learned the value of democracy and freedom. Perhaps the best statement on the effect of World War II on not only rural education, but also on all education was made by Mrs. Ruby Martinek:

Yes, we learned many things from our experiences in World War II, but one very important lesson we have not learned is to love our neighbor as ourselves, regardless of race, color, creed, or whatever. Until we follow that command, we will continue to have war and strife in our world. It is only by sharing with our fellow man and respecting the rights of others that we can hope that the dream of the person who wrote "Let There Be Peace on Earth" will come true.

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School Gardens and National Purpose During World War I

O.L. Davis, Jr.
The University of Texas at Austin

School gardening remains a special curiosity of American children's involvement in World War I, the United States' first total war.[1] Ubiquitous, along with Liberty Loan drives and Red Cross sewing and knitting, gardening has helped define the remembered insignificance of children's wartime work. The very curiosity of children's gardening obscures its context and leaves it utterly misunderstood. In fact, wartime school gardening contributed in important ways to the American war effort.[2] Ironically, wartime school gardening, clothed in militaristic appeals and organization, also marked a beginning of a profound shift in the purpose of American schooling.

For more than a hundred years, America's schools had served the academic and citizenship needs of the young nation's children. This purpose would continue its central role during most of the 20th century. However, during the short interval of the Great War, the purpose was altered. Wartime schools within national mobilization also began to serve the interests of the nation state. Specifically, schools were enlisted to serve the nation's efforts to win the war. With the Armistice, the altered purpose lay dormant. Now, 75 years later, the changed purpose appears prominently in school reform proposals. Its beginnings were embedded, innocently enough, in American efforts to insure that the Great War truly would be the war to end all wars.

Wartime school gardening began simply. It responded to obvious need. The United States' declaration of war in April, 1917, launched a multitude of war mobilization efforts. An army was raised, hastily equipped, trained, and transported to France. Production of munitions and uniforms and other necessities of war proceeded as fast as the nation's industries could be converted from peacetime purposes. One absolute necessity [illegible] the conduct of war could not be rushed: the production of food. In the Spring and Summer of 1917, the availability of necessary foodstuffs, principally meat and cereal grains, grew into a serious military concern. The American public swiftly learned of the need for increased food production and food conservation.

The American expeditionary army was not the only focus for increased foodstuffs. Because European agriculture lay devastated by two and a half years of warfare, armies and civilians of the allied nations needed food; the United States was the only source of that supply. Joining the queue of needy Europeans were many thousands of refugees. American farmers recognized this swelling market, but, in frustration, could not seize the opportunity by their own efforts. As customary, war arrived at an inopportune moment.

America entered the Great War in the aftermath of two years of varying decreases in agricultural yields.[3] American farmers hoped that their 1917 harvest would increase. Theirs was an annual hope, in peace and in wartime, over which they had no effective control. Still, the war required even more food than normally produced. Thus, war planners decided that America would supply it. A special wartime slogan proclaimed their decision: "Food Will Win the War."

Even Potomac bureaucrats knew that slogans would not provide the enormous quantities of meat and grain that the war surely would consume. Consequently, the new emergency U.S Food Administration and the U.S. Department of Agriculture initiated several major programs. Although the growing seasons could not be controlled from the nation's capital city, farmers at least could cultivate more cropland, and thereby, the agricultural yield could increase. Farmers across the nation plowed more grassland and planted additional acres. Other actions followed. With the ranks of military aged men depleted, many school boys were released from school to help farmers harvest crops. Thus, the new United States Boys' Working Reserve was created and directed by the federal Department of Labor. Other efforts, including camps for use by city boys who worked on farms, were originated and conducted by some states' Departments of Education.[4] Additionally, the U.S. Food Administration, initiated a number of measures. For example, with the assistance of school children, it sought pledges from the nation's citizens to conserve food by eating less and to save fat for the manufacture of explosives. As the war dragged on, this agency encouraged Americans to enjoy meatless and wheatless days as measures to conserve food.[5] Soon after the US entered the war, the independent, voluntary National War Garden Commission began to advocate expansion of home gardens across the nation. An immediate success, it claimed at the end of 1917 that gardeners of 3 1/2 million home gardens had produced canned vegetables and fruits valued at $350 million.[6] Food production remained a high priority throughout the war.

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The U.S. School Garden Army: Children Garden Soldiers to Produce Food

By the Spring of 1918, a year into the war, the U.S. Bureau of Education belatedly announced its contribution to increased food production. It appealed to every public school in the nation to organize local units of the United States School Garden Army and to enlist school children as USSGA soldiers. Both boys and girls were eligible for enlistments. This new organization built on the foundation of a quarter century of school gardening in many of America's city schools. In fact, during the previous year, the first growing season of the war, 488 city school systems supervised 355,715 children in school-directed home gardening projects and 278 city systems involved 29,308 children in school gardens.[7] The School Garden Army swiftly expanded interest in school gardening throughout the nation.[8] Children's gardening would "kick the Kaiser."

This special wartime emphasis by the Bureau of Education signaled a sharp departure from its usual activities of gathering information and compiling statistics about American education. The Bureau's ordinary routines and lack of references contributed to the slowness with which it responded to the national need for food. Otherwise, it might have responded earlier. Commissioner of Education Philander P. Claxton, for example, had long supported school gardening.[9] Additionally, the Bureau had operated a Division of School and Home Gardening since its congressional authorization in 1915.[10] On the other hand, the Bureau had no funds to launch an activist program until President Wilson allocated $50,000 from the national defense budget to support school gardening.[11]

On February 25, 1918, President Wilson wrote Secretary of Interior Franklin K. Lane to announce his public support for the establishment of the School Garden Army. Wilson hoped that every school would enlist a "regiment" of children gardeners.[12] Subsequently, President Wilson also became the nominal commander-in-chief of the new garden army of school children.[13]

The U.S. School Garden Army enjoyed immediate and widespread success. Within six months, it claimed a membership of one and a half million garden soldiers. It drew recruits from schools in villages, towns, and cities across the entire nation, from all forty-eight states and from Puerto Rico, as well. Indeed, historian Edward A. Krug noted that the School Garden Army was "one of the most widely applauded practical activities during the War."[14] It was more than a practical patriotic activity, however. Similar to the National School Service and other activities of the U.S. Committee on Public Information,[15] the School Garden Army represented direct federal intrusion into the conduct of local schools. Its widespread popularity in the nation's schools provided a wry irony to the general opposition to the establishment of military training units in high schools by many school boards and administrators. Militaristic units of young garden soldiers simply differed from older school boy cadets drilling with and firing weapons subsequent to their military conscription. Also, in the U.S.'s first total war military terminology was acceptable symbolism.

The avowed purposes of the U.S. School Garden Army included increased food production and the education of town and city children about thrift, patriotism, service, and responsibility. Less trumpeted but certainly as important, the use of school children to influence their parents about the war's meaning was another major purpose of the garden army.[16] President Wilson's initial allocation was expended during the first six months of USSGA operations. Subsequently, Wilson shifted $200,000 for the garden army's next ten months of work.[17]

To direct the School Garden Army's operations, Commissioner Claxton appointed J.H. Francis, former superintendent of schools in Los Angeles, California, and in Columbus, Ohio. Francis subsequently divided the nation into five regions, each led by a director, and fifteen sub-regional areas headed by assistant directors.[18] The School Garden Army issued a manual and dozens of gardening leaflets by the September beginning of the school year,[19] and encouraged gardening in schools through a variety of means. For example, Secretary of the Interior Lane sought support for the USSGA from individual directors of state councils of defense, particularly influential if coercive groups.[20] Francis, Claxton, Lane and other officials clearly expected the School Garden Army to succeed.

With its leaders likely believing that an elaborate organization might burden its operations, the School Garden Army adopted a simple structure for its local units.[21] The basic unit of organization was a company of no more, and commonly fewer than, 150 children above the third grade supervised by a teacher. Individual schools could have several companies. A captain, assisted by a first and a second lieutenant, officered each company. All other pupils in the unit were privates.[22] Local boards of education bore the expenses of School Garden Army units except for nominal costs likely donated by parents. Federal funds paid only for national administrative and operational expenses. This federal failure financially to support a national program clearly foreshadowed late twentieth century federal forays into education.

The School Garden Army's martial trappings, however, were provided from federal funds. All garden soldiers received insignia of their ranks to wear on their shirts or blouses. Privates wore a bronze service bar on which "U.S.S.G." was stamped. Officers wore a similar bronze bar, but with distinctive stars rather than the initials. Bars for second lieutenant had one star in the border; bars for first lieutenants had two stars, and those of captains had three stars.[23] Insignia proved popular with children. A Chicago garden director requested 20,000 insignia bars "at a very early date . . . as the bars will do a great deal to stimulate the interest in caring for and maintaining our school gardens."[24] The Bureau of Education also provided each "enlisted soldier" with a free School Garden Army flag on request. It was white on a red background with the Army's symbol, a crossed hoe and rake with the letters, U S S G.[25] To assist local schools in their recruitment of garden soldiers in the Fall of 1918, the Bureau of Education provided free of charge a 16 1/2" x 23" poster that portrayed Uncle Sam playing a pipe and followed by children carrying hoe, rake, shovel, and trowel and planting seeds with the slogan emblazoned, "Follow the Pied Piper. Join the United States School Garden Army."[26] Garden soldiers could sing special lyrics composed by Joe Lee Davis, an SGA gardener in the Lexington, Kentucky, Junior High School, to the tune of Irving Berlin's popular "Over There."

> Johnnie, get your hoe, get your hoe, get your hoe;
> Mary dig your row, dig your row, dig your row;
> Down to business, boys and girls,
> Learn to know the farmer's joys,
> Uncle Sam's in need, pull the weed, plant the seed,
> While the sunbeam's lurk, do not shirk, get to work,
> All the lads must spade the ground
> All the girls must hustle round
> Over there, over there;
> Send the word, send the word over there,
> That the lads are hoeing, the lads are hoeing
> The girls are sowing everywhere,
> Each a garden to prepare.
> Do your bit so that we all can share
> With the boys, with the boys, the brave boys
> Who will not come back 'till its over, over there.[27]

School children easily were enlisted into School Army service. However, the recruitment of teachers to work with the school gardeners, especially during the summer, proved difficult. Most teachers were considered unprepared to teach gardening or to supervise children gardeners even though the nation continued to be mainly rural. A majority of city teachers may not have had childhood agricultural experience. Also, the era emphasized a new academic professionalism which required formal courses as preparation.[28] School Garden Army Director Francis and other Bureau of Education officials, therefore, encouraged the development of special summer courses for teachers in normal schools and colleges. Commissioner Claxton reported that 50,000 teachers received instruction in gardening through SGA garden leaflets. In unreported circumstances, many thousands of teachers participated in garden army activities.[29]

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The School Garden Army enrolled units mainly in city schools. This development effectively ignored rural schools, but it occurred less by design than by circumstance. Gardening had been a feature in many American pre-war city schools. Its expansion capitalized on that experience. Commissioner Claxton's plan to foster gardening in all the nation's schools, however, encountered strident opposition from the Secretary of Agriculture, D. F. Houston, and many state agricultural extension agents. This inter-agency territorial squabble, in retrospect, epitomized the pettiness that appears to flourish in government bureaucracy, even during wartime. Secretary Houston insisted that Claxton's move trespassed on the Department of Agriculture's efforts for several years to establish agricultural club programs in the nation's schools. Nebraska's state director of agricultural extension, for example, protested the Bureau of Education's invasion of his programmatic territory; he was rewarded by being named to direct Nebraska's School Garden Army operations. The conflict amongst Washington, D.C, bureaucrats was less easily resolved. For some eight months, Claxton's and Houston's representatives negotiated until their agreement was announced on November 13, 1917, two days after the Armistice. The agreement only recognized the current reality. The Bureau agreed to limit its school gardening efforts to schools in cities, towns and villages. The Department of Agriculture promised to concentrate its attention to rural children and youth. The agreement notwithstanding, the conflict continued until Claxton's School Garden Army disappeared the following year.[30]

National policy makers' disagreements had little effect, however, on local SGA activities. Productivity of SGA child gardeners in the 1918 season reached high levels. Reports from schools in several towns and cities illustrate the work of the nation's garden soldiers. In Malden, Massachusetts, 3,500 SGA gardeners cultivated 15 acres of small plots. Every Richmond, Indiana, school child had productive gardens. In New York city, gardens carried the name of a soldier serving in France. In one week in July 1918, sales of produce from these gardens totaled $686.59. An eight year old Batesville, Mississippi, SGA boy cultivated a 61' x 33 1/2' garden that yielded food for his family of four and he sold surplus vegetables for a $22 profit. East Orange, New Jersey, companies enlisted 696 garden soldiers. In Cleveland, Ohio, 13,500 children tended plots totaling 227 acres with a season's yield estimated at $30,000. In Boston, 2,500 garden soldiers cultivated 20 acres in the city's Franklin Park. Cincinnati SGA companies enrolled 18,000 children and the Board of Education provided street-car tickets to boys and girls "in the congested sections of the city" to travel to and return from their suburban gardens. In Columbus, Ohio, SGA Director Francis' former school system, 5,949 school children completed their garden season with a production valued at $43,043.65. In Greensboro, North Carolina, 1,092 Negro and white girls and boys cultivated 113 acres of gardens. Every school in Austin, Texas had SGA companies; each elementary school had ten companies with each captained by five girls and five boys. The SGA garden soldiers cultivated an impressive number of acres and their work produced abundant foodstuffs.[31] Many of the claims, however, surely were excessive. Thousands of gardens failed and many children were credited for work conducted by adults. Criticism of the School Garden Army, even by distinguished individuals liked Harvard's President Charles W. Eliot, went mainly unreported.

Another largely obscured element of SGA operations involved Negro elementary school children. Work of these garden soldiers was rarely reported. Attention to the activities of the Greensboro and Raleigh, North Carolina, Negro child gardeners clearly was a notable exception.[32] Julius Rosenwald personally pledged $10,000 to pay one-half of the salaries of many Negro garden teachers in unnumbered Southern cities during the 1918 gardening season.[33] Sadly, consistent with other consequences of segregated schools, most of this generous gift was not touched; only a third of the money was requested.[34]

The School Garden Army's enrollment goal for the 1918-1919 school year was an optimistic five million school children. The war's conclusion surely dampened enthusiasm for the Army and its work. Still, by May 1919, more than two and a half million garden soldiers enrolled, half the target figure, but a very large number, nevertheless. The School Garden Army moved easily into peacetime. Officials continued to issue publications for use by its units.[35] The Bureau, through School Garden Army officials, distributed more than 4,500,000 leaflets and 750,000 manuals of lessons by the end of the school year. It claimed 40,361 teachers in 36,558 public schools and 3,803 parochial schools on its mailing list. Also, the Bureau made motion pictures of USSGA special programs (e.g., in Boston, Massachusetts; Lexington, Kentucky; and Redlands, California) as well as of gardening instructions. More than 300,000 people viewed the films.[36] Although Commissioner Claxton and others planned for the School Garden Army to continue, it soon died. Even the prospect of receiving a small savings bank constructed from a hand grenade casing, a "weapon of peace," did not attract increased Garden Army enlistment.[37] Without fanfare, the United States School Garden Army simply disappeared in the Fall, 1919. The Bureau of Education had no funds to support it, to be sure. On the other hand, the war's patriotic metaphors and military organization simply ill-suited a nation turned away from war toward normalcy. The Bureau continued to encourage school gardening, nevertheless, by other and less expensive means.

The School Garden Army constituted the federal government's principal effort to foster children's wartime gardening. However, two additional developments merit acknowledgment. First, a number of

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school systems actively promoted gardening by local school children, but may not have organized them into USSGA units. For example, Superintendent Jesse Newlon recognized the contribution of school gardening among the rich details of wartime activities in the Lincoln, Nebraska, schools. Uncharacteristically, he may have overlooked the School Garden Army program. On the other hand, he and his advisory War Work Committee may have screened out Commissioner Claxton's appeal. At any rate, his end-of-war report failed even to mention the School Garden Army.[38]

Second, many children who attended small, rural schools participated in food production activities as members of the "Junior Soldiers of the Soil Army." Edwin T. Meredith, Des Moines, Iowa, publisher of *Successful Farming*, formed this organization of rural children in January, 1918. Through it, he sought to support the fledgling club program of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and more actively to involve rural boys and girls in increased food production efforts during the war. Meredith, the Soil Army's commander-in-chief and a post-war US Secretary of Agriculture (1920-21), aggressively promoted the organization through his magazine that reached thousands of Midwestern farm families. He enlisted individual "soldiers" as well as groups of "soldiers" organized as squads. Meredith also established a $250,000 fund from which he loaned children small amounts of money for their projects (e.g., pigs, poultry, seed) with no security and at six percent interest. He championed their success through laudatory reports in a special *Successful Farming* supplement, *Junior Soldiers of the Soil*, initially published in January, 1919. He also advocated membership in the Junior Soldiers of the Soil Army in his *Rural Schools Bulletin*, distributed free of charge to rural school teachers from September, 1918 through August, 1919. More than 50,000 children enlisted as soil soldiers in Meredith's army, and some of their leadership and direction came from teachers in rural schools. Meredith's Soil Army program, consistent with the Department of Agriculture's position, completely ignored the Bureau of Education's School Garden Army activities. By the Fall, 1919, Meredith disbanded the Junior Soldiers of the Soil Army but continued his vigorous support of the Department of Agriculture's boys' and girls' club program, later to become the 4-H Club movement.

Wartime School Gardening and Mobilization: Contributions to Altered Educational Purpose

In retrospect, American school children contributed impressively to increased food production during the first world war. The attempted militarization for gardening was mainly symbolic. It sought a patriotic link only with one childhood activity and was benign if not a little pretentious. The United States School Garden Army, however, offered a new vision for schools of the nation. First of all, it was a tardy response for city school children to a pressing national concern for food production. Most importantly, however, it was a federal intrusion into local schools. As such, the School Garden Army contributed to the beginning of a shift in the purpose of American public schooling. With President Wilson's direct assistance and an even implicitly altered purpose, Commissioner Claxton's Bureau of Education rapidly changed, at least for wartime school gardening, into an activist federal agency.

This altered role lay unrecognized at the time. During the war, groups of educators (e.g., National Education Association) backed increased federal support of schools and a cabinet level department of education even as they opposed federal control of the nation's schools. They failed to recognize, however, that the Bureau's activism in wartime school gardening amounted to federal intrusion into local schools. Apparently, few school officials noted the Bureau announcement in *School Life* that explicitly asserted the School Garden Army's purpose to be "to nationalize and unify" school gardening.[39] During the war, this federal gardening activity generally was recognized as a benign means by which the war might be brought into the schools. This "experiment in working out the relation of education to war"[40] constituted one of several largely silent and forgotten precursors to an increasingly obvious change in the purpose for American schooling.

ENDNOTES

1 Arthur Marwick, *War and Social Change in the Twentieth Century* (London, 1974).

2 See Charles Lathrop Park, *The War Garden Victorious* (Philadelphia, 1919).

3 Ping Ling, "The Public Schools and Food Conservation," *The Pedagogical Seminary* 25 (June, 1918): 191-210; D. F. Houston, "Report of the Secretary of Agriculture," *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1917* (Washington, D.C., 1918): 9-16; D. F. Houston, "Report of the Secretary of Agriculture," *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture*, 1918 (Washington, D.C.:, 1919): 9-73. See, also, Wayne D. Rasmussen (Ed.), *Readings in the History of American Agriculture* (Urbana, 1960): 199-206.

4 See Lewis Paul Todd, *Wartime Relations of the Federal Government and the Public Schools 1917-1918* (New York, 1945): 143-151; Arthur S. Dean, *Our Schools in War Time and After* (Boston, 1918): 234-303.

5 Maxey R. Dickson, *The War Comes to All: The Story of the United States Food Administration as a Propaganda Agency* (Dissertation, George Washington University, 1942). For an account of the participation of Lincoln, Nebraska, school children in these efforts, see *The Junior Citizen* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1918): 7-18.

6 Park, *War Garden Victorious*, 1-23.

7 1,500,000 Enlist in School Farm Army," *The New York Times*, October 20, 1918, IX, 12; "School and Home Gardening, Past and Present," *School Life* 1 (October 1, 1918): 4.

8 "School and Home Gardening, Past and Present," 4. See, also, Todd, *Wartime Relations*, 151-158; A. C. True, *A History of Agricultural Education in the United States* (Washington, D.C., 1929): 385-389; David M. Tucker, *Kitchen Gardening in America: A History* (Ames, Iowa, 1993); *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year ended June 30, 1918* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1918): 128-132; *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year ended June 30, 1919* (Washington, D.C.): 183-186. For simplicity, these latter two reports are referenced in an abbreviated format, e.g., 1918 *Commissioner's Report*.

9 Charles L. Lewis, *Philander Priestley Claxton; Crusader for Public Education* (Knoxville: 1948): 203-218.

10 "School and Home Gardening," *School Life* 1 (October 1, 1918): 4. See, also, *1918 Commissioner's Report*, 128-132.

11 "The United States School Garden Army," *School Life* 1 (October 1, 1918): 2.

12 "The United States Volunteer War-Garden Army," *School and Society* 7 (March 23, 1918): 350-351; *1918 Commissioner's Report*, 128-132.

13 "State Councils to Help," *School Life* 1 (October 1, 1918): 4.

14 Edward A. Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School* (New York; 1964):412.

15 Stephen Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines; Democracy, Nationalism, and the Committee on Public Information*(Chapel Hill, 1980).

16 "The United States School Garden Army," *School Life* 1 (October 1, 1918): 2; "State Councils to Help," 4.

17 "The United States School Garden Army," 2.

18 "Expanding Work of the Garden Army," School Life 1 (October 1, 1918): 1,4; "U.S.S.G. Leaflets," *School Life* 1 (October 1, 1918): 7-8.

19 *The Fall Manual of the United States School Garden Army* (Washington, D.C., 1918).

20 "State Councils to Help," 4; "California War Cabinet Backs U.S.S.G.," *School Life* 1 (October 1, 1918):5.

21 "The United States School Garden Army," 2; Parke R. Kolbe, "War Work of the United States Bureau of Education," *School and Society* 7 (May 25, 1918): 606-609; *1918 Commissioner's Report*, 129-130.

22 *The Fall Manual of the United States School Garden Army* (Washington, D.C., 1918):29.

23 *The Fall Manual of the United States School Garden Army*, (Washington, D.C., 1918): 29. Officials soon modified the insignia to make them appear more attractive. See *The Garden Army in 1919* (Washington, D.C., 1919), [2].

24 *School Life* 1 (October 1, 1918):13.

25 School Life 1(August 16, 1918)

26 "The Pied Piper Poster," *School Life* 1 (August 1, 1918): 12; 1; *The Fall Manual of the United States School Garden Army* (Washington, D.C., 1918), 27.

27 "A Song for the School Garden Army," *School Life* 1 (October 1, 1918):13.

28 David B. Tyack, *The One Best System: A History of American Urban Education* (Cambridge, MA, 1974); see, also, Walter Doyle, "Education for All: The Triumph of Professionalism," in *Perspectives on Curriculum Development 1776-1976*, ed. O. L. Davis, Jr. (Washington, D.C., 1976): 17-75.

29 *1918 Commissioner's Report*, 130-131. The School Garden Army developed a course of study in gardening designed for use in normal schools and other teacher preparation courses. See, "A Course of Study in Gardening," *School Life* 1 (October 1, 1918):6.

30 Todd, *Wartime Relations*, 156-157; letters from [C.W. Pugsley] to A. C. True, 21 March 1918, from C. W. Pugsley to R. M. Joyce, 18 April 1918. Nebraska State Historical Society, RG 23 State Council of Defense, Series 3, Box 16, Folder 38.

31 These examples are drawn from individual accounts. See, in *School Life* 1 (October, 1918). "The Malden Plan," 11; "Batesville Speaks," 10; "The East Orange Regiment," 9; "School Garden Work in Cleveland," 12-13; "Children's Gardens in Park Lands," 14; "1,500,000 Enlist in School Farm Army," *The New York Times*, October 1, 1918 IX, 12; "The United States School Garden Army at Cincinnati," *School Life* 1 (December 16, 1918):9; "The Columbus, Ohio, School Garden Army," *School Life* 1(December 1, 1918); 10; "The Austin Plan," *School Life* 2 (March, 1919:7.

32 "School-Directed Home Gardens," *School Life* 2(February 1, 1919):8.

33 *1918 Commissioner's Report*, 130-131; Parke R. Kolbe, *Ibid.*

34 Todd, *Wartime Relations*, 155-156; Robert T. Hance, "School Gardens," *School and Society* 8 (October 26, 1918): 497-499.

35 See, for example, *The Spring Manual of the United States School Garden Army* (Washington, D.C., 1919); Ethel Growans, *Home Gardening for City Children of the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Grades* (Washington, D.C., 1919)

36 *1919 Commissioner's Report*, 184. "Garden Army Films Released," *School Life* 1(November 1, 1918):14.

37 "Hand-Greuade Banks for Successful Gardeners," *School Life* 3 (September 15, 1919):5-6.

38 Board of Education, Lincoln, Nebraska. *Report of the Superintendent of Schools 1917-1919* (Lincoln, 1920): 63-77. See, also,Ping Ling, "School Children and Food Production," *The Pedagogical Seminary* 25 (June, 1918): 163-190.

39 *School Life* 2 (May 16, 1919):16.

40 Dean, *Our Schools in War Time - and After*, 2.

The Fort Wayne Normal School: History and Issues

Kathleen Murphey
Indiana University–
Purdue University Fort Wayne

The Fort Wayne Normal School, the oldest teacher training institution in Indiana, had a growing student population, an excellent reputation, and an expanding curriculum in 1921 when its budget was suddenly and unexpectedly eliminated from that of the Fort Wayne Public Schools. This paper explores the history of this Normal school, from its inception through its termination, and particularly considers factors which led to its demise.

Following the Civil War in 1865, Fort Wayne hired a young, ambitious educator to oversee and give direction to its quickly expanding public school system, a system that had suffered a lack of leadership and funding during the Civil War, like school systems throughout the country. At age twenty-six, Superintendent James H. Smart, a New Englander, brought to the Fort Wayne Public Schools an organizational zeal and talent that transformed them during his ten years of service.[1]

The new superintendent energetically took on all aspects of the public school system, which consisted of ten rooms designed to accommodate 634 students, but actually served 1,245 students.[2] With the approval of the school Trustees, Superintendent Smart built several elementary schools, as well as a high school. He expanded the high school curriculum to include math and science, purchased lab equipment for science classes, improved the examination system, increased attendance, reduced the number of grades from twenty-eight to fourteen, and collected statistics on all aspects of the system.[3]

In 1867 Smart established the Fort Wayne Training School, the first Normal school in Indiana, predating even what came to be Indiana's two largest state normal schools, now Ball State University in Muncie and Indiana State University in Terra Haute. The previous year Superintendent Smart had noted that Fort Wayne's High School had "suffered the loss of its best pupils, from the lower classes, who have been called away

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as teachers in surrounding towns."[4] Thirteen such pupils had been lost in this way; Smart had been unable to fill an additional twelve requests for teachers. To Smart this indicated the good reputation of the high school, but he hoped the students would return.[5] Under such conditions, a Normal school course in the high school would retain high school students longer, as well as better train more teachers for the greater Fort Wayne area.

The new Fort Wayne Training School based its curriculum on Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi's method of Object Teaching. The first principal of the new Training School, Miss Mary H. Swan, and the supervisor of the practice school, Miss Mary L. Hamilton, both graduated from the Oswego State Normal and Training School in the state of New York, which was a center for teaching the then new educational ideas and practices of Swiss educator, Pestalozzi. In her report to the Superintendent, Principal Swan echoed the Superintendent's concern for hiring well trained teachers, especially for the primary schools. She, like he, hoped for the Training School's expansion, so it could train teachers for a larger geographic area than Fort Wayne.[6]

After the Training School's first year of operation, the President of the Board of Education proudly proclaimed it successful, as well as cost efficient.[7] The Training School, located on the first floor of the Fort Wayne High School, and serving between six and twelve students a year,[8] offered a one year course, which usually followed a student's high school graduation.[9] The School had two departments, the training department and the practicing department. In the training department students learned the newest methods; in the practicing department students, referred to as pupil teachers, practiced the methods in actual classrooms. Half of the Training School students studied methods in the training room for a month, while the other half practiced teaching under a critic teacher in one of the four classrooms. At the end of each month, the divisions switched places. The year course consisted of a total of four months of methods and four months of pupil teaching.[10]

The Training School continued in operation for nineteen years, until 1886, training teachers for work in the primary grades. For a brief period during those years, from 1877-79, the school also trained teachers for the intermediate and grammar school grades. Most graduates were hired to teach in Fort Wayne; many eventually became elementary school principals or critic teachers for the Training School.[11]

In 1886, the Training School ceased operations for a period of eleven years, but it was reopened in 1897 by another ambitious, young superintendent, Justin N. Study.[12] Study had indicated, prior to his appointment, and as a condition of it, that he intended to reopen the training school. In fact, since many high school graduates without teacher training had been hired as teachers in the Fort Wayne schools since the closing of the original Training School in 1886, Study also hired a Primary Supervisor to observe and give in-service training to teachers already hired. In addition, he required all teachers to improve their teaching skills by participating in Reading Circles, initiated and run by teachers.[13]

The Primary Supervisors, like the Principals of the past and the soon to be reopened Training School, had extensive background at Normal schools, which would allow them to keep the primary teachers abreast of the newest methods of teaching. The first Primary Supervisor, Miss Annie Klingensmith, hired in 1899, was a graduate of both the State Normal School in Indiana, Pennsylvania, and the Oswego Normal School in New York, and had experience teaching in Normal schools.[14] Miss Gail Calmerton replaced Klingensmith in 1905, and served in that position until 1923. Calmerton, a graduate of Oshkosh, Wisconsin, State Normal School and also Chicago University, with graduate work at Columbia University, had taught in the Milwaukee Public Schools and worked as a supervisor of kindergarten and primary education at a Normal school before coming to Fort Wayne.[15]

When the Training School was reopened in 1897 it was housed in the newly built Lakeside School, a primary school, and was referred to as the Lakeside Training School, or the Lakeside Normal School. In 1900 the course was increased to one and a half years, and in 1910 to two years. In 1907 its name was changed to the Fort Wayne Normal School.[16]

Superintendent Study, like Superintendent Smart, served in Fort Wayne for many years.[17] Study, like Smart, was aware of the newest trends in education, for he, too, was active in professional organizations. He, as well, chose women directors of the Training School who, like the Primary Supervisor, had training as well as previous teaching experience in Normal Schools, women who could bring the "New Education" to Fort Wayne.

Jesse B. Montgomery, the first Principal of the reopened Training School, was a graduate of Indiana State Normal School. She had been employed as a critic teacher at Michigan State Normal at the time of her hiring. Montgomery led the School successfully for five years, during which time it expanded from a one to a one and a half year course of study.[18]

The year and a half course of study adopted in 1900 included History of Education, Psychology, Methods, Child Study, and Practice Teaching. Students took courses in a fixed sequence during the first two semesters. In the second semester students presented trial lessons to a class of pupils while their Normal school classmates and teachers watched and criticized them. In the third semester students practice taught in different grades for periods of five weeks at a time. The students taught on Tuesday through Thursday, observing the regular classroom teachers on Monday and for a time on Friday. Students discussed their work with

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the critic teacher afterwards and, then, met with the other practice teachers for a weekly seminar.[19] During all three semesters students met once a week for drawing, reading, physical culture, and music.

In 1902 Miss Flora Wilber became Principal of the Training School and remained in that position until the school closed in 1921. Wilber had graduated from the State Normal College in Ypsilanti, Michigan, but had also attended Oswego Normal College in New York, and Michigan, Wisconsin, and Clark Universities. Before coming to Fort Wayne, she was principal of the City Normal School in Moline, Illinois. During the course of her tenure as Principal of the Training School in Fort Wayne she earned two Masters degrees at Columbia University; she also studied at Jena and Berlin Universities in Germany.[20]

During the first few years of Wilber's principalship, the one and a half year course of study changed only slightly by adding Manual Training for two periods a week throughout the course of study, and Nature Study and Penmanship one period a week for two of the three semesters. Practice teaching in the third semester consisted of ten week experiences in different grades, with the pupil teachers giving lessons on Monday through Wednesday, and observing on Thursday.[21]

In 1910 the Fort Wayne Normal School increased its course of study to two years, or four semesters of twenty weeks each, with a minimum of one year in residence. Students could also apply course credit taken at the school toward a degree at a university. The two year curriculum included practice teaching, now called Practice, Observation, and Educational Conferences, which was required for four hours a week in the second semester and ten hours a week in the third semester. The students progressed during the second and third semesters from teaching individual pupils to groups of pupils to whole classrooms. The Normal students studied Algebra, Trigonometry, Methods of Teaching Mathematics, Geography, Contemporary History, Sociology, and Hygiene. The professional education sequence no longer included educational history as a separate course, but offered a course in the development of public school systems, as well as one on "tests and scales."[22]

The "culture" of the school had also developed over time. The school's basketball team competed with the High School's. The annual Flower Festival, initiated in 1910 and popular at other Normal schools hosted the public in an afternoon of song, drama, and dance in a nearby park. During the 120th birthday celebration of the city in 1914, students put on a special historical pageant in the city's honor. During World War I the school was actively engaged in War related support activities.[23]

The nineteen teens was generally a time of increased visibility for Fort Wayne's teachers. In 1915 the city's teachers' organization successfully lobbied the state for a pension fund. May A. Griffith, a graduate of the

Fort Wayne Training School and later a teacher and elementary school principal in Fort Wayne, had been a leader in that effort.[24] In 1919 Fort Wayne's teachers, like many teachers across the country, actively and successfully obtained a salary increase to make up for pay losses during World War I. The spokes persons for the teachers were often experienced teachers and former Fort Wayne Normal School graduates, many of whom later became principals in Fort Wayne.[25]

Fort Wayne teachers were not just finding their voices on a local level at this time. In 1919 the National Education Association voted to initiate the Department of Classroom teachers, giving teachers' representatives the power collectively to establish policy. Fort Wayne's teachers were active in the political action behind that vote, and the Fort Wayne Teachers Association, led by several Fort Wayne Normal School graduates, was selected as one of the first working units of the reorganized National Education Association.[26]

At the state level, legislators were revising, upgrading, and streamlining the administration and organization of professional training for teachers in the post World War I era. These changes, codified in Indiana's Vesey Bill of 1919, changed the accreditation requirements for Normal schools so as to make it more difficult for small schools and easier for large schools to certify teachers, giving the state closer control of the fewer remaining teacher training programs.

Fort Wayne's Normal School had fared well with the new law in spite of the school's small size. Its rigorous program with many and well integrated field experiences had been highly praised by the state supervisor of teacher training, Oscar H. Williams, in June of 1920. He claimed the school presented "a rare opportunity for both sound academic and specific professional training of teachers." He found the "thoroughness of the practical work" of student teachers to be "unexcelled," therefore recommending that the school's "splendid work" be brought to the attention of graduating high school seniors by every means possible. Dr. Charles H. Judd from the University of Chicago stated that "graduates in high standing" from Fort Wayne's Normal School would be granted two years college credit if they transferred to the University.[27]

During this time Fort Wayne's elementary and secondary school age population was growing. Construction was soon to begin on the city's second high school, which was the first of many new schools constructed during the twenties as postwar prosperity and an industrial boom attracted people to Fort Wayne.[28]

As the city grew, increasingly bitter political battles erupted among the three appointed School Board members, which prompted constant cries by citizens to keep politics out of the schools. Board members were alleged to be pawns of the local Democratic and Republican party machines. This fear was allayed somewhat, though the political squabbling continued, when the state approved the expansion of the School Board to seven members in 1921.[29]

In the summer of 1920, the Normal school held its first summer session. In the fall of 1920, the school began its 42nd term with an expected record enrollment of students. In the spring of 1921, the Normal school opened a midyear class, so that February high school graduates could begin their training directly following graduation. In 1921 the summer session offered two terms, open to both beginning and advanced students. The summer term offered work for all courses offered in the regular term. Also, for the first time for the Normal school, men were included as students in the summer school session.[30]

In early June of 1921, the Normal school held its eleventh annual and largest ever Flower Festival at Lakeside Park, an event open to the public and featuring community dances and games, as well as student led music, drama, and a flower queen crowning ritual. The 42nd Annual Commencement was held the following week for the seventeen graduates. On the evening prior to the graduation, over 130 alumni of the Normal school were banqueted by the class of 1921. Many of the city's public school administrators also attended.[31]

On 21 June 1921, the Normal school opened its summer session to a record seventy-five students, an increase of twenty-five students over the previous year's summer session. Both men and women from Fort Wayne, northeast Indiana, and nearby states enrolled.[32]

Then, on 27 June 1921, the School Board announced that the Normal school would be abandoned in one year. The present class would be allowed to finish, but no new pupils would be admitted in September. Superintendent L. C. Ward claimed that the cost of educating a Normal school student, $1500 each, was far too much for the city; that the money might be better spent on hiring teachers; and that city Normal schools were becoming extinct everywhere.[33]

Normal school alumni immediately protested the school's closing. They organized to pressure the community and School Board members to keep the school open, and they planned to raise an endowment to achieve this end. Alumni claimed that the training cost was $300 per student, not $1500. They insisted that the higher figure had been incorrectly derived in order to make it appear that the school was too expensive. Since its beginnings in 1867, the school had graduated 447 persons, 174 in its first nineteen years and the rest up through 1921. All but one graduate taught school an average of seven to eight years, compared to a five year average in the U.S. at that time. One hundred and twenty of Fort Wayne's teachers in 1921 had attended the Normal school. Thirteen graduates of the school had become principals in Fort Wayne Public Schools. An alumna and Fort Wayne teacher made the case for the school to the League of Women Voters. The alumni group met with the Chamber of Commerce and other groups to secure signatures on a petition requesting the continuation of the school.[34]

As with most school issues, Fort Wayne's newspapers took opposing points of view: *The Fort Wayne Journal-Gazette* and *The Fort Wayne Evening Press* favored the continuation of the school because it served the local population; *The Fort Wayne News-Sentinel* took the side of the School Board, saying it was a state, not a local function, to provide Normal school training.[35]

The School Board defended its move by claiming the school was "unwarranted, expensive and inefficient"; that it may have been necessary in the past when low salaries could not attract good teachers from outside Fort Wayne, but that salaries had become competitive; that teachers drawn from a larger geographic area would result in a more broad minded faculty; that training young persons for professions was a state function, and that citizens already paid the state for Normal school training. The Board further argued that much more money would have to be spent for facilities and faculty to keep up with state standards. Also, most students who had entered the city Normal school in the past ten years "had such unsatisfactory high school records that they could not possibly have been certified for entrance into any college or Normal school outside the state."[36]

Yet, the Board's strongest argument remained that the money saved by eliminating the Normal school would buy Fort Wayne's schools "a finer equipment of books, maps and other supplementary material than is now possessed by any school in the country, with enough surplus to pay for six or seven teachers." The Board's choice, as it saw it, was whether to spend its money "to train a favored dozen or score of girls, or whether it should be spent for the good of the 11,000 school children of Fort Wayne."[37]

The alumni group continued to circulate a petition to retain the Normal school. The group publicly presented copies of statements by Indiana's Superintendent of Teacher Training, explaining how the Normal school had readjusted its curriculum to meet the new requirements and was fully accredited. The local W.C.T.U., as well as the Y.W.C.A. protested the school's closing. Twenty-six young women who were to have been admitted as students in the fall of 1921 petitioned the School Board to admit them.[39]

The controversy ensued throughout the 1920-1921 school year.[40] In May of 1922, a committee from Fort Wayne's Common Council petitioned the Board to rescind its motion to abandon the Normal school. In June of 1922, exactly one year after the Board had announced its decision to abandon the Normal school, the Board rejected the request of the Common Council, stating that it was, in fact, illegal for a school corporation to devote funds "to the maintenance of other than the Common

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Schools." According to the Board, a recent ruling by the state attorney-general had finalized the matter.[41]

The Fort Wayne Normal School appeared to be in its heyday of development when it was suddenly abandoned. Throughout its long history the school had been in the forefront of practicing the newest, most Progressive ideas in teacher education, practices that were assured by the Normal school training of the school's principals, and city school superintendents active in the network of professional administrators who believed in the importance of trained teachers. Graduates of the school served the schools well for many years, often in leadership positions.

Although Fort Wayne's School Board abandoned the Fort Wayne Normal School, present, past, and future students supported it steadfastly, as did Fort Wayne's Common Council, W.C.T.U., and Y. W. C. A. The school, however, was caught in the middle of changes beyond its control. The city and its school age population were growing. State laws demanding ever higher standards for teacher training and certification were driving small city and private Normal schools to their limits. School boards were changing and, as in Fort Wayne, growing. Teachers and future teachers were losing access to training on a local level, but they were beginning to gain a collective voice over their conditions of work through their local, state, and national teacher organizations. Meanwhile, the state university was expanding in Fort Wayne. While not offering a degree or even teacher certification, IU offered a wide variety of courses in Fort Wayne, more than the Fort Wayne Normal School. These courses apparently were aimed at teachers seeking to upgrade their licenses or to work toward degrees, as state requirements were raised.

Changing patterns of control over education, patterns that were being negotiated at the state level by legislators caused the elimination of many city Normal schools at this time. The larger state universities and/or richer private universities became the only institutions capable of keeping up with changing state certification requirements. Legislators trimmed the responsibilities of city boards, as they expanded those of the state. City school boards, then, could redirect funds toward the K-12 schools, as the state's institutions of higher education paid an increasing share of the funding for training teachers.

Ultimately, a issue was not the quality of the Fort Wayne Normal School education, nor the school's small number of students. Its existence, reputation, and history appear to have been casualties to the process of changing economic and political relationships. It is to these forces, particularly at the state level, that we should direct our study to understand the "whys" of changes in the professional training of teachers, both during the era of the Fort Wayne Normal School and perhaps today.

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The research for this paper was partially funded by a CLIO grant from the Indiana Historical Society.

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The City Normal School of Cleveland, Ohio from 1874 to 1936

Melinda J. Kline
Brunswick City Schools

This paper will document the pre-service training of nineteenth-century Ohio school teachers, specifically those teachers trained in city normal schools.[1] The presentation of historical facts will be limited to one of Ohio's city normal schools, the Cleveland Normal School. Information for this paper was taken from a larger study and will relate those factors which necessitated the establishment of the city normal school, admission requirements, and the curriculum and training experience for normal school students. The role of public school officials, public school board members, and officials of Western Reserve University who were important in the history of the Cleveland Normal School will also be chronicled.

Factors Influencing the Establishment of the Cleveland Normal Training School

Historian Willard Elsbree, within the context of his study, recognized the growth of city normal schools in urban centers for the purpose of training city school teachers. Elsbree attributed this growth, which occurred after the Civil War, to the rapid population expansion experienced by urban areas and to the need for cities, such as Cleveland, to place trained teachers in their city public schools.[2] Aside from the issue of Cleveland's population growth, the Cleveland school system was forced to consider its own normal school due to a lack of state supported normal schools in nineteenth-century Ohio and the inability for the private normal schools in existence to produce sufficient numbers of graduates to staff the Cleveland city schools.[3]

A third consideration influencing the establishment of a normal school in Cleveland was the cultural environment of Cleveland and the problems associated with urban living which almost necessitated a teaching corps qualified to deal with the diversity of the student population.

Cleveland's increasing immigrant population; the dilemma of dual income homes leaving children in many instances to their own devices; and the problems of health, sanitation, and recreation were not commonly experienced by rural school teachers or graduates of a private normal school who may have been teaching in Cleveland.[4] The establishment of a city normal school, drawing upon Cleveland's own high school graduates to train and staff city elementary schools, would almost insure a teaching staff cognizant of urban life.

Rules for Admission, Course Work, and Training Experience for Normal School Students

The Cleveland Normal School opened September 1874. The following rules of admission were published in August of that same year.[5] First, the prospective student must have graduated from a Cleveland city high school; or second, hold a certificate from the Cleveland Public Schools City Board of School Examiners; or third hold a certificate from a County Board of School Examiners, with at least one school year's experience in teaching.[6]

Students graduated from any one of the Cleveland city high schools were entitled to school privileges and free tuition into the Normal School; persons over the age of twenty-one or not a graduate of a Cleveland high school had to pay a tuition fee of twenty dollars. No one under sixteen years of age was admitted to the Normal School.[7]

The work of the Cleveland Normal Training School was divided into two separate departments. One was a theory department which contained the academic or review studies plus the professional subject matter. The second was the training department where students received their practice teaching. The course of study taken by Normal School students for the 1886/1887 school year was as follows. First, in Professional Studies, the courses included History of Education, Mental Science, Moral Science, and School Management. Second, in Review Studies, courses were Arithmetic, English Language, Geography, History of North America, Physiology, Reading, and Music and Penmanship. Third, in Practice, the curriculum consisted of practice in presenting subjects to their fellow-pupils under direction of the principal, practice in the Practice Schools under direction of practice teachers, and practice as substitutes in primary and grammar grades.[8]

By 1890-1891, the academic feature of the Normal School had largely been eliminated, and the subject matter now taught was kept in the context of improving instructional abilities in order to prepare for teaching.[9] The Normal School course, originally one year, was extended to two years in 1898.[10]

The training department was the second department of the Cleveland Normal Training School and it involved the practice teaching in the

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training schools. Within the Normal School's first year of operation six classes of B, C, and D primary grades were used as practice or training schools.[11] The stated purpose of the Training Department, at this time, was to furnish Normal School students with all of the following:

> an opportunity to learn the art of teaching and of control, to put into practice what they had learned in theory, to familiarize them with the actual work and responsibility of the calling they have chosen, to demonstrate the pupils fitness as teachers, and to allow those persons charged with the responsibility of assigning teachers to positions in our schools, to know where they may be placed with greatest profit to themselves and the schools.[12]

In the 1874-1875 school year, prospective Normal School teachers spent four to five weeks in the training school.[13] In 1885 the Training Department expanded to include a Primary practice school and a German practice school.[14]

By the 1892-1893 school year the number of grades in the Training Department included the first five grades of the Cleveland Public Schools. By the 1894 school year, practice teaching for Normal School students had been extended five to ten weeks under the supervision of a critic teacher, and when possible, these students acted as substitute teachers in the city elementary schools.[15]

The Cleveland School of Education

The Cleveland School of Education, a summer term of six weeks conducted jointly by the Cleveland Normal School and Western Reserve University to provide training for teachers in the Cleveland schools and suburbs, was established in the summer of 1915.[16] Although President Thwing of Western Reserve University had explored the possibility of the Cleveland public schools and Western Reserve University jointly training teachers as early as 1908, no such institution was forthcoming until state law regarding teacher training and certification required such a change.[17]

The Cleveland School of Education was formally established by the Board of Education February 1, 1915. This six-week session was to be conducted with Western Reserve University whereby all the equipment and educational resources of the Cleveland Normal Training School and part of the equipment and educational resources of the University were utilized to train teachers in Cleveland and the surrounding suburbs.[18] The course offerings for the school in its first summer consisted of professional courses, such as work in methods, practice teaching, observation, and the philosophical and social aspects of education. Also offered were the academic studies provided for teacher review.[19] These

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courses were taught by faculty from the University and Normal School.

In the fall of 1920-1921, the Cleveland Board of Education and Western Reserve University expanded the work of the Cleveland School of Education to include the granting of degrees--the Bachelor of Education degree or the Master of Education degree--to those students who had completed prescribed course work as determined by the two institutions.[20] By the 1924 to 1925 school year, the organization and course work of the Cleveland School of Education consisted of five divisions: the Junior Teachers College, the Senior Teachers College, the Observation School, the Training Schools, and the Educational Museum. An explanation of each division follows:

The Observation School was a regular elementary school financed in the elementary school budget but located in a building adjoining that of the Cleveland School of Education. It provided the opportunity for Junior College students to see and participate in the work of elementary classes under practically normal conditions. The Educational Museum provided teachers of the Cleveland public schools with illustrative material and demonstration lessons adopted to classroom use in all schools. The Training Schools were for the students in the Junior Teachers College who spent one semester in practice for their future work.[21]

The Junior Teachers College also known as the Normal School Course was a two-year teacher training course, extended in 1926 to a three-year teacher training course, which prepared students for service in the elementary grades of the Cleveland public schools.[22] Students who graduated from the Junior Teachers College were immediately offered positions in the Cleveland elementary schools. Upon completion of their work in the Junior Teachers College, the teacher could enter the Senior Teachers College. The courses leading to the Bachelor of Education degree could be taken by enrolling in the extension or summer work offered by the Cleveland School of Education.[23]

The Senior Teachers College of the Cleveland School of Education was created in the summer of 1920. The requirements for the four-year degree were 120 semester hours of study. The University would accept ninety of these hours from the Cleveland School of Education and it would provide extension and summer courses to complete the full degree requirements.[24]

Four different units of credit were available to teachers through the Senior Teachers College of the Cleveland School of Education. One type of credit led to the Bachelor of Education degree, another to the Master of Arts in Education, another toward state certification, and the last was toward advancement on the salary schedule of the Cleveland Board of Education.[25]

School of Education, Western Reserve University

By December 1926, Western Reserve University President Vinson formulated an organizational plan for a University School of Education. This plan included the following features: The present building of the Cleveland School of Education was to be rented to the new corporation at a nominal rent. If a contract be entered into between the Cleveland Board of Education and the new corporation, the Board of Education would appropriate an agreed upon sum to be credited to the tuition account of the school not to exceed two hundred students.[26]

Certain points included in the final agreed-upon contract between the Board of Education and Western Reserve University were for the Cleveland Board of Education to continue the Cleveland School of Education whose curriculum, staff, and students were to become part of the University School of Education. The entire enterprise was to be under the direction of an administrative board with representatives of the University and of the school board under the chairmanship of the President of the University.[27] By late spring 1928, the Cleveland Board of Education and Western Reserve University combined to form the WRU School of Education, Western Reserve University under the control of the University but supported by the University and Board of Education.

The work of the School of Education was conducted in three distinct sessions for teachers, supervisors, administrators, and students of education. There was a two-semester session from September to June for undergraduate full-time students who wished to complete a three-year diploma course in preparation for teaching in the kindergarten, primary or intermediate grades, or a four-year degree course in preparation for teaching in these grades or in the Junior or Senior High School. A winter session was conducted from October to May for part-time students in which teachers, principals, and others, who possessed either a Normal School diploma or two or three years of undergraduate professional education, could complete the requirements for the degree by taking occasional courses in the late afternoon or evening. A summer session of six weeks was held primarily for teachers, students, and others who had two or more years of professional education and desired to take further courses in this field.[28]

The curricula offered by the School of Education included professional course work for elementary school teachers which led to a diploma in three years or the Bachelor of Science degree after four years of full-time study. The School of Education only awarded their diplomas and degrees to those individuals preparing to be elementary teachers. For the training of junior and senior high school teachers it cooperated with the other undergraduate colleges of the University for their preparation.[29]

Dissolution of Relations Between the Cleveland Board of Education and Western Reserve University

Early in 1932, University officials were facing the possibility that the Board of Education would withdraw their financial support from the University School of Education.[30] In January 1933 the Cleveland Board of Education reduced its funding for the School by thirty percent.[31]

In November 1935 the Board of Education officially confirmed its withdrawal of funds from the School of Education. The reason for this, as stated by Superintendent Lake, was that Western Reserve University had never met all the provisions of the original agreement. In particular, provisions were not met relating to the training of school administrators, supervisors, and other teachers of all grades; transferring to the School of Education the teacher training work from the other colleges and departments of the University; and the inability of the University to meet the financial obligations of the School of Education as set forth in the original agreement.[32]

Other conflicts existed for the School of Education relative to its relationship with the other colleges on the University campus. The function and status of the School of Education was questioned by the other colleges who believed the School should only train elementary school teachers. Also, the dual administration of the School with the Dean reporting to the Superintendent of Schools and the President of the University created indecision in policy making, and competition existed between the School and the other teacher training units on campus as they all sought to acquire students. There were additional problems involving curriculum, number and distribution of scholarships, and the administration of the Summer Session.[33]

The Cleveland Board of Education officially terminated its support of the School of Education in June 1936. The role it now assumed was providing practice and observation opportunities for the students of Western Reserve University.

Conclusion

Institutional histories of nineteenth century city normal schools offer insights into the early growth of teacher training as perceived by public city school officials and provide documentation of a profession, which initially was loosely organized and possessed few requirements for membership. The work of the city normal school was vitally important to the school system of Cleveland, Ohio, as school officials felt it necessary to train their own staff in order to meet their staffing needs and to have properly trained personnel. The alliance between university and public school officials, a partnership necessitated by state mandates regarding teacher certification requirements, demonstrated cooperation between these two institutions whose achieved ends were for professionally trained teachers.

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ENDNOTES

1. Normal schools were a concept modeled on European training schools for teachers which appeared in the New England states in 1823, and in Ohio during the 1830s and 1840s. The city normal schools, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, arose in popularity as a means to train teachers through the public school systems due to a lack of state supported normal schools and private normal schools in the state of Ohio. Literature from this time period indicated there were three university departments of teacher pedagogy, a dozen private normal schools, five city normal schools, and thirty school systems of fifteen or more teachers which provided some sort of normal training for prospective teachers.

2. Willard S. Elsbree, *The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy* (New York: American Book Company, 1939), 329-330.

3. For a discussion of the private normal schools in Ohio at the turn of the century refer to H. S. Lehr, "Ohio Normal Schools," *Ohio Educational Monthly* (March 1903): 97-105 and also Ellen G. Reveley, "The Place of the City Training School," *Ohio Educational Monthly* (September 1891): 455-461; Elsbree, *The American Teacher*, 329-330; and Samuel Findley's editorial in the *Ohio Educational Monthly* (September 1891): 487-488 for their documentation on the lack of state supported normal schools in relation to the establishment of city normal schools.

4. *The Report of the Superintendent of Schools to the Board of Education of the City School District of the City of Cleveland* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Board of Education, 1927/1928), 48.

5. Ibid., 4.

6. "Report of the Principal of the Normal School," *Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Board of Education* (Cleveland, Ohio: 31 August 1875): 101.

7. Ibid. When the school board first initiated the Normal School, free tuition was offered to the young women of Cleveland to encourage them to enter the teaching profession. Many years later state law required free tuition to all who desired admittance since city normal schools were public institutions supported by city tax dollars. Taken from *The Report of the Superintendent of Schools to the Board of Education of the City School District of the City of Cleveland* (Cleveland Board of Education, 1927/1928), 49; and *Administrative Office Files of President Vinson,* letter to R. G. Jones from Alfred Clum (13 October 1927), 3.

8. "Superintendent's Report," *Fifty-first Annual Report of the Board of Education* (Cleveland, Ohio: 31 August 1887), 48.

9. "Superintendent's Report," *Fifty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education* (Cleveland, Ohio: 31 August 1891), 46.

10. "Superintendent's Report," *Sixty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Education* (Cleveland, Ohio: 31 August 1901), 49.

11. The organization of grade levels in the Cleveland Public Schools during much of the nineteenth century was A Grammar - eighth grade; B Grammar - seventh grade; C Grammar - sixth grade; D Grammar - fifth grade; A Primary - fourth grade; B Primary - third grade; C Primary - second grade; and D Primary - first grade.

12. "Report of the Principal of the Normal School," *Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Board of Education* (Cleveland, Ohio: 31 August 1874), 104.

13. Ibid. The classrooms for practice teaching were referred to as training schools.

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14. "Superintendent's Report," *Fiftieth Annual Report of the Board of Education* (Cleveland, Ohio: 31 August 1886), 28. The study of German and a course of study known as the German course was offered to Cleveland city school students of German parentage. In order to train teachers for the German course, the Normal School provided training for teachers in the German course.

15. *Cleveland Public Schools, Course of Study and Assignment of Work in the Elementary, High, Normal Training, and Manual Training Schools* (Cleveland, Ohio: 1894/1895), 178.

16. Taken from the catalog of *The Senior Teachers College of the Cleveland School of Education and Western Reserve University* (Summer Session, 1925), 3.

17. The new certification laws required on and after January of 1915 training of one year or its equivalent in summer school work, in a recognized institution of college or normal school rank for the training of teachers, or a year's course in an arts college on the recognized list, maintaining a practice department. By 1920 the requirements had changed to that of a two-year teacher training course with one-fourth work in educational subjects including observation and practice teaching.

18. "Report of the Committee on Educational Matters," *Official Proceedings of the Board of Education* (Cleveland, Ohio: 1 February 1915), 38.

19. Taken from the 1915 and 1919 catalogs for the Cleveland School of Education.

20. "Report of the Committee to Confer with the Board of Education," *Minutes of the Joint Meeting of the Trustees of Western Reserve University and Adelbert College* (Cleveland, Ohio: 14 July 1920).

21. Taken from the *Reports of the Superintendent and the Director of the Cleveland Public Schools* (Cleveland, Ohio: Board of Education, (1924-1925), 49-55.

22. It is unclear in the research exactly when the Normal School of the Cleveland city schools began to be referred to as the Junior Teachers College, but it was soon after the agreement between Western Reserve University and the Cleveland public schools to jointly train teachers to receive the Bachelor degree awarded by Western Reserve University. Students who were residents of Cleveland received free tuition. The newspaper *School Topics*, 28 November 1927, reported on the new three-year program for elementary teachers. The additional year was thought to attract a finer quality of entrant and provide the student with additional training in principle and actual practice in the elementary school.

23. *Cleveland School of Education, The Junior Teachers College or Normal Department* (Cleveland, Ohio: 1921/1922), 6.

24. *Trustee Minutes of a Joint Meeting of the Trustees of Adelbert College and Western Reserve University* (Cleveland, Ohio: 14 July 1920).

25. *Cleveland School of Education and Western Reserve University, Extension Courses for Teachers.* (Cleveland, Ohio: 1922-1923), 4-5.

26. *Administrative Office Files of President Vinson*, Letter to Professor Robinson (Cleveland, Ohio: CWRU, 8 December 1926). The Junior Teachers College of the Cleveland School of Education was graduating classes of two hundred students. In order for the University to make the proposed School of Education work financially, they needed tuition fees of a guaranteed amount. Since the Board of Education was required by law to provide free tuition to its city Normal School students, it was anticipated that when the Board of Education and the University contracted jointly to train teachers, the Board of Education tuition fees would be credited to the University.

27. *Administrative Office Files of President Vinson*, Minutes of Committees on Educational Policies (Cleveland, Ohio: CWRU, 7 March 1928).

28. *The School of Education, Report of the Superintendent of Schools to the Board of Education of the City School District of the City of Cleveland* (Cleveland, Ohio: 1931/1932), 18.

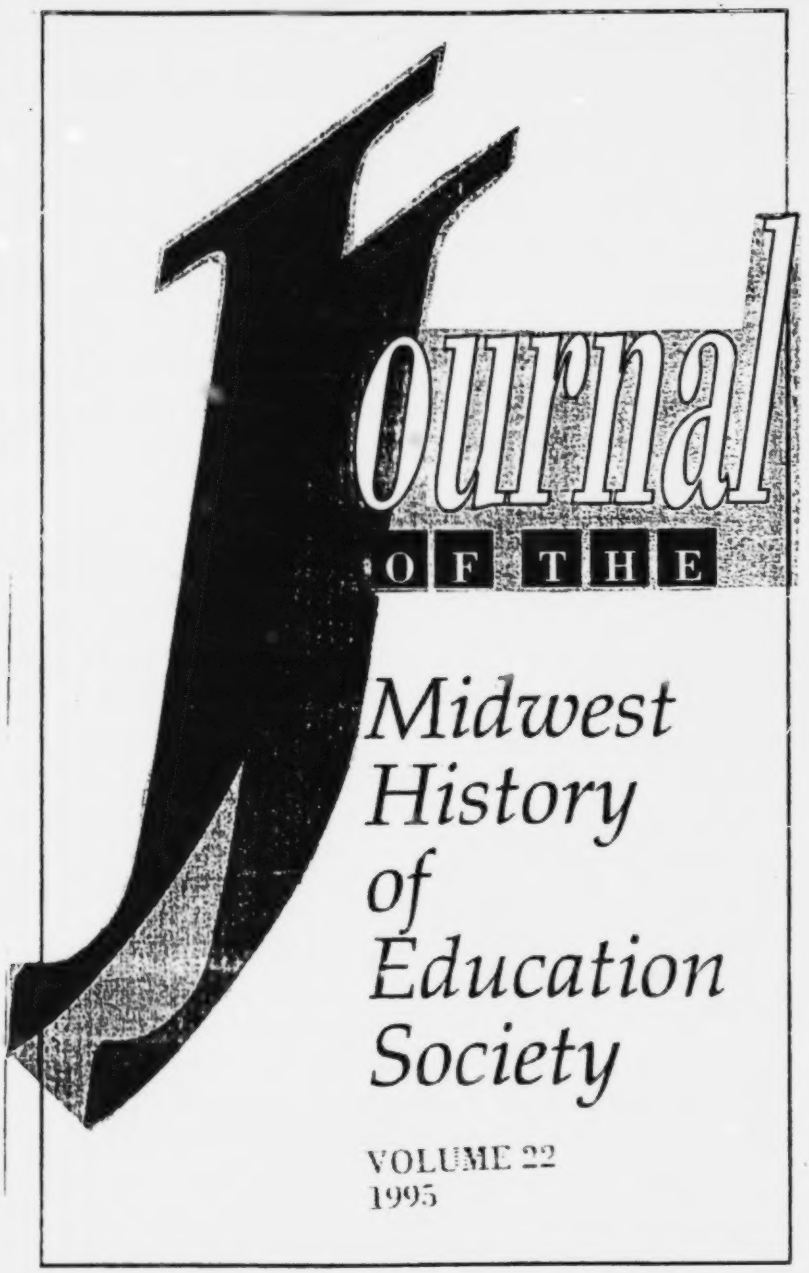
29. *Western Reserve University Catalog of the School of Education* (Cleveland, Ohio: 1931/ 1932), 11. The University had the units of Adelbert, Flora Stone Mather--up to 1931 known as the College for Women--Graduate School, and the Cleveland College preparing teachers. The staff of each of these units was listed in the School of Education and then permitted to organize and operate their own programs independently. The feeling of these colleges towards the School of Education was that it should only prepare teachers in the elementary field, leaving the Arts Colleges or Graduate School to prepare the rest. Cleveland College opened September 1925 in a downtown location for students unable to attend classes at the regular University campus. In 1926 it was formally affiliated with the University and Case School of Applied Science. Course work was divided into three groups: Business Administration, Chemistry, and Arts and Sciences. Taken from "Cleveland College Opens," *School Topics* (16 September 1925): 2.

30. The very earliest indication that the Cleveland School Board was going to drop their support of the School of Education appeared in a 1931 *Plain Dealer* article. Taken from "Tax Trimmers Keep Eye on School of Education," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 7 February 1931, 7.

31. *Official Proceedings of the Cleveland Board of Education* (Cleveland, Ohio: 23 January 1933), 214-216.

32. *Official Proceedings of the Cleveland School Board* (Cleveland, Ohio: 11 November 1935), 121. In the original agreement between the University and the Board of Edu-cation the school board appropriated the amount expended for the maintenance of the Cleveland School of Education and credited to the School of Education. The Univer-sity agreed to appropriate the sum expended for the Department of Education of the College for Women, for the Nursery-Kindergarten-Primary Training Department, and for the Senior Teachers College and the Summer Session and credit it to the School of Education. During the period of the agreement 1928-1936, the University was unable to use all the income from the courses in education in the arts colleges for the education program and consequently the Cleveland Board of Education carried half of the total budget for the University School of Education, and the University was unable to secure additional funds through endowment or grants to reduce the school board's appropriation.

33. *Administrative Office Files of President Leutner.* Report to President Winfred G. Leutner and Charles H. Lake Relative to the Organization of the School of Education (Cleveland, Ohio: 10 December 1935). In the matter of curriculum, while the Dean of the School of Education was expected to approve all applicants for State certification, the School did not have a voice in the curriculum for teaching or other school service within any of the other units who also provided teacher training. The problems within the administration of the Summer Session were the charge that favoritism was practiced regarding course work offered and appointment of staff to teach simply because they were clientele of the Director of the Summer Session. These charges were dismissed by Dean Irwin as being no different if any of the other colleges on the University campus were operating the School.



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The Origins of Manual Training In Austin, Texas, Schools

Matthew D. Davis
The University of Texas
at Austin

On September 26, 1896, eighteen boys began their school day as the first students of the John T. Allan manual training department of the Austin (Texas) High School. Unlike the schedule of any previous Austin students, they attended classes in woodworking and mechanical drawing. Apparently, their manual training work proceeded smoothly throughout the year. At the close of school in Spring, 1897, objects created by these first eighteen students in their manual training workshops were displayed in downtown shop windows, and local citizens proudly observed their school children's accomplishments.[1]

Only days before the students walked into the manual training workshops for the first time, Austin Superintendent T.G. Harris issued his annual report. "I feel hopeful", he wrote, "that the organization of the John T. Allan manual training school as a department of the high school will prove to be a wise movement both as to the manual training school and the high school. I believe that the opportunities thus offered to boys will have a tendency both to keep them in school longer, and also to give more profitable direction to their work."[2] Although optimism accompanied the initiation of manual training at Austin High School, caution still flavored its beginning.

In this first year in which manual training was offered in Austin, enrollment in the city's schools totalled 3,461 children and youth, only eighteen of whom were enrolled in the manual training classes.[3] Eleven years later, these numbers totalled 4,236 and 540. Harris' early, cautious optimism had been overwhelmed by success. While total enrollment in the schools rose by 20 percent, the manual training department was flooded by a thirty fold increase in students.[4] The citizens of Austin could thank John T. Allan for the school's successful new manual training program.

Austinite, lawyer, and former Texas State Treasurer, John T. Allan bequeathed, at his death on January 22, 1886, nearly $44,000 "to establish in the City of Austin...an Industrial School in which shall be taught practical use of tools as well as scientific principles as applied to labor."[5] The source of Allan's attraction to manual training has been lost to history. A reasonable surmise holds that, during a visit to St. Louis late in his life, he became acquainted with Calvin Woodward.[6] At such a meeting, Woodward, as befits a zealot, must have expounded the benefits of manual training to his visitor from Texas.

Calvin Woodward, a professor of mathematics and applied science and Dean of O'Fallon Polytechnic Institute at Washington University in St. Louis, initiated a three year secondary school in 1880 as an experiment to foster tool awareness in students before they arrived at college to study engineering. This school integrated wood and metal work with regular school subjects of science, mathematics, history, languages, and English. The school proved to be a quick success. Woodward, the "acknowledged leader" of manual training, "turned to propagandizing for manual training as essential to general education."[7]

Likely, Woodward's ideas sparked Allan's interest in manual training because of the nature of Allan's childhood in Scotland. Born May 21, 1821, in Edinburgh, Allan was the son of a Scots wheelwright and cabinet-maker. As an adolescent, young Allan was "bound as an apprentice to a cabinet-maker at Inverness, Scotland."[8] Upon completion of his apprenticeship at age 21, Allan left Scotland for America. He settled in Austin in 1850 and later became a lawyer, a judge, and a prominent civic leader.

Allan's bequest could not be acted upon immediately. On the other hand, the Austin school board established the Allan Fund Committee to conserve the bequest's resources and to plan the manual training offerings. The committee consisted of Chairman D.B. Gracy, Z.T. Fulmore, and W.J. Matthews, all school board members. For the next decade, the Allan Fund Committee accomplished at least three major activities. First, it conserved the Allan Fund. Second, with other Texas leaders, these Austinites lobbied Texas' State Superintendent of Public Instruction, Oscar H. Cooper, to permit payment of salaries to manual training teachers from local tax revenue. In 1896, State Superintendent Cooper ruled to permit such payment. Third, the Fund committee members employed N.S. Hunsden to be Austin's first manual training supervisor and teacher.[9]

A graduate of Woodward's Manual Training School in St. Louis, Hunsden arrived in Austin with sterling credentials. His leadership assured that Austin's manual training school would have a course of study and an organization similar to that of Calvin Woodward's premier school. Under Hunsden's direction, the school developed a solid program of offerings with successful graduates and increased student enrollment and size of teaching faculty. Hunsden's success was so prominent that he was lured to San Antonio in 1908 by a much increased salary to launch a similar program in the Alamo City. Success begat success and after the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917, Hunsden returned to Austin as director of vocational industrial education in the Texas State Department of Education.[10]

Some six years after the John T. Allan manual training school opened, Director Hunsden described the systematic introduction of manual training work into Austin's schools. Each year, for several years, some new base of manual training work was added until the school had a "complete four-year course with...valuable and up-to-date equipment."[11] Austin High School, at this time, included grades 7-10; later in the century, grades 11 and 12 were added.

Manual training courses offered to ninth (junior) and tenth (senior) grades in 1896, continued in operation three years later. They included in Low Junior: Free Hand Drawing, Instrumental Drawing and Joinery; in High Junior: Free Hand Drawing, Instrumental Drawing, Turning and Carving; in Low Middle: Free Hand and Instrumental Drawing continued and Forging; in High Middle: Free Hand and Instrumental Drawing continued and Forging continued, Pattern Making and Moulding; in Low Senior: Drawing continued and Machine Work; and in High Senior: Drawing and Machine Work.[12] The manual training course curriculum was revised in 1902. At that time, younger students were enrolled in manual training and new courses like mechanical drawing were added to grades seven and eight.[13]

By 1907, the manual training department offered a one and one-half year sequence of courses in woodworking. Classes met for two 45-minute periods each week in the first term and for three 90-minute periods each week for the next two terms. Subsequent courses in the department (e.g., pattern making and moulding, forging, and machine work) met weekly for three 90-minute periods. The department also offered a four year sequence in drawing and a four year sequence in domestic science.[14]

Hunsden described elements of the manual work courses as follows:

> The manual work begins in the seventh grade and is optional. The first term of this grade is devoted to Venetian iron work. This consists of making articles such as lamp mats, picture frames, ink stands...etc. Here the pupil gets a splendid idea of both mechanical and free-hand drawing. Working drawings are made by the pupil and he often constructs after his own design. This is a splendid means of teaching values of drawing and gives the teacher of free-hand drawing an excellent

> opportunity to get good results. The pupils of the high seventh grade begin the subject of joinery. Here the boy uses the saw, hammer, chisel, and a number of tools. The pupil is taught the elementary principles of construction, and the care and use of many wood-working tools.[15]

As noted, manual training very quickly was introduced into the upper grades of elementary schools, with the prospect that all students would be involved in this instruction.

The manual training workshops were spacious and filled with light. The 1902 *Catalogue of the Allan Manual Training School* asserted that "the walls are made attractive by having neatly-framed pictures of trees". Additionally, "it has been the aim to make the shops as attractive as possible."[16] These descriptions may have contained elements of puffery, but they underlined the increasing status of the manual training department.

In 1902, in *The Texas School Journal,* Hunsden reflected on equipping manual training classrooms. He listed the equipment necessary to teach one pupil in each manual training class. He added that the number of pupils in the largest class will determine the size of the equipment. Hunsden gave an exhaustive list that included saws, planes, and pencils. He added 26 items necessary for instruction just in the joiner room. Equipment for other manual training courses filled two and a half additional pages of the March, 1902 issue of *The Texas School Journal.* Not surprisingly, with such an extensive set of equipment, and its rapid increase in enrollment, the manual training department grew out of two subsequent buildings before 1917.[17]

The thirty fold enrollment growth in the manual training department was mirrored by the rise in numbers of teachers in the department. In 1896, N.S. Hunsden, the director, was the only manual training instructor. By 1902, six years later, another teacher, O.A. Hanszen had joined the manual training department. A new assistant director, E.S. Blackburn, arrived in 1903 after Hanszen resigned to head the new Dallas Manual Training School.[18] Two additional teachers were added to the school in 1905: Fred Hofstetter, and a Domestic Science teacher, Eleanor H. Nesbitt. A fifth teacher, Laura Lee Abadie, joined the department's staff in 1907 to assist Miss Nesbitt in Domestic Science. Thus in eleven years, the department expanded from one teacher to five teachers, and its teachers constituted more than thirty percent of the total high school faculty.[19]

Important Dimensions of Manual Training in Austin, Texas

The story of the manual training program in Austin, Texas during the period 1886-1916 diverges on several points from the accepted practice of manual training in other American schools. A discussion of several major points constitutes an interpretation of the Austin experience with manual training.

The beginnings of a manual training program in Austin appear to have been unique. Allan's munificent bequest to fund initial purchase of machines and supplies for the program preempted community and school board discussion of legitimacy. Thus, Austin was spared the debates that occurred in many other towns such as Boston and Philadelphia.[20] The economic benefits possible from manual training to the student or community were asserted and accepted.

Moreover, manual training in Austin apparently never sought to be strictly vocational preparation. N.S. Hunsden, the program's director, explicitly asserted its purpose:

> The work is broad and liberal in its scope and universal in its applications. The school aims to fit the boys and girls for their environment. The course provides intellectual, manual, and art work in such proportions as to train the pupils mentally, physically, and aesthetically. The school does not aim to produce mechanics any more than it aims to produce any other class of specialists. The manual exercises are educational, the same as are the intellectual exercises. No special trade is taught, yet the underlying principles of many trades are so taught that the pupil will have ability which will enable him to take up any trade. It is not expected that all who take manual training will become mechanics; in fact, we expect very few to be mechanics.[21]

Hunsden also promoted manual training as a major contribution to citizenship preparation. These purposes fit neatly into the prevailing conception of the high school curriculum.

Allan's gift to Austin schools enabled manual training in Austin to begin on a strong financial footing, which the Allan Fund Committee intended to continue indefinitely. In 1902, for example, the fund included $11,139.19 in cash, 2140 acres of land in surrounding counties, more than five city blocks of Austin property, and notes amounting to $27,700.12.[22]

Despite the earlier 1896 ruling by the Texas State Superintendent of Public Instruction, amounts for teacher salaries in 1904-1905 were the Allan Fund's second largest disbursement after interest payment on notes. The cash level of the Fund on August 31, 1905, dropped to $3,227.36, and the land holdings in nearby counties decreased to only 340 acres. Receipts from the sale of the land totalled only $494.80.[23]

The Allan Fund Committee handled many transactions during the period from August 31, 1905 to August 31, 1907. The 1907 report reveals that $21,000 was expended to purchase real estate, presumably property for the planned Allan Junior High School. The cash level rose to $6,872.64, but the level of notes dropped sharply to $5,348.56.[24]

Throughout the infancy of Austin's manual training program, the Allan Fund Committee conserved the bequest's resources and fostered manual training at Austin High School. Local debate about the legitimacy of manual training apparently never surfaced.

Nationally, many labor unions initially opposed school manual training programs. They bristled at employers' advocacy of these programs and feared school intrusion into the control of union affairs.[25] This characteristic enmity of unions toward manual training was absent in Austin. In fact, by 1908, they enthusiastically embraced manual training. For example, apprentices of Austin's Carpenter's Union began to attend evening classes in woodworking and drawing on October 12, 1908. These apprentices enrolled for tuition-free courses or suffered the loss of their union cards.[26] Other American schools suffered a lack of support, if not outright hostility from local trade unions about the introduction and continuation of manual training programs. The Austin program was spared these consequences and, indeed, enjoyed labor union support throughout the existence of the Allan School.

Manual training for Austin's Black students was unavailable until after the program was assured for White students. Traditional school subjects filled the sparse curriculum for students at the separate high school for Blacks in Austin, Texas. Not until November 27, 1911, were "woodworking, drawing, domestic science, and domestic art added to the negro youth curriculum."[27] L.C. Anderson, the principal of Austin's school for Blacks, had lobbied diligently for more than three years for the addition of manual training to his school's offerings. This development offered a striking contrast to the experiences of many Southern school districts which only taught manual training to Blacks during this period.

On April 1, 1898, Board member and Allan Fund Committee member Fulmore signed a resolution opening the Allan manual training department "on an equal advantage basis of girls." This ruling came more than seven years before domestic science courses were added to the manual training department. Consequently, Austin girls stood next to boys and learned to use hand tools for at least seven years before the introduction of the department's first courses in domestic science. Cooking classes were opened to girls in 1906, and the meals the girls prepared soon filled the first lunchroom in a Texas high school.[28]

Ever prideful of graduates from the Allan manual training department, Hunsden trumpeted their successes in his regular column in *The Texas School Journal*, a magazine for Texas teachers.

> As for utilitarian value of the work, I think the following record of a few graduates will demonstrate that it is of great value to the boy seeking a livelihood. Out of

> thirteen graduates from the department, one is getting $95 per month as a draughtsman; another is getting $75; another $65 as a draughtsman; another is employed in a bank; eight are in higher institutes of learning and two boys who had not finished the work are receiving $2.50 per day. This shows that the work is decidedly valuable for one who has to earn his living upon leaving school.[29]

Differing from the common rhetoric on manual training, Austin's advocates believed a boy's occupational chances were increased after attending manual training programs. The efficacy of school-to-work transition through manual training was avowed.

Austin's schools were affected little by passage of the Smith-Hughes Act in 1917. By that time, the Allan manual training department at Austin High School had operated for almost a quarter century. Its strong program drew abundant local support. Austinites likely believed that no additional changes were necessary in Austin schools. On the other hand, significant reform was underway. The name John T. Allan was revered in Austin and soon graced the first junior high school to open in Texas. The John T. Allan Junior High School opened its doors in 1916. The new school provided woodworking and drawing courses and all students were advised to enroll in these manual training offerings.[30] With this new school, and its manual training courses, Austin High School continued to offer manual training instruction.

Another reason for the entrenchment of Austin's manual training program was the 1916 gift of $100,000 to the schools by another prominent Austinite, Colonel A.J. Zilker. This grant solidified the political power of the manual training advocates. Not until 1922 were the first Smith-Hughes courses, auto mechanics and printing, opened in the Allan Junior High School's manual training department.

A special symbol of the entrenchment of manual training in Austin was the city's notable decision not to establish a vocational high school in the city. Other Texas cities such as Dallas, Fort Worth, and San Antonio developed strong vocational high schools only to see them become comprehensive high schools by mid-century.

Austin's school experience with manual training quickly extended to other schools in Texas. Its first two teachers left Austin to direct similar programs in San Antonio and in Dallas. In 1901, a much smaller high school in Devine, Texas, began to offer manual training on the Austin model. C.C. Harris, Devine's superintendent of schools, later lauded manual training and accurately predicted that this program would expand throughout the state.[31]

Two years later, in 1903, based on legitimation centered on Austin's success, the state legislature appropriated $10,000 for distribution as matching grants to schools which established manual training courses.

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Within months, schools in Austin, Devine, Belton, Waxahachie, and Itasca received allocations.[32] Without question, the Allan manual training department influenced educational reform throughout the state.

Manual Training in Austin: Never A School-to-Work Program

According to H.A. Kantor:

> The belief in school-based solutions to economic problems has proven remarkably resilient over the years. Today, as concern about the nation's economic competitiveness, rising youth unemployment, and the growth of dead-end jobs has intensified, interest in the vocational purposes of schooling once again commands public attention, though, in contrast to the past, policy-makers currently contend that general academic rather than specific skill training is more vocationally efficacious.[33]

To emphasize Kantor's point, many policy-makers insist that general rather than specific preparation and academic progress rather than job skill training usually are more "vocationally efficacious." Manual training advocates stressed education of the whole child, hands as well as intellect. Aims of contemporary school-to-work advocates appear closely related to purposes advocated by supporters of manual training. On the other hand, few current policy-makers and educators would advocate a return to a manual training curriculum that captured American schools nearly a century ago. It clearly was a product of its times and irrelevant to contemporary social and economic needs. Still, this historical antecedent to current school-to-work transitional advocacies merits interpretation as a part of the nation's usable past.

Several interpretations of the Austin case of school manual training appear reasonable. School-to-work transitions remain a continuing saga of emphasis. Manual training, like so many other school reforms, was incorporated into the "grammar of schooling".[34] It became a small part of the high school's general education program; in fact, it was never considered to be exclusively vocational.

The Austin program's greatest success accompanied funding beyond local tax revenues. Over the years, manual training offerings declined, but they were not replaced for most students in Austin schools by strictly vocational programs. The school-to-work transition remains problematic. Recently, to meet this perceived need, several proposals, including apprenticeship training, have been advanced in Austin. These and other proposals currently lack the practical implementation efforts that launched manual training in Austin High School a century ago.

Problems of school-to-work transition continue even in the face of successful experience with different solutions. Of course, social, economic, and educational contexts shift or profoundly change over time.

Earlier solutions no longer hold. Quite possibly, resolutions for a particular circumstance and era are more promising than are plans conceived as "one best" solutions for all times and settings.

ENDNOTES

1 C.G. Stuart, "Industrial Arts and Vocational Education: Their History and Present Position in Texas" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 1968).

2 Austin Public Schools (hereafter APS), *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Board of Public School Trustees of the City of Austin, Texas, For the Year Ending August 31, 1896* (Austin, 1896), 27.

3 *Fifteenth Annual Report*, 7.

4 APS, *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Public Schools of the City of Austin, Texas School Trustees for the Year Ending August 31, 1907* (Austin, 1907), 27.

5 Stuart, "Industrial Arts", 135.

6 Austin History Center, "Biography of John T. Allan" (n.d.), Austin Public Library.; M. Lazerson and W.N. Grubb, *American Education and Vocationalism: A Documentary History, 1870-1970*, (New York, 1974); O.A. Hanszen, "Manual Training in the Public Schools.", *The Texas School Journal* 20(December, 1903): 826-835.

7 Lazerson and Grubb, *American Education and Vocationalism*, 4-5.

8 Austin History Center, "Biography," 1.

9 APS, *Public Education in Austin, 1881-1954, Seventy Three Vital Years, Volume 2* (Austin, 1954), 62-63.

10 "The Working Staff of the Smith-Hughes Law," *The Texas School Journal* (35)9: 23; Stuart, "Industrial Arts;" APS, *Public Education in Austin*.

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A Matter of Course: Curriculum Transformation and Academic Decline in St. Louis

Karen L. Graves
Denison University

An article in the 9 February 1994 issue of the *New York Times* reported that the Clinton administration's school reform agenda stressed both educational achievement and a school-to-work connection. Critics argued that legislation supporting the Clinton school policy known as Goals 2000 is based on "empty promises to reach unattainable goals."[1] Yet the goals are similar to those expressed in earlier reform movements. After Sputnik began circling the earth, educational policy makers in the United States worked diligently to improve educational achievement in the public schools. Once Americans agreed that the nation was "at risk" economically in the 1980s, policy makers again targeted scholastic performance in school reform efforts. In each of these periods of reform, policy writers demanded academic excellence in a school system long devoted to supporting the industrial sector of the United States, attempting to harness intellectual development with vocational preparation. Scholars, however, have questioned the viability of dual objectives in schooling which are designed to prepare students for the world of work in the present American political economy and to encourage the full intellectual, ethical, and social development of students.[2] The stage upon which the contemporary acts of school reform in the United States are played out was set early in the twentieth century. In that period an educational philosophy emerged which advocated the implementation of the differentiated curriculum, a course structure which provided different schooling experiences for different students, as it embraced the notion of schooling for work and citizenship training. Educators abandoned the pursuit of intellectual development as a primary objective of schooling and, in the process, dismantled a solid academic curriculum. Although not often acknowledged in the public debate on school reform today, those who controlled the curriculum transformation in the United States in the early years of this century purposely sacrificed academic components of the curriculum in the effort to fit students for their assumed societal roles as worker and citizen.

To understand this widespread phenomenon better, it is helpful to consider the events as they developed in one school system. David F. Labaree provides a strong argument for historical case studies which examine exemplary schools in his work on Philadelphia's Central High School. He argues that the study of institutions which served as forerunners to the contemporary American high school extends our knowledge of educational development in the United States.[3] My work focuses on the public high schools of St. Louis, Missouri, which presents itself as an appropriate school system for study for a number of reasons. The St. Louis public school system rose to national prominence in the late nineteenth century under the leadership of Superintendent William Torrey Harris. Harris, "undoubtedly the commanding figure of his pedagogical era" according to Lawrence Cremin, addressed key educational issues, first, in his work at St. Louis, and then, on the national scene as U.S. Commissioner of Education.[4] The manual training movement originated in St. Louis, springing from Calvin Woodward's work at Washington University. St. Louisans were no strangers to educational innovation since they established the first public school kindergarten in the United States under the direction of Susan Blow.[5] Readers of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* were, then, probably not surprised to read in 1903 that President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University regarded the St. Louis school system as the "best organization of public education in the United States."[6] Central High School, founded in 1853, and Sumner High School, founded in 1875, stood as sterling examples of the nascent public high school, atop the St. Louis system. The establishment of Sumner High School, identified by historian Horace Mann Bond as a superior secondary school among large, segregated city systems, is another significant factor in selecting St. Louis as a case study.[7]

The curriculum transformation that occurred in St. Louis public high schools with the introduction of the differentiated curriculum resulted in academic decline. In this essay I define academic studies as those studies which sustain liberal or classical education, with particular attention to intellectual development. Academic education targets the refining of critical thinking skills as a major schooling objective and promotes the notion of gaining knowledge simply for the sake of learning. Under this definition vocational studies are not considered academic; however, that is not to say that vocational subjects do not belong in the high school curriculum. That is a separate argument and one beyond the scope of this essay. Academic decline may be measured in a number of ways. One might consider the governing educational philosophies of a school, the fluctuation of course enrollment patterns of students, or changes in class content or objectives. I have considered these factors elsewhere, but in this paper I will discuss academic decline as it was measured by changes in the course of study.[8] Prior to addressing the academic recession in St. Louis high schools in the early years of this century, it is important to realize the academic strength of the nineteenth century high school curriculum.

A Piece of Life Itself

In 1871, a school administrator in St. Louis made the following statement to show that a rigorous course of study equipped graduates to enter the nation's best colleges to start in the world of work:

> Those who have an intelligent interest in education will not expect these same pupils to be turned out at the end of four years as linguists, chemists, practical mechanics, architects, historians and authors. What may be reasonably demanded is, that they shall have learned how to study, shall have become familiar with the outlines and fundamental principles of different branches, and shall be ready to enter our best colleges and scientific schools, or else to begin life with such general knowledge, and with abilities and habits of thought so trained, that they shall be impelled towards all that is high and useful, and be protected from the baseness of ignorance.[9]

This school administrator's perceptions of the strength of academic study are well intended. However, it is appropriate to avoid romanticizing the nineteenth century high school. While St. Louis did establish Sumner High School for African Americans in 1875, the system remained racially segregated for decades. Further, only a small portion of St. Louis youth attended secondary school in the nineteenth century. As late as 1920 just 10.65 percent of the total day school population in St. Louis went on to high school.[10]

The 1871 statement delineated a mission for the St. Louis high school in a clear manner and stood apart from much of the educational rhetoric of its day which praised the virtues of the "people's college." Schooling objectives, specifically learning how to study and gaining a knowledge of fundamentals in various disciplines, together with preparation leading to further study, whether in formal institutions of learning or in living one's life, became the primary pillars which supported an academic education. School data regarding the structure of the curriculum and issues of pedagogy sustain this point.

William Torrey Harris favored a high school curriculum which combined a study of the classics with study in the sciences, history, modern literature, philosophy, and rhetoric. That is, he argued that high school study should aim for a union of "discipline" and "knowledge." In the 1890s as a member of the National Education Association's Committee of Ten, Harris wielded significant influence in the national debate on the articulation of high school and college curricula. He changed the discussions concerning the fate of the classics at both levels. Harris articulated his philosophy regarding these issues two decades earlier as the nineteenth century high school curriculum in St. Louis took form. He believed that it was educationally unsound to put off study in the sciences, history, and literature until the last years of college, as had been the tradition. Harris argued for a spiral model of learning, in which aspects of a discipline were studied early and then revisited as the student matured intellectually.

> The mind should grow with all its windows open from the beginning. What it acquires in its early stages will be rudimentary, but will furnish a rich native store for future thought when the period of reflection sets in stronger and stronger. The roots of the sciences and literature and history should go down deep into the earliest years, so that the unconscious influence derived thence shall assist in molding the taste, will and intellect, during the most plastic period of growth. Without this thorough assimilation with the whole intellectual being. . . later scientific and literary studies are likely to be barren, lacking a fruitful soil.[11]

Harris' paradigm resembled the St. Louis High School Curriculum of 1870 which incorporated either a classical or general course of study (Table 1).

Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, the high school curriculum in St. Louis did not vary much from the 1870 curriculum. Students in most years could elect either the Classical or General courses of study. The two courses were quite similar, but the major difference was the substitution of the classics for the fuller mathematics and science program. Students headed for college took the Classical Course in order to prepare for entrance examinations in Greek and Latin. A quick survey of the classes in both courses of study indicates that all St. Louis high school graduates would have completed an academic curriculum which covered a range of disciplines. The General Course appeared to best represent the curriculum advocated by Harris, one which he described as almost equal to the academic program of students who had completed the sophomore year in most colleges.[12] The nineteenth century St. Louis high school curriculum, then, was solidly academic in design. Evidence other than the actual course structure, such as written class objectives, exam questions, and pedagogical discourse, established this point further.

From time to time the High School section of the St. Louis *Annual Reports* included information which allows greater insight regarding classes. School officials printed a complete set of questions from the written examinations for the school year ending in 1870 in the *Sixteenth Annual Report.* These questions comprised a thorough canvas of the subject material in the various classes. The exams consisted of both high and low order questions; some required confirmation of basic knowledge, while others targeted analysis of material. For example, the physical geography exam asked students completing their first year of high school to name the facts which cause the change of seasons and to explain how the change is produced. The second year exam in natural philosophy required students to draw a diagram and explain circular motion, discuss what forces produce it, and give examples of bodies in motion which illustrate this principle. One question for third year students asked for the purpose and applications of history. The Shakespeare exam, taken by fourth year students, required one to cite one or more passages showing that crime had not deprived Lady Macbeth of all amiable traits of character.[13] The range and depth of the questions on the yearly examinations suggest that a rigorous academic education was the standard in the nineteenth century St. Louis high school.

Reported class objectives serve as another indication that education in St. Louis high schools was of high academic quality. In 1880 the *Annual Report* included a rather detailed outline of the material to be covered in each class. Although we have no way of knowing to what extent these guidelines were followed in actual classes, it is significant to note that care was taken to encourage teachers to go beyond the practices of drill and recitation and to concentrate on thoughtful, critical study. The description for the first year class in analysis of English grammar, for instance, stated that tabulation, elaborate sentence diagrams, and other practices which overburdened the subject and prevented analytical study were to be avoided.[14] The work in fourth year rhetoric, designed to develop intelligent and expressive readers and fluent writers and speakers, directed students to the preparation of essays and orations as well as critical examination of selected literature.[15] The primary objectives of algebra classes were to teach general principles supplemented by concrete applications.[16] Geometry teachers were advised to proceed very slowly until the students had a clear understanding of the material. The central goal was training in logical processes and, thus, teachers were warned against letting the students "remember" what they should perceive rather than think through problems on their own.[17] In higher mathematics the principal concern was to deepen the student's knowledge of fundamental ideas through an understanding of the unity of all mathematical axioms and their many applications.[18] History teachers were encouraged to focus on the interlocking relationship between principles and "facts."[19] The class on the U.S. Constitution clearly valued ideas over trivia. The report noted that teachers were to help students to "avoid learning the verbiage lest the pupils replace instruction by meaningless words and phrases lodged in the memory."[20] The worst excesses of faculty psychology, schooling methods which simply attempted to fill up the "vessel of the mind," were discouraged by St. Louis educators.

Promotion of an active, intellectual education continued in St. Louis schools throughout the nineteenth century. The 1895 report of the superintendent in the *Forty-First Annual Report* described learning as a dynamic process, one that required an assimilation of information and the expression of ideas through language, skill, or other activities. The teacher was to be a leader (not ruler) who sifted through the massive field of knowledge to obtain challenging material for the students' consideration. School officials encouraged laboratory or other experimental work in addition to regular study of texts. School reports regarding pedagogy urged teachers to supplement a comprehensive survey of key principles and laws with detailed study in particular areas. Educators expected students to then be able to apply the given method of study to other areas which had not been covered in class due to time constraints.[21] Again, it is difficult to know how close teachers and their students came to achieving these goals in the classrooms. Yet, the evidence we do have indicates that critical thinking was at the center of the prescribed pedagogy in St. Louis. While the connection between school and college, school and work, or school and whatever life held after high school was often addressed, educators did not limit their plans for the high school curriculum to these concerns. As the superintendent wrote in 1895, "The high school should not only prepare for life; it should be a piece of life itself."[22] This is akin to that kernel of a liberal education, learning for the sake of learning. The evidence left for our examination speaks of a strong academic program of study in the St. Louis high school of the nineteenth century: the course structure, class objectives as defined by written reports and examination questions, and descriptions of suggested pedagogical methods. For the students fortunate enough to attend high school in St. Louis in the late 1800s, school was a grand "piece of life," indeed!

An Academic Recession

St. Louis school officials altered the course of study in the high schools near the turn of the twentieth century. Contemporary references to the new curriculum described it as a simplified course of study which was designed to lessen the difficulty of the work for students.[23] Termed the "differentiated curriculum" the program created different schooling experiences for different students; a decrease in the overall academic quality of public secondary schooling accompanied its implementation. Academic decline is evident in a number of areas: the structure of the curriculum, the underpinning educational philosophy, the percentage of students enrolled in academic classes and courses of study, and the changes that occurred within academic classes themselves.[24] This paper focuses on the first of these, the academic decline which resulted from a transformation of course structure in St. Louis public high schools.

From the founding of St. Louis Central High School in 1853 until 1894, students in St. Louis public high schools could choose either the Classical or General course of study. Gradually, the curriculum expanded to include additional courses of study: Classical, Scientific, General, Art, Normal, Commercial, Domestic Art and Science, Manual Training. The inclusion of nonacademic classes in the Commercial, Domestic Art and Science, and Manual Training Courses distinguished them from other courses of study in the curriculum. Vocational classes entered the St. Louis High School curriculum via the Commercial, Domestic Art and Science, and Manual Training Courses just prior to the passage of the Missouri compulsory school attendance law in 1905. Whereas the total school curriculum in 1870 consisted of academic courses, by 1905 the curriculum was no longer solidly academic. That is, academic courses of study began to represent a lesser percentage of the total school curriculum. Clearly, school officials understood the distinction between the academic courses of study and those which maintained a vocational emphasis. In the St. Louis Annual Report for the school year ending in 1905, an effort was made to classify the various courses of study for students and their parents. Listed under the title of "Best General Education" and "recommended in the order in which they are here given" were the Scientific, Classical, General, and Art Courses.[25] The Commercial, Manual Training, and Domestic Art and Science Courses belonged to a separate category labeled "Special Course of Training."[26] In the early years of the differentiated curriculum these courses of study singled out for training still contained many classes with an academic focus, to be sure. Yet, with the addition of every class geared to "practical training" such as stenography or sewing, students eliminated one more opportunity for an academic class in their program. In this way the alteration of the course structure produced academic decline in St. Louis schools. In St. Louis the practice of distinguishing high school students by course of study began to be phased out in 1927. After 1930 a single curriculum replaced the multiple courses of study, yet differentiation among students continued as students were tracked by their choice of electives.

Although some students chose their classes in preparation for college and, thus, continued in an academic track, eventually most took their classes from the general course of study. During the twentieth century, however, the general course of study evolved into a form quite unlike the nineteenth century General Course with its classes in advanced mathematics, languages, and the sciences. In 1916 the St. Louis Board of

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Education approved the superintendent's recommendation that students in the General Course be permitted to substitute work in subjects from various courses of study for third and fourth year work in the languages, mathematics, and the sciences. [27] For students in the General course of study in 1917, electives claimed eleven of twenty-four classes over a four-year period (Table 2). Nine of the twenty-four slots were reserved for chorus, physical training, community civics, and vocations. Many of the classes in the pool from which electives were to be chosen had been added to the curriculum via the Commercial, Manual Training, and Domestic Art and Science Courses of Study and were specifically vocational in nature: Industrial History, Commercial Geography, Manual Training, Mechanical Drawing, Household Arts, Bookkeeping, Stenography, Typewriting, Commercial Law, Salesmanship, and Advertising. Thus, while it was still **possible** for a student to graduate from the General Course having taken most classes from the academic realm, such a program of study was no longer guaranteed. The academic content of the General Course was further weakened by 1927 (Table 3).

The general track claimed increasing numbers of students even as the academic content of this program of study declined. In 1939 the general track of the curriculum accounted for 95 percent of St. Louis high school students. In a circular fashion, the fact that most students completed the general track fed the notion that academic requirements for graduation were inappropriate. A Columbia University survey committee suggested to St. Louis school officials that year that it was "...absolutely indefensible...to pattern the program for the 95 percent on the [academic] requirements laid down by colleges for the 5 per cent. General education in the high school curriculum must be evaluated in terms of the development of all youth of high school age of understandings, abilities, and attitudes needed for effective participation in the social and civic life of St. Louis and the nation."[28] Concern for citizenship training and vocational preparation overshadowed intellectual development. Although an academic strand remained in the school curriculum, few students completed a course of study comparable to that taken by all graduates in 1870.

Curriculum evolution in St. Louis was a slow process, and in the earlier years of the differentiated curriculum many classes overlapped the various courses of study. For instance, in 1903, Botany was a required class in all courses of study. In these years it was possible for students in a given course to find themselves in classes with students from other courses of study. Yet as the transformation of the curriculum progressed, it became less and less common for classes to be required across various courses of study. If one compares the data from Tables 1 and 3, it is clear that the number of classes held in common across the school curriculum decreased from 1870 to 1927. In 1870 all graduates took classes in algebra, geometry, Latin or German, English analysis, Shakespeare and English literature, physiology, astronomy, physical geography, universal history, U.S. Constitution, and drawing. In 1917 the only classes all graduates had in common were chorus, physical training, community civics, vocations, English, and history. By 1927 health, English, social studies, and science were the only classes specified for all graduates.

Further analysis of course content indicates that some academic classes evaporated altogether from the curriculum. Comparing the classes required in 1870 with those offered in 1927, one notes the disappearance of Astronomy, Greek, Philosophy, and Shakespeare as distinct classes, and the collapsing of Botany and Zoology into Biology. A closer examination of Tables 1 and 3 allows one to draw stark comparisons between the General course of study in 1870 and the general requirements for graduation in 1927. In 1870 four years of mathematics were required: algebra, geometry, trigonometry (if taken in place of botany), and analytic geometry and calculus. In 1927 graduates had only to complete one year of mathematics; ninth-grade mathematics would suffice. In 1870 graduates of the General course of study took French two years and German or Latin four years; no units of foreign language were required in 1927. English requirements in 1870 included analysis, literature, and Shakespeare; by 1927 two units of English were required. Three years' study in history, geography, and the U.S. Constitution (1870) eventually translated into one year of social studies (1927). What had been four years of science, natural philosophy, chemistry, zoology, physiology, and astronomy, was replaced by one year of science and three units of health. Additional classes required in the General course of study in 1870 included two years of drawing, one year of manual art, one year of mental and moral philosophy, and music and rhetoricals throughout. In 1927 nine units of electives constituted the remainder of students' programs of study.

A comparison of courses of study from the 1870, 1917, and 1927 curricula in St. Louis public high schools, then, shows the following: academic courses of study decreased in percentage of the curriculum, academic classes which were taken in common by students across all courses of study declined, some academic classes simply evaporated from the curriculum, and academic substance (as measured by the type of classes that were required) in the General course of study contracted from 1870 to 1927. Academic regulation of the curriculum receded in response to the installation of vocational courses.

The vocational movement exploded in American high schools during the twentieth century. Educators in the nineteenth century tended to anchor their schooling philosophies in intellectual and moral development. The anti-vocational tone of a statement from the 1869 *St. Louis Annual Report* was not unusual. "Our national idea and the interests of humanity alike protest against a one-sided education that shall predestine the youth to some special art or trade."[29] When Manual Training and Domestic Art and Science courses were first introduced into St. Louis high schools, Superintendent F. Louis Soldan explained, with great care, that these courses were strictly educational, and he assured that they were not conducted in a way to prepare students for specific vocations.[30] The courses, as described by Soldan, fit Calvin Woodward's original conception of manual training. Woodward intended that manual training supplement academic study, helping students to better understand theoretical principles.

This vision of manual training, however, did not survive in public high schools. The differentiated curriculum served to separate students by course of study, and in the process, severed ties linking manual training applications to academic study. The 1927 curriculum, for instance, barred college-bound students from taking more than two units of vocational subjects (Table 3.) In addition, social efficiency reformers pushed for a vocational emphasis in high school training. These forces combined to squeeze out much of the academic content in classes which distinguished the Manual Training, Domestic Art and Science, and Commercial courses of study. Consider, as an example, the classes comprising the Domestic Art and Science program as reported in the *St. Louis Annual Report* for the 1906-07 school year. Classes in the first two years were devoted to sewing, while classes in the third and fourth years concentrated on cooking, laundry work, and home nursing. Students enrolled in the Domestic Art and Science Course spent a considerable amount of their school time making petticoats and nightgowns, canning, pickling, salting, and smoking food items, and discussing the best methods for stain removal.[31] While the value of such tasks is not to be diminished, this work was not academic. As classes became increasingly devoted to this sort of activity, the academic share of the curriculum decreased.

Academic components of the curriculum were pushed even closer to the periphery as vocationalism picked up steam in the first decades of the twentieth century. Work preparation replaced academic study as the defining element in curriculum construction in St. Louis high schools early in the twentieth century. The administration acknowledged a "radical change in the determinants of the high school course of study" in 1911, which reflected the academic decline of the curriculum.[32] School officials linked the radical change in the high school curriculum to the most recent additions to the course of study: ". . . commercial and manual training courses for both boys and girls have grown up, offering opportunity for High School study arranged with direct regard for the kind of work the pupil intends to pursue after leaving the High School; still there remains much to be done to arouse in the students the motives for their school work which will associate it vitally with the vocation to be followed."[33]

In 1924 the St. Louis Board of Education created the Division of Vocational Counseling, finally cementing the emerging relationship between school and work in St. Louis. Counselors in all elementary, intermediate, and high schools aided students "in intelligently choosing their vocations and in getting the most out of their educational opportunities." [34] The counseling program for students included two meetings prior to high school matriculation at which the courses of study in the high school were discussed and advice was given to individual students regarding their programs. Counselors arranged more meetings after the school year began. Early in the year counselors met with first year students to emphasize the need of vocational information and to encourage the study of vocations.[35] The idea of a school-to-work transition claimed a prominent position in the school curriculum. The notion that schooling should be a "piece of life itself," now carried a label of anachronistic idealism.

Conclusion

Throughout the nineteenth century the St. Louis high school curriculum was devoted to solid academic study. The structure of the course of study provided clear evidence of this fact. Other school records, such as published class objectives, examination questions, and pedagogical discourse, shored up this point. As the curriculum shifted early in the twentieth century, the academic status of the high school occupied uncertain ground. Nonacademic courses of study made inroads into the curriculum, students increasingly took classes in a general course of study from which academic content was seeping, the number of academic classes overlapping various courses of study decreased, and the academic requirements for general study in the high school receded. School officials reversed an earlier stand and embraced vocational education as a primary goal of schooling. Thus, the die for secondary schooling in the United States was cast. Forces which influenced the curricular transformation included new liberal intellectualism, vocationalism, a nation-wide concern with the "boy problem," and a form of conservative feminism, but that is a story for another time. The curriculum paradigm was set in such a way that generation after generation of school reformers would struggle to reconcile a system that, at once, tried to fit students for a place in the modern capitalist workforce as it claimed to promote thorough intellectual development. [36]

Amid the furor that erupted in the post-Sputnik era, one insightful educator's comments appear to have been lost. When asked why Americans suddenly found themselves with an inadequate public educational system, Arthur Bestor remarked, "The basic trouble is that the persons running our public school system lost sight of the main purpose of education--namely, intellectual training."[37] In St. Louis, the differentiated curriculum was the vehicle through which intellectual training gave way to job training. As public schools in the United States prepare for the year 2000, goals must transcend a school-to-work transition if we are to reclaim a vision of education that has been clouded throughout the twentieth century.

TABLE 1
St. Louis High School Curriculum: 1870

COURSE OF STUDY	GRADE	LEVEL		
	9	10	11	12
CLASSICAL COURSE	Algebra	Geometry		Algebra/ Geometry Review
	Latin	Greek, Latin	Greek, Latin	Greek, Latin
	English Analysis	Physiology	Astronomy	Shakespeare/ English Lit
	Physical Geography	Ancient Geography	Universal History	US Constitution
	Drawing	Drawing		
GENERAL COURSE	Algebra	Geometry	Trigonometry or Botany	Analytic Geometry, Calculus
	German or Latin	German or Latin	French and German or Latin	French and German or Latin
	English Analysis	Bookkeeping (Optional	Universal History	Shakespeare/ English Lit
	Physical Geography	Natural Philosophy, Chemistry	Zoology	US Constitution
	Drawing	Drawing	Manual of Art	
		Physiology	Astronomy	Mental and Moral Philosophy

Music and Rhetoricals throughout both courses. Girls may consider the Calculus and Philosophy as optional.
Source: *St. Louis Annual Report* (1870), 16:lxxxix.

TABLE 2
St. Louis High School Curriculum, General Course of Study: 1917

FIRST YEAR	SECOND YEAR	THIRD YEAR	FOURTH YEAR
Chorus	Chorus	Chorus	Chorus
Physical Training	Physical Training	Physical Training	Physical Training
English	English	English	History
Community Civics and Vocations			
Two of the following:	Three of the following:	Three of the following:	Three of the following:
Botany and Physiology *	Botany and Physiology *	History *	English *
		Physics *	
Algebra *	Physics *	Physics * and Chemistry *	Physics *
Latin *	Algebra *	Chemistry *	Chemistry *
German *	Geometry *	Geometry *	Physiography
French *	Latin *	Solid Geometry and Algebra *	Solid Geometry and Algebra *
Spanish #	German *	Latin *	Trigonometry and Advanced Algebra *
	French *	German *	Latin *
	Spanish #	French *	German *
	Greek	Spanish #	French *
	Industrial History # and Ancient History or Commercial Geography #	Greek	Spanish #
		Manual Training and Mechanical Drawing #	Greek
		Mechanical Drawing # (2)	Manual Training and Mechanical Drawing #
		Household Arts # (2)	Mechanical Drawing # (2)
		Music *	Household Arts # (2)
		Art * (2)	Music *
		Bookkeeping (2)	Art * (2)
		Stenography #	Bookkeeping (2)
		Typewriting # (2)	Stenography # Typewrting # (2)
		Commerical Geography #	Commercial Law # and Salesmanship # and Advertising #

* Required in 1870

Not Offered in 1870

Source: *St. Louis Annual Report* *1917), 63:119.

TABLE 3
Program of Activities in St. Louis Public High Schools: 1927

SUBJECT	UNIT REQUIREMENTS FOR HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION	UNIT REQUIREMENTS FOR ENTRANCE TO MOST COLLEGES	UNIT REQUIREMENTS FOR ENTRANCE TO CERTAIN EASTERN COLLEGES*
HEALTH	3	0	0
ENGLISH	2	3	3
SOCIAL STUDIES	1	0	0
SCIENCE	1	1 w/lab	1 w/lab
HISTORY	0	1	1
FOREIGN LANGUAGE (MODERN)	0	2 (can be ancient language)	2
LATIN		0 (see above)	4
ALGEBRA AND GEOMETRY	0	2 (4 years preferable for science majors)	3
ELECTIVE	9	6	1

*Including Bryn Mawr, Harvard, Princeton, Smith, Vassar, Wellesley, and Yale.
Latin is not required for the Bachelor of Science course offered at Harvard, Princeton, and Yale, but a third year of a Modern Language, and a fourth year of Mathematics are required.
Electives for college-bound students may not include more than two units of vocational subjects (Commercial subjects, Drawing, Household Arts, and Manual Training.)
All graduates must complete two majors (a field pursued for three years) and two minors (a field pursued for two years.)
Source: *St. Louis Annual Report* (1927), 73:40-41.

ENDNOTES

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25 *Fifty-First Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis, Mo., for the Year Ending June 30, 1905* (St. Louis: Nixon-Jones Printing Co., 1906), 51:201.

26 Ibid.

27 *Sixty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis, Missouri for the Year Ending June 30, 1917* (N.p.,n.d.), 63:117.

28 George D. Strayer, *A Report of a Survey of The Public Schools of St. Louis, Missouri* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1939), 24-25.

29 *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the St. Louis Public Schools, for the Year Ending August 1, 1869* (St. Louis: Missouri Democrat Book and Job Printing House, 1870), 15:116. It is interesting to note that nearly a century later "our national idea" supported vocational education. See James B. Conant, *The American High School Today* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1959).

30 *Forty-Ninth Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis, Mo., for the Year Ending June 30, 1903* (St. Louis: Nixon-Jones Printing Co., 1904), 49:253-258.

31 *Fifty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis, Mo., for the Year Ending June 30, 1907* (St. Louis: Shallcross Printing & Stationery Co., 1908), 53:258-263.

32 *Fifty-Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis, Mo. for the Year Ending June 30, 1911* (N.p.,n.d.), 57:171.

33 Ibid.

34 *Seventy-Second Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of St. Louis, Missouri for the Year Ending June 30, 1926* (N.p.,n.d.), 72:50.

35 Ibid., 72:51.

36 This study is part of a concentrated area of research on the impact of the differentiated curriculum on women's secondary education. Other historians have documented the class bias inherent in the differentiated curriculum; I argue that the turn-of-the-century curriculum shift was rooted in a gender bias as well. Although recent studies [John L. Rury, *Education and Women's Work,* and Jane Bernard Powers, *The "Girl Question" in Education]* analyze the sex stereotyped courses of study which developed in secondary schools during the Progressive Era, my interpretation focuses on the nexus between these developments and modern liberal ideology.

37 Arthur Bestor, "What Went Wrong With U.S. Schools," in *Experts Warn: Our Schools, Colleges, Laboratories Are Turning Out SECOND-RATE BRAINS,* ed. Kermit Lansner (1958), 55.

Origins of Evening Undergraduate Education in Chicago

Sandra Cook
San Diego University

The history of American higher education is generally a history of the expansion of types of students, the expansion of curricula, and the expansion of institutional forms. The role that evening undergraduate education might have played in this history, however, has not been explored in detail. There have only been a few investigations of how and why evening classes appeared. The results of these few studies will be summarized here in an attempt to determine whether evening classes originated as the result of a thoughtful philosophy or of student demand. Who were the students who took these classes and what were their reasons for enrolling? What effect did these evening classes have on higher education?

All of the major studies of evening classes have consolidated data from institutions in as many as ten urban areas. It is not inconceivable that population demographics, the pattern of business and industry, and the characteristics and number of higher education institutions in any one particular urban area could cause the pattern of evening classes in that urban area to differ from that of the composite. For that reason, this study will look in depth at the origin and impact of evening classes in one urban area, Chicago, and identify the similarities and differences between this evening class "market" and what occurred on the national level.

Most of the studies of evening higher education in America concentrated on their development rather than on their origins. In almost all cases, what began as a disparate set of evening classes were subsequently organized into evening sessions and then into evening colleges. Their origins have been muddied by their development. John P. Dyer, who wrote the self proclaimed "first full length book on the subject" of the university evening college movement, said the origin of evening classes "is the despair of the historian who tries to fasten on something specific."[1] There was no one unifying philosophy which inextricably bound them together. James T. Carey said their existence was the product of a "silent revolution"--an attempt to meet the needs of the thousands of students who continued to show up on higher education's doorstep, rather than of ideology.[2] That Dyer named his book *Ivory Towers in the Marketplace* reinforces his perception of evening classes as consumer driven.

Dyer stated that the evening college movement's roots were in two academic developments that resulted from the popularization of knowledge that took place between 1874 and 1925. These two academic developments were the university extension service and the municipal university.[3] Each of these developments had in common the desire to extend higher education to more people. On the other hand, Brubacher and Rudy credited privately endowed and religiously affiliated urban universities with being pioneers in new fields such as coeducation, extension, afternoon and evening instruction, and specialized service to urban society.[4] This is borne out in Daryle Keefer's 1946 study of thirty-five selected institutions in six of the largest urban areas. Fourteen of the sixteen institutions in his study that were the first to offer evening classes for credit were privately endowed or religiously affiliated. Four were located in Chicago, including the University of Chicago which was the first institution to offer evening classes for credit in the country. Only two of the institutions he listed were municipal universities (College of the City of New York and Hunter College) and both were in New York City.

As extension work was incorporated into urban universities in the late nineteenth century, regardless of whether they were municipal or privately endowed or religiously affiliated, a bifurcation of extension took place. The first type, called "agricultural extension" became the province of the land grant universities. The second type became known as "general extension" and became the province of the urban universities.[5] While the land grant and state institutions were concerned with spatial expansion, the urban institutions were concerned with time expansion. This was reflected in the advent of late afternoon, Saturday, and evening classes. At the heart of the extension philosophy was the idea of bringing the university to the people. The original format was popular lectures or a series of lectures. That the roots of evening classes are planted in the university extension movement is a point of agreement in the studies cited. Whether extension was considered a thoughtful philosophy has been debated. A brief history of university extension is necessary for clarification.

Herbert Baxter Adams, professor of history at Johns Hopkins University, introduced university extension, based on the English model to the United States in 1885. There were a few attempts by groups such as Chautauqua, the Brooklyn school teachers, and the New York State Library to form extension agencies after Adams first introduced it. These agencies were accused of misunderstanding the importance of the university link in the English extension model. In the 1890s, university extension caught the attention of several university leaders and three American university extension agencies, more firmly based on the English model, were developed.[6] The first was the Philadelphia (later American) Society for the Extension of University Teaching. William Rainey Harper who was the founding president of the University of Chicago served on its general advisory board.[7] The second extension agency was developed at the University of Wisconsin. Henry Wade Rogers, president of Northwestern University and President Harper organized the third extension agency in 1891 as the Chicago Society.[8] University extension work soon expanded beyond the extension agencies into the urban universities, where, as mentioned previously, they took on the new forms including lecture series, evening classes, and correspondence classes.

The evening classes that were the result of the university extension movement were successful because of the extraordinary student demand for them. This demand allowed the universities to be able to offer evening classes minimally at a break even, and often times on a profitable basis. There were a number of reasons why student demand for these classes was high. The rapid urbanization which helped spawn the urban universities also expanded industry and commerce, changing the nature of work. The American belief that social mobility could be achieved through education was strong. Higher education was seen as a "vehicle of ambition" for the middle class. The creation of new higher educational opportunities (including evening classes) made a difference at a crucial moment when aspiring middle class persons were struggling to define new career patterns, establish new institutions, pursue new occupations, and forge a new self identity.[9] These aspirations increased the demand for university degree related evening classes for nonresident students.

The earliest evening classes catered primarily to teachers and teacher training.[10] Business and technical training tied for second place.[11] These evening classes were often the precursor of such classes in the regular sessions--the beginning of the professionalization of vocations. Even students in institutions whose evening classes mirrored the traditional curricula of the day classes enrolled for the purpose of advancing their employment status. While student characteristics, such as sex, occupation, and religion differed from institution to institution and with the nature of the academic program, the students had in common the fact that they were overwhelmingly working adults.

On the national level, the very beginning of evening classes seemed to be rooted in the university extension model imported from England. Student demand played a large role in the development of these classes in urban universities, moving them out of the pure extension model into different forms based on student needs. These needs were primarily based on the desire to achieve status and career advancement through higher education. This was a major shift from extension's original focus on purely popular education.

There are three major impacts that evening classes had on higher education in general. First, a new population of students, working adults, were added to the rolls of higher education. Second, with the emphasis on professionalization of vocations, many higher education institutions added courses and programs in education, business, social work, or technical subjects first in their evening sessions and later in their day sessions. Lastly, evening classes were revenue generating. Many universities relied on this revenue and some even required it for their existence.

As mentioned earlier, the pattern of evening classes in one urban area could be influenced by the demographics, size, commerce and industry, number and type of educational institutions in that urban area. This, along with the fact that students who attended evening classes were constrained by their geography, was the rationale for investigating the origins of evening classes in one "market" to determine whether there were any similarities or differences between it and the national pattern. The city of Chicago was chosen for this study because of its early involvement in the extension movement, the diversity and number of its higher education institutions and their early involvement with evening classes.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the Chicago metropolitan area generally reflected the national scene in terms of the number and variety of colleges. One major and very startling exception, however, was that Chicago had no public institutions of higher education, either of the land grant or municipal type. The institutions in this study include two privately-endowed universities, The University of Chicago and Northwestern University; two religiously affiliated universities, DePaul University and Loyola University; and two technical institutes, Armour Institute and Lewis Institute. These technical institutes merged in 1939 to form Illinois Institute of Technology.

The University of Chicago was the first institution in this country to offer evening classes for college credit. This was due to the vision and unique background of its founding president, William Rainey Harper. Harper's inclusion of university extension as an organic part of the new University of Chicago can be traced to his conviction that higher education should be available to those who, for social or economic reasons, could not attend the university at its campus location. Harper believed it was the university's duty to assure that this extension work was "systematic in form and scientific in spirit."[12] His strong commitment was probably shaped by his involvement in the first university extension movement which swept America between 1885 and 1899.

Harper organized his extension division into five departments, the two most important of which were Lecture Study which followed the English extension model of sending university professors all over the country to deliver lectures, and Class Study which offered regular courses of class instruction in university subjects given in the city of Chicago.[13] Harper's recruitment of faculty to the University of Chicago Extension Division was a raid on the top extension organizers and lecturers of the time. In its first ten years of existence, the Lecture Study component of extension delivered 1,326 courses with 1,637,802 attendees at 368 centers in 21 states.[14] Despite its seeming success, Lecture Study was discontinued in 1911, while Class Study thrived.[15]

One not so obvious reason for the demise of Lecture Study and the success of Class Study, was the erroneous assumption on the part of the University of Chicago that men and women were not interested in converting their work into university credits. In considering the relation of university extension work to regular university studies and university degrees, one of the committees of the University Extension Congress stated the following in 1895:

> We are forced to recognize distinctly another class of constituents -- namely, those who, for various reasons, are unable to reside at the university, but who nevertheless desire to pursue nonresident study parallel with that given in the classrooms of the colleges and universities. Many of them have in mind subsequent residence, the completion of the courses thus begun, and the taking of degrees.[16]

The Class Study Department of University Extension of the University of Chicago duplicated their regular course offerings at various sites in Chicago.[17] Initially, only one half of the credit for a bachelor's degree could be earned through Class Study. This was subsequently reduced to one third of the credit, despite the increasing demand for degree credit. In its first year of existence, 1892-93, eleven courses were offered in the autumn and winter quarters with a total enrollment of 129. Two years later, there were 1,142 enrollments in 111 courses.[18] Despite this growth, many problems continued to challenge the continued health of the Class Study Division including lack of an endowment and a suitable building downtown.[19] The students who attended Class Study in increasing numbers were overwhelmingly teachers. In 1898, only ten percent of the 5,000 teachers in the Chicago public school system had a college degree.[20] While Harper undoubtedly saw this as a fertile business opportunity, he showed a sincere desire to improve the education of individual teachers:

> It is not our purpose to offer courses which shall teach teachers how to teach. In other words, the work is

> university work and not the work of a normal school. My own opinion is that in too many cases the instructors have fallen into this mistake. What teachers need is information, not method.[21]

With the promise of a yearly donation for five years from Anita McCormick Blaine, who possessed an avid interest in education, Harper created the College for Teachers of the University of Chicago in 1898.[22] It began classes on September 30, 1898 in leased rooms in the Fine Arts Building in downtown Chicago.

Meanwhile, the Class Study Department continued to offer its classes at times working students could attend at sites around the city. Many of its classes now were being offered at the College for Teachers building and, of the 895 Class Study students, 669 were teachers. The distinctions between Class Study and the College for Teachers became increasingly blurred. On April 7, 1900, the Board of Trustees consolidated the two and named this new unit University College.[23]

In 1906, Harper died and Mrs. Blaine's endowment ended; it had been extended two years beyond its original pledge. For economic reasons, Harper's successor, Harry Pratt Judson, moved the University College from its downtown location to the south side University of Chicago quadrangles. This move proved to be a disaster and enrollment plummeted to 150 in 1907-08.[24] Students petitioned Judson to reestablish the College downtown.[25] A balanced budget and low rent classrooms through the educational department of the YMCA allowed the University of Chicago to move the University College back to a central, albeit inadequate, location in 1908. These inadequate accommodations did not deter enrollments despite the continued concerns of the University College dean, Walter A. Payne.[26] This was because until 1911, the University of Chicago had no meaningful competition for this expanding evening student market.

Like William Rainey Harper, Northwestern University's tenth president, Henry Wade Rogers, was also involved with bringing university extension to Chicago. In November 1891, Northwestern, along with Lake Forest, Madison, Beloit, the University of Illinois, and Dr. Harper representing the nascent University of Chicago announced their plan for carrying on university extension work in Chicago and its vicinity through a local extension society.[27] The Northwestern faculty's enthusiasm for university extension did not match that of their president. By February, 1893, Northwestern's participation ended.[28]

Rogers resigned in 1900 to be replaced eighteen months later by Edmund Janes James, who had previously served as director of the University of Chicago Extension Division and Dean of their University College. He had also been involved with extension work prior to his University of Chicago appointment. James planned to build Northwestern into a leading center of research and teaching; however, he did not wish to sever his connections with the university extension effort. "The fact that one university in a country or a locality carries on university extension work with success is no reason why others may not do as well."[29] James was not able to put his plans into effect and left Northwestern for the presidency of the University of Illinois in 1904.

The interim president, Thomas F. Holgate, Dean of Liberal Arts, was instrumental in securing "Courses for Teachers" which were offered for the convenience of Evanston teachers in 1904.[30] During the fall months of 1905, the work of the college was extended by offering various evening classes at the Northwestern University Building in downtown Chicago. These courses were "arranged to meet the needs of persons who are unable to attend regular lectures during the day."[31] The demand for these courses was assured because of the relocation of the University of Chicago's evening courses to the south side.

In 1910, Northwestern assigned the organization of the evening courses to Dr. Arthur H. Wilde, Ph.D., Professor of History and Secretary of the University Council. Wilde was listed as Director of Extension Work in January, 1911.[32] Despite Wilde's and the interim president's advocacy for extension classes, the faculty moved to limit acceptable extension credit. Wilde knew this action would block the expansion of extension work at Northwestern. He was proven correct; Northwestern's six year experiment with liberal arts evening courses ended in 1911.[33]

In the meantime, Northwestern founded a School of Commerce in 1908. It was to be an evening program with its own faculty and outside funding. Unlike the liberal arts evening classes, the commerce classes were organized as a college and had the full support of the business faculty. Its enrollments flourished.

A third Chicago institution to enter the field was Lewis Institute whose benefactor required maintaining "a regular course of instruction at night." Founder Allen C. Lewis desired this instruction to be free and adapted to the purpose of obtaining "a position and occupation for life."[34] In 1895, the estate grew large enough to seriously consider founding the type of school described in Lewis' will, the newly incorporated Lewis Institute board of trustees turned to William Rainey Harper to assist them.

Harper recommended George Nobel Carman to head the Lewis Institute. Under Carman and Harper's plan, Lewis Institute became a six year coeducational institution--a four year secondary school (academy) and a two year college (junior college) offering work in arts and engineering.[35] Harper's influence extended further than the original plan. No detail was too small for his attention. He concerned himself with the calendar, terminology, credits, and system of faculty rank. He recommended faculty. His influence was nowhere more evident than in the structure of the evening classes. The first evening class bulletin divided the night work at Lewis into the Class Study Department and the Lecture Study Department -- the identical model of the University of Chicago's Extension Division.[36] None of the evening courses offered through Class Study were college level, yet additional monies had to be allocated the first year to keep up with student demand.[37] By 1900, the enrollment in the evening classes reached 1,190.[38]

The demand for evening classes continued to rise. As Lewis Institute celebrated its twentieth year in 1916, it restructured itself into a four year college by discontinuing the academy and adding to the four year degrees already offered a Bachelor of Science degree. Engineering began in 1909 and Domestic Arts began in 1912. This restructuring allowed the students in the evening classes to secure credit for junior college level courses.

Yet another Chicago institution to offer evening classes was Armour Institute, which opened its doors on October 14, 1893. It envisioned itself as a manual training school providing a practical education to men and women. Night classes "intended for those who may not be able to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by the Institute in the day time" were announced from the very beginning.[39] Only two years later, Frank Wakely Gunsaulus, Armour's president, changed the focus of the Institute from training mechanics and technicians to training engineers. He renamed it Armour Institute of Technology. By 1901, it was no longer coeducational. Whether Gunsaulus' reorganization of Armour was influenced by his European travels or by his close association with William Rainey Harper is open to speculation. What is clear is that Harper had his eye on making Armour Institute of Technology part of the University of Chicago and the reorganization may have been done with this in mind.[40]

The evening classes that were offered in the first ten years of the Institute's existence were designed to provide practical, useful information for application in one's daily work. They focused on technical skills. Since there was no correlation between the day and evening classes, no degrees or certificates were awarded for completion of these utilitarian courses. According to James C. Peebles, Armour's unofficial historian, during the academic year 1902-03, the faculty studied the evening school to improve its effectiveness. The faculty were convinced that evening school was an important component of the academic program of the Institute and necessary in a great industrial city like Chicago.[41] The faculty's recommendation was to offer a wider range of subjects and attempt to improve the organization of the evening work. Over the next several years, this was accomplished, but these classes remained technical and preparatory and were not offered for college credit until 1934.

Despite this, the evening enrollment continued to increase--from 530 in 1904-05 to 798 in 1906-07.[42]

One of Chicago's two major Catholic universities, DePaul University, began in 1898 as St. Vincent's College. It followed a typical Catholic college evolutionary pattern--movement from a combined all male academy or college to an all male university. When St. Vincent's was rechartered as DePaul University in 1907, the president, Fr. Peter V. Byrne, C.M. used the charter of the University of Chicago as his model for DePaul, substituting the word "Catholic" for "Baptist" but leaving all else virtually the same. Fr. Byrne had concluded that in order for DePaul to survive, it would have to be a modern, Catholic university complete with professional programs and a modified elective undergraduate system. This decision helped open the doors for extension classes. Archbishop Quigley requested DePaul open their Summer School to women in 1911. This summer school was attended by about one hundred sisters and lay teachers.[43] The success of this venture led to the "Extension Courses" for the following Autumn term which had the approval of the superintendent of the city schools for promotional credit.[44] The summer session Outline of Courses explicitly emphasized that, since the charter of DePaul University allowed them "to provide, impart and furnish opportunities for all departments of higher education to persons of both sexes on equal terms," degrees may be conferred on women.[45] This policy was unique for two reasons. First, this action gave DePaul the distinction of being the first coeducational Catholic institution in the United States to offer degree related programs to men and women.[46] Other experiments in this vein were either not degree related or not sustained. Second, the announcement that extension work could lead to the conferral of a degree was atypical for the times. Most institutions still required some amount of resident credit for a degree.

DePaul's main extension population were teachers. Thus courses were offered in the late afternoon and Saturday, not in the evening. Initially these classes were offered exclusively on their near north side campus, but in the summer of 1915 many extension classes joined DePaul's law and commerce classes in the downtown Tower Building, called the "Loop Center."[47] They also experimented with other sites including a "South Side Branch" of the Extension Department in the Visitation School Building in 1913.[48] Unlike Northwestern, DePaul's extension classes were supported by the faculty and thrived. Like Northwestern, DePaul founded a successful evening College of Commerce in 1912 which also began as an evening college and only later added day sessions. It was open to men and women, Catholics and non Catholics.[49]

Chicago's other major Catholic university, Loyola University, also followed the typical Catholic higher education evolutionary pattern, rechartering from St. Ignatius College to Loyola University in 1909.[50] In

1912, Fr. Frederic Siedenburg, S.J., who possessed a great interest in American Catholic social thought and action, organized the Loyola University Lecture Bureau. His purpose was to provide in a central location extension lectures of a popular character relating a knowledge of Catholic philosophy and theology and of what the Church had done in the social field. The lecture series was broadly announced and well received. This led to the opening of the "School of Sociology" in Fall 1914. Space was rented in downtown Chicago in the Ashland Block. The School of Sociology offered late afternoon and evening classes and was a two year, upper division program leading to a Bachelor of Philosophy degree. Unlike Loyola's College of Arts and Sciences, the School of Sociology was coeducational.

The following academic year, 1915-16, Loyola expanded its offering of allied or non sociological courses. Called extension courses, the classes were offered to provide "a cultural background for the sociological courses" and could be taken as electives. Credit could be used toward degrees or promotion in the public schools. In its second year of existence, the School of Sociology enrolled 212 students.[51] The School of Sociology continued to expand its offerings. In Fall 1916 it established centers at Catholic high schools on the South and West Sides primarily to provide university classes for the teaching sisterhood. These classes enrolled 150 students in addition to the approximately 200 enrolled at the Ashland Block.[52] The addition of these and other centers in Catholic schools allowed the teaching sisters to earn Loyola University extension credits without having to leave their convents. In 1917, there were 579 students enrolled in the School of Sociology; 555 women and 24 men. Of the 555 women, 315 were nuns.[53] The demand for the allied courses soon outstripped that of the sociological courses.

The beginning of evening classes in Chicago was rooted in the university extension philosophy that William Rainey Harper brought to his conception of the University of Chicago. Extension took on two forms--the first modelled on the popular university extension movement imported from England which extended the University to all parts of the country and the second which Harper may have originated extended the courses of the university proper to other parts of the city. Both forms extended the time frame in which classes were offered. From Harper's original concept, student demand and fiscal support transformed the extension model into the University College as a separate self supporting college with space in a downtown building, faculty, and a dean.

Until 1911, the University of Chicago had a virtual monopoly on credit evening undergraduate liberal arts classes except for Northwestern University's brief experiment with evening classes downtown. The basic policy of University College was to not be a degree granting school.[54] This policy and student demand would continue to clash for many years.

The University College students were primarily teachers seeking credits for promotion and raises. This new institutional form was instrumental in bringing to fruition Harper's desire to upgrade the educational background of Chicago's teachers. This was a major step in the professionalization of teaching.

The University of Chicago was the pioneer in expanding higher education to working adults. Harper's influence and vision extended into the evening programs at Lewis and Armour Institutes from their inception. His motivation may have been self serving -- structuring Lewis as a two year college to enhance transfer to the University of Chicago and reorganizing Armour Institute for an eventual takeover, but the results extended to working students new types of educational opportunities, such as technical courses, at locations on the near West and near South sides.

Northwestern University's experiment with extension courses in the liberal arts failed for fiscal concerns and lack of faculty support. Their College of Commerce, however, was among the first evening business programs developed and among the most successful. It was initially a diploma program but soon evolved into a degree program--a move toward professionalization of business administration. The College of Commerce, which had financial backing from the business community, helped Northwestern form closer relations with the influential men of the business world. It also hoped to produce graduates who would become influential businessmen. It is from this evening program the Northwestern's Kellogg School of Management evolved.

DePaul's extension classes were the result of an appeal on the part of Catholic women through Archbishop Joseph E. Quigley to offer classes to meet educational requirements for promotions in the school system. Until then, neither Loyola nor DePaul offered education to women, thus forcing Catholic teachers to attend a secular or Protestant university.

Loyola's extension classes were the result of the branching out of its School of Sociology evening classes. The School of Sociology was founded to introduce professionalization to the field of social work in a Catholic setting. It introduced coeducation to Loyola as well as a curriculum which deviated from the Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum*. The great need for classes to service the Catholic teachers and teaching sisterhood was the impetus for the extension classes which were offered in Catholic schools as well as at a downtown location. The extension classes at Loyola and DePaul were degree related from their inception.

As was the case nationally, in addition to broadening the student population and curriculum, evening classes in all these institutions were required to be minimally self supporting. In some cases they were crucial to the fiscal survival of the institution. For example, in 1919-20 Loyola's College of Arts and Sciences enrolled 124 students, while the

School of Sociology enrolled 1,094.[55] Evening students in Chicago attended for primarily vocational reasons and a chance at upward mobility regardless of whether the curriculum was traditional or vocationally oriented.

While evening classes played a vigorous role in municipal universities elsewhere, Chicago's higher education institutions were all either privately endowed or religiously affiliated. Chicago's higher education institutions showed considerable diversity with regard to their evening curricula and students. Indeed, each institution seemed to fulfill a unique higher educational niche with its evening classes rather than competing with each other. Whether evening programs at other urban universities followed a pattern similar to Chicago's is a subject for further research.

In retrospect, it is obvious that there would be many similarities with regard to the origin of evening classes nationally and in Chicago because of William Rainey Harper's pioneering influence in both. In Chicago and nationally, the advent of evening classes allowed countless students to pursue higher education who were not able to previously. In some cases these classes introduced curricular innovation, coeducation, and were responsible for the rental or purchase of a downtown campus. Their role in the expansion of higher education in this country should not be overlooked.

ENDNOTES

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4. John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1976* (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), 64.
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Searching for the Mature Mind: Adulthood and the Development of Adult Education

Amy D. Rose
Northern Illinois
University

The field of adult education has been continuously racked by a definitional crisis. Writers have categorized definitions by purpose, population, and activity, yet agreement has eluded practitioners. Part of the problem has been that at different points in time, the primary focus of adult education has shifted. A key aspect of the debate has centered upon definitions of adulthood, that is, who is being served by the field of adult education. It is generally agreed that while chronological age is an important factor, it is not sufficient. Social role is also a key aspect in deciding who is an adult. That is, a twenty-three year old full-time graduate student would not generally be seen as participating in adult education, while certainly a twenty-three year old with two children who was working on a GED would be. Thus, the issue of age is a key but not critical aspect of the definition of adult education.

Beyond definition, however, issues relating to adulthood are often at the heart of what are considered to be some of the unique aspects of adult education. Although there is little agreement on this issue, many writers conclude that if there is something unique about adult education, it lies in the adult's potential for self-reflection, critical analysis, and the use of a broader experiential base. Critical to this view is the notion that adults change, grow, and develop, and that this can be accomplished through education.

In the 1920s, when adult education began to be considered a field or discipline, there was already discussion of the unique aspects of adulthood. This paper will begin to outline some of the issues relating to the development of adulthood as a time of growth. While the issues relating to the development of the field of adult education are complex, they are intimately tied to ideas about the unique aspects of the adult in society. Unfortunately, there has been little research into this connection. This paper is but a beginning.

The Question of Definition

Debates about definition go back to the 1920s, when educators began to discuss "adult education" as an entity. Even then, however, the issue of definition was usually sidestepped, as was evidenced at a series of founding conferences held around the country for the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE) in 1925 and 1926. Beginning in 1925, these conferences, sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, were held throughout the United States in order to explore the possibility of organizing an association for adult education. The foundation invited those perceived to be adult educators to come and debate the question of forming such a group. Very often the participants attended out of curiosity, but with little concept of what adult education meant, or even what such an organization could accomplish. At these conferences, much time was spent discussing the viability of the proposed association, and who would be included, but even at this early point, it was concluded that perhaps adult education was undefinable.[1]

Thus in 1925, at the first national conference on adult education, held in Cleveland, Leon Richardson, president of the National University Extension Association and the chair of the Executive Committee which drafted the proposed constitution for the AAAE, stated:

> We discussed that [the definition] at great length and it was decided that the wisest thing was to leave it to the good sense of the officers and persons connected with this Association, inasmuch as it seems that at the present time it is quite impossible to answer that question.[2]

At these meetings, there was little agreement about what adult education was or whether those identifying themselves as adult educators shared anything in common. One of the key questions was whether adult education was for individuals at a particular point in their own individual development. This issue was closely bound up with the question of purpose, as it was debated at the founding conferences. In searching for an area of commonality for all those engaged in adult education, sociologist Leroy Bowman asserted that adult education dealt with the problems of adult life:

> Adults have problems and those problems are affected by a great many of the activities of life. We can't take the time of the adult to go through all the 'rigmarole' of science. We must take his problem and bring in science, psychology, sociology, physics to meet it.[3]

For many of those participating in this founding effort, adult education would help individuals live more intelligently and would aid them in facing the unique problems of adulthood in modern life. But what were these unique problems? In fact at that time, the research was sparse and very little was known about adulthood as a stage of life.

Studying the Lifecourse

Differing aspects of the life cycle have been studied by historians. Most obviously, childhood, adolescence, and old age have all been examined in terms of changing societal perspectives. In the past twenty years, related studies have focused on the lifecourse, that is the entire trajectory of the life cycle throughout history. As historian Michael Kammen noted in 1979,

> This history of the life cycle in American thought is one of the most engaging subjects that I have encountered or explored. Essentially, it involves nothing less than a primary shift, over the past four centuries, in humankind's perception of itself.[4]

Kammen identified three important periods of shift in writings and thought about the life cycle. He wrote that in the seventeenth century, a four-stage view of the lifecourse was predominant, although other approaches involved three, four, five, six, seven, and nine-stage cycles. The Four Ages of Man prevalent at the time were childhood, youth, manly age, and old age. The portrait of each of these stages indicated life as a series of troubles. Manly age, or what we today call middle age, was a perilous time, when the individual was vulnerable to illness and disease. It was also a time of hard work. Old age, on the other hand, was a time to take pride in one's accomplishments.[5] An increasing dependence on others was an accepted part of life, and the limitations imposed by this phase of life were offset by its greater wisdom and acceptance. Thomas Cole says that this era embodied the ideal of "civilized aging".[6]

By the early nineteenth century, this view of the different ages of man had shifted to the metaphor of life as voyage, and the focus was more pessimistic. The time of manhood was a time of trouble and sorrow leading to "contemplation of suicide, intemperance, and murder."[7] Old age was depicted as a period of gloom.

Kammen saw a marked period of transition from 1840-50, as the writings and art work of the time indicated a growing a distinction between the internal and external effects of aging. At this time there was new concern with delimiting the chronology of aging and correlating these with the moral attributes of aging. Old age was a period of decline, and middle age, around fifty, was seen as "the pinnacle of human existence."[8] Indeed, the problems associated with old age were seen as suffered by those who failed to maintain themselves or who were sinful. Thus, there were two old ages, the good and the bad.[9]

Over the next twenty years, a number of writers played with the idea of adulthood as a significant lifestage. Certainly it seems that the growing interest in midlife (however it can be defined) was related to the increasing study of the aging process and the increasing concern with the problems of the aged. The period of midlife became a time of growth as well as a time of preparation for old age. Thus, albeit somewhat facetiously, in 1899 *The Outlook* called for "Vater and Mutter Gartens", which it correlated with Kindergartens:

> The old need resources and diversions as surely as the young need them; and mark the Spectator's words, just as fortunes have been made by those who wrote the first books for children, worth calling books, supplanting the thin diet that the poor little souls had been fed on for generations, so will fortunes by made for those who shall (as some one will) invent resources and amusement for the old.[10]

According to Kammen, interest in the life cycle shifted to the domain of the social and biological sciences around 1930. In the twentieth century, Winthrop Jordan noted:

> The general tendency in various schools of psychology in the early twentieth century was to segment the life cycle into increasingly discrete and well defined units. An accompanying tendency was fully as important: the various segments of the life cycle were seen not merely as temporal stages but as descriptions of inner life and external behavior.[11]

The two key aspects of this segmentation were the identification in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century of the particular needs and developmental issues of adolescence and then in the 1920s, the growing interest in old age as an area of scientific inquiry. Interestingly enough, G. Stanley Hall was a prime mover in both areas. While Hall began his career studying children and later adolescents, he ended it with his work on old age, *Senescence: The Last Half of Life,* published in 1922.

According to Hall, the period of adolescence lasted into the twenties. The prime or middle life was attained by the mid-twenties and lasted until about age forty-five. Senescence or old age began at forty-five or earlier in women who reached old age when they ended their period of reproduction, and was followed by senectitude or old age proper, which continued until death. While laying out in great detail the problems and research associated with aging, Hall also saw the aging process as a time of growth and development, and it is this aspect that is a contribution to our contemporary understanding of aging. What he called "senescents in the post-climacteric phase" accumulated personality eccentricities and could be see as selfish, repulsive or unsocial. Typically, Hall related these changes to the loss of sexuality during the later years. He explains that this was really an indication of:

> ... groping toward a new and higher type of personality, evolving a new synthesis of the factors of life when the

> chord of sex shall have passed in music out of sight. It means man's reaffirmation of the self and of the will to live, although this points not, as the immortalists would argue, to a post-mortem rehabilitation of the ego but only expresses again the fact that man is as yet incomplete and that even the old now die prematurely because they have not yet learned how to build the last story of the house of many mansions.[12]

Hall put forward a program for preparing for old age. He stated that the preparation needed to begin in one's forties, "the dangerous age" and suggested that the old have a distinct task. They must construct a new psychological self which would compensate for the loss of other faculties.

By 1930, professional social scientists had taken over the study with aging. They were studying it from psychological, sociological, and anthropological perspectives. Anticipating much of the work on aging and the life course that has taken place since the 1960s, this worked focused on both cross-cultural dimensions of aging, and on the stories of individuals.[13]

Searching for the Mature Adult

Just as research on the aging process was pushed forward and reconceptualized during the early period of the twentieth century, so too was the idea of adulthood as a time of development. Although it has been noted that the history of notions of maturity do not seem to correlate with questions about the history of aging, it does seem that the two at least came together beginning in the 1920s.[14]

Even before that time, there was a growing interest in middle age. Writing in Scribner's in 1911, one author indicated,

> Now we catch glimpses of middle age as an art to be studied, practices, perfected... In terms of everyday, our business in middle life is self-culture and self-conduct: the betterment of our manners, the cultivation of the so-called minor virtues, the acquirement of new graces, and the pondering of mysteries which we can never hope to solve.[15]

Beginning at this time, there was also a growing scientific interest in the period of maturity as a period of growth beyond preparation for old age. The mental attributes of maturity were "poise, deliberation, economy of effort with the largest output of judgement."[16] However, works on aging, as with Hall's work on Senescence, emphasized the end of old age.

At this point it seems that the integration of the new social science research with the resulting implications for adult education was not completely achieved until the 1940s, when the writings of Harry

Overstreet pulled together the diverse research to popularize the notion of adult education.[17] Harry Overstreet was trained as a psychologist, and he came to see his primary focus as the popularization of research from the social sciences.[18] In order to explain adult education, Overstreet integrated (in various works) ideas from behavioral psychology on motivation and changing patterns of behavior while applying psychoanalytic theory to aid in understanding "normal" people.[19] He used these concepts to describe personality types that either blocked or retarded the growth of individuals. Building on these ideas, he noted that human life was characterized by a series of stages of growth.[20] In later writings, he drew on the notion of cultural lag to discuss how modern individuals were not keeping pace with technology. People failed to interpret successfully the modern world and thus had failed to establish a rational and peaceful social order. Overstreet's program called for a wide variety of social reforms to be achieved through the agency of adult education.[21]

Looking at the new approaches to the literature on the stages of living and their application to education, Overstreet noted, as early as 1925, that adulthood needed to be seen as a "process of continuing-education-with-living."[22] Adult education was not to be remedial but should take into account the new thinking about the life stages and should put forward the ideal of what would today be called lifelong learning. For Overstreet, the concept of psychological maturity was the cornerstone of twentieth century life:

> We have known in a way about psychological maturity - but vaguely and intermittently. Its full meaning now begins to dawn upon us. As it begins to dawn, we realize that the maturity concept is central to our whole enterprise of living. This is what our past wisdom have been leading up to. This, it would seem, is what we must now accept if we are to move forward out of the confusions and despairs of our day.[23]

The key to Overstreet's thinking, however, was that maturity was both an aim and a state of being. The problem with civilization was adults were often in arrested development, they had not sufficiently matured, and therefore they could not function in the contemporary world. His theory rested on five areas of research: (1) the idea of psychological age; (2) the idea of arrested development; (3) theories about behavioral psychology and conditioning; (4) the idea of aptitude uniqueness; and (5) the idea of adult capacity to learn.

Of greatest interest to this paper are his remarks about psychological age. Drawing on Binet's work on IQ and the consequent implication that psychological age did not necessarily correspond with chronological age, he notes, "Not all adults are adult."[24] For adults, this concept of psychological age had implications for understanding individual success. It meant that chronology alone should not be considered evidence of maturity. For Overstreet, this meant that adult education had the potential for aiding the maturation process. The entire learning enterprise needed to be segmented by psychological age and the needs of adults needed to be addressed.

Another of Overstreet's points is adult education had to take into account the literature on individual uniqueness. The maturation process must coincide with each person's area of strength. His definition of maturity comes from this view of individual talents: "To mature is to bring one's powers to realization. To waste those powers, or to force individuals to try to exhibit powers they do not possess, is to defeat the maturing impulse of life."[25] For Overstreet, as more people approached maturity, the better the world would be, because "the movement toward maturity is the movement toward happiness."[26] Maturity involves knowing one's limits and one's talents. In general, the new approaches to learning, combined with psychoanalytic theory, and a concept of contextual learning, all played a part in his formulation of maturity.

Conclusions

The history of adult education has usually been traced institutionally. For some reason, the intellectual strands on which the entire field were based have been ignored. Yet the development of the field of adult education, as opposed to the introduction of new institutions or agencies for the education of adults, is predicated on these new views of the life course and of the possibility of growth and change during adulthood. While these ideas were not new, in the sense that philosophers have been grappling with these issues for centuries, what we see here is adult education as the manifestation of the new social science theories. Certainly, the study of midlife is considered to be a post-World War II innovation. Most writers generally start discussions of adulthood with Erikson's pioneering work *Identity Youth and Crises,* but more attention needs to be paid to the work before Erikson, particularly as this work laid the theoretical groundwork for the field of adult education.

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Adult Education in the Oneida Community: A Pattern for the Chautauqua Assembly?

Huey B. Long
University of Oklahoma

As a relatively new field of university study, the historical roots of adult education practice present interesting issues and research problems. Understanding the forces and sources of influence upon major adult education institutions, such as the American Lyceum and the Chautauqua, may have important implications for theory and knowledge about contemporary developments. Given the visibility of the Chautauqua Assembly in New York, it is appropriate to engage in efforts to understand how its education program came into existence.

Explanations for the reasons and purposes of the Chautauqua Assembly are found in a number of sources. But similar attention to questions about the origins of format, method and structure of the Chautauqua is lacking. Stubblefield makes an unsatisfactory effort to explain the origins by stating that "it was not an extension of popular secular education movements in the pre Civil War period nor an adaptation of the campground as Herbert Baxter Adams mistakenly maintained as late as 1900."[1] If Stubblefield was referring to the American Lyceum as an example of the popular secular education movements, it is not difficult to agree with him. Noting the absence of a connection between the Chautauqua Assembly and the American Lyceum, however, fails to explain the origins of some of the ideas underlying the Chautauqua. Stubblefield describes the Chautauqua as having its Sunday School work being quickly overshadowed by the "expansion of the cultural and general education programs." Furthermore, he says " the programmatic work itself rested upon clear ideas about learning in the adult years."[2] Stubblefield's comments fail to resolve the problem. On the one hand he disagrees with Adams' efforts to link the Chautauqua with the campground activities associated with the ubiquitous nineteenth century religious revivals in America, but on the other he fails to suggest any particular source of influence on the institution. If Stubblefield's rejection of Adams' opinion is correct, and if the Chautauqua was some kind of extension of religious activity and thought of in an earlier period in the nineteenth century, historians should examine some of the other religious groups and activities for information. Although Stubblefield's assertion is not difficult to grasp, he stops short of seriously justifying his observation by failing to provide meaningful evidence of any religious institution or agency that may have reflected similar goals and purposes prior to the Chautauqua's creation.

Stubblefield identifies three general categories of ideas central to the Chautauqua Assembly program created by John Heyl Vincent and Lewis Miller in 1874: (a) education as a right and duty, (b) adulthood as a unique time for learning, and, (c) the relationship among education, contemporary thought, and social movements.[3] Three subjects developed under the first heading include the religious basis. Vincent, a co-founder of the Chautauqua, is quoted as saying "the true basis of education is religion."[4] A second idea developed under the topic of education as a right and duty is "self-culture."[5] Stubblefield says "the educational theory that most influenced Chautauqua was the theory of self-culture."[6] Vincent is once again quoted as follows: "This then is the Chautauqua thought: Self-improvement in all faculties for all folks, through all time, for the greatest good of all the people."[7] Individuals were expected to develop the four faculties of the mental, social, moral, and religious. The third idea addressed by Stubblefield concerns access to knowledge. Two aspects of this idea are (a) the belief in a universal right to education, and (b) democratic association in learning that encouraged the association among people of various economic strata and activities in learning.

The second major concept Stubblefield identifies with the Chautauqua Assembly is the belief that adulthood is a unique time for learning. Four ideas are included in this concept: (a) adults can learn, (b) education at any age and place, (c) educational influences present throughout life, and (d) cooperation among agencies. Vincent is quoted as saying "between the ages of twenty and eighty lies a person's best intellectual and educational opportunities."[8] Secondly, the Chautauqua emphasized education or "culture" through correspondence as well as attendance at the Assembly in New York. The third idea is closely related in Vincent's position that "the whole of life is a school."[9] Cooperation among agencies is the fourth idea developed by Stubblefield in this section of his article. While the emphasis is not upon religious instruction, it is difficult to divorce Vincent's ideas of education from religious motives and purposes.

The third major concept identified by Stubblefield concerns the relationship among education, contemporary thought, and social movements. He associates the founding of the Chautauqua with the increasing schism between religion and science. The Chautauqua Assembly's creation in 1874 is thus represented as a means of "confronting directly

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the scientific challenges to faith and by addressing the social and human problems associated with industrialization and urbanization."[10]

In conclusion, Stubblefield correctly observes the founders of the Chautauqua Assembly were not alone in their belief that learning should extend into the adult years. He identifies five ideas found in the Chautauqua Assembly that are relevant to modern adult education: (a) the ability of adults to learn, (b) how adults learn from everyday experiences, (c) how to make educational opportunities available to adults, (d) how to link the various providing agencies together, and (e) how to enhance the intelligence of the citizenry for the solution of social problems. Finally, continuing to learn throughout life was a religious obligation, according to Vincent.

Stubblefield's description of the ideology of Miller and Vincent is helpful in developing one view of the purpose and mission of the Chautauqua. He suggests that the leaders of that enterprise held ideas that were not greatly different from those espoused by others at about the same time. It affirms the perceived importance of education for adults as well as for children. It even connects these ideas with the powerful religious influence of the nineteenth century. Thus, it tells us that we should not look to the American Lyceum, a secular enterprise, as the inspiration for the Chautauqua Assembly.

This inquiry, thus, examines one possible religious organization as a precursor to the Chautauqua Assembly. It is possible that Miller and Vincent may have been influenced more by John Humphrey Noyes' Bible Communist community, commonly identified as the Oneida Community. Several facts support this hypothesis. First, both the Oneida Community and Chautauqua emerged from religious influence. Secondly, the theological positions of Noyes and Vincent seem to have roots in the revivalist perfectionists. Third, the philosophical positions concerning the adult's learning ability are similar. Fourth, Noyes, before Vincent and Miller, associated learning with life, and with the individual's responsibilities to others. Fifth, Noyes and his followers recognized the importance of learner input into the development of programmatic strategies. Sixth, Noyes preceded Vincent and Miller in the use of print media as an educational medium. Seventh, Noyes believed a positive relationship could be maintained between religion and science, and that knowledge of science could be used to improve individuals and eventually society.

Miller and Vincent were associated with the Methodist Church, one of the Protestant denominations associated with the doctrine of "perfectionism" that became popular with the "second reawakening" that spread across America between 1830 and 1850. According to Mandelker, Noyes' Perfectionism theology was not dissimilar from Wesleyan thought.[11] While it is obvious that Noyes' theology was more radical, he shared some similar ideas with his Wesleyan colleagues. Both emphasized piety in daily life, and both felt that individual improvement contributed to social progress. Noyes, however, was convinced, by his theological interpretation, that the gap between the ideal sinless life and reality no longer existed because of a spiritual union with Christ.[12] Self-improvement, also referred to as self-culture, was a common element in the theology-philosophy of the founder of the Oneida Community as well as and the founders of the Chautauqua.

Noyes' radical Perfectionism is complicated because he shifted to a paradigm that differs from the moderate theological position of Finney, Miller, and Vincent even though it looks like and sounds like the secular paradigm of progressive improvement. Though there is a great risk in doing so, it is important to attempt to explain Noyes' Perfectionism, because it is related to his views about education, intellectual development, and use of the brain.[13,14,15] While Noyes adopted millenarian utopian views, he made a significant modification in asserting that Christ had already made his second appearance with the destruction of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem in AD 70. Thus, unlike his Wesleyan brothers who were yet awaiting the millennium and perfectionism, perfectionism was possible according to Noyes because the millennium was here.

Secondly, he believed that perfectionism was first a spiritual act that resulted in an integrating of the individual with Christ.[16,17] This integration, based on Noyes' interpretation of Pauline doctrine, resulted in perfect spiritual security, leading to perfect obedience. In a complex rationalization, Noyes further associated sin with the Jewish Law, which was set aside by Christ. Hence sin was a product of the law, whereas perfection was the product of the relationship with Christ by individuals who were not bound to the Jewish Law. Yet, perfectionism, according to Noyes was not a completed stage, because in Christ the individual aspired to a morality that included good health and self control. These moral imperatives subsequently were addressed by the perfectionists by advice (education) concerning morality, social behavior, community and nature. Even though Noyes partially separated his followers from the larger society, they were not removed from personal and social responsibilities. Noyes' theology, thus, emphasized a range of personal and social behaviors that reintegrated man-society-God. Education became an instrument for self-improvement that had a spiritual dimension for Oneida residents.

Noyes believed that adults were under a special religious obligation to continue their learning. Hence, there was no question about adult learning ability. In his "talks" to the community he sometimes emphasized the brain and its development, but he also warned about the need for a balance in life.[18] He presaged Jung and others concerned with the idea of racial intelligence in his ideas that the mental improvement of one generation naturally leads to mental improvements in subsequent generations. Yet, he placed certain conditions on the efficacy of education. Material knowledge was related to one's spiritual condition. Within Noyes' theology-philosophy he envisioned a dialectical relationship between the human's spiritual condition and the effects of education. As a consequence of education the spiritual person moved on to a higher mental level where additional education contributed to even further advancement in psychological and physiological structures.[19] He also related age to attitude. In his opinion, age was more directly related to outlook than to the calendar. When in his fifties, he described himself as being twenty-two years old and stated he would not get any older because of his outlook.

Noyes' ideas about education were essentially those of a democrat. He fervently subscribed to the belief that education was a common right. Furthermore, education was a means of "lifting of the masses up to a higher standard, equalizing the general intelligence, and thereby placing people upon a platform of more democratic equality."[20]

Improvement was a constant and universal theme among the community members. Because of the theological intertwining of the mental and the spiritual, improvement for the community members naturally included the intellectual as well as the religious. Their activities were described as "partly social, partly intellectual, partly industrial and partly religious in character."[21] Despite the fact that only a modest number of the community had a higher education, many having been farmers or artisans with limited education, there was a passion for improvement.[22] Yet, it is important to note that "improvement' was not a scholastic exercise; Noyes is credited with observing that "the true kind of improvement is to be doing something all the time that requires courage."[23]

Some have made a point concerning the increasing conflict between science and religion, which had enjoyed a relatively peaceful coexistence in the first half of the nineteenth century.[24,25] As he noted in 1860 and later in 1870, Noyes continued to believe that the conflict was not insurmountable . His belief was founded in the concept that the material aspects of science could not be adequately fathomed without spiritual insight. In one of his home talks entitled "Full Growth," Noyes commented that people had not really been born until they came into fellowship with God, and they were to be considered "in *embryo*" until their religious character was developed.[26]

Noyes developed four major instruments of self-improvement: First, there were newspapers published by the community. Second, among the members there was mutual criticism. Third, the members had a discussion group known later as the Society of Inquiry. Finally, there was the Oneida systematic education program. Even though the print media, mutual criticism, and the use of the Society of Inquiry are interesting, the systematic education program that emerged around 1850 is more than likely an activity with which Miller and Lewis may have been aware.

Oneida Education Program

Even though the Oneida educational program is referred to as "systematized," it was also conceptualized as an harmonious or harmonizing activity.[28] The point is that it is difficult to separate some of the educative or intellectual pursuits of the Oneida Bible Communists from other endeavors. In their efforts at self-improvement, they wove educational activities into the fabric of daily life. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify some of the major aspects of the educational program.

Improvement was not only spiritual, which might be expected in a religious community, but intellectual.[29] They believed regulation of their community was based on religious influence, free criticism, and education. They described their "whole association" as a school.[30] To them the ideas that life is learning and that learning is life was a practical reality rather than a philosophical premise. A key to a better understanding of perfectionism theology and education is presented in an item appearing in the *Circular* under the title of "The Plodding Spirit."[31] Immediately it might be surmised that the plodding spirit is a negative, but as discussed the opposite is true:

> The *plodding spirit* is much honored in our Association, as the first requisite to all improvements. If I were to be asked to define it, I should say it is the spirit that is willing to learn little by little; it has everlasting perseverance in it, and does not despise the day of small things. It seeks improvement for its own sake, and has fellowship with God in so doing. It enjoys the details of the process as well as the results.[32]

Another view of the attitudes concerning improvement is revealed in the criticism of one of the members who worked as a peddler for the community. In his job the individual referred to as M had apparently been overly influenced by his contacts with the world beyond Oneida. While his good points were noted, he was criticized for lack of purpose, selfishness, strong love of dress, foppishness and among other things the lack of the spirit of improvement and the failure to apply himself intellectually. It was recommended that he withdraw from the peddling business, take steady employment in the community, and to "put himself to school intellectually and spiritually."[33]

Attitudes toward the evening meetings reveal the integration of life at Oneida. One description says they were "partly social, partly intellec-

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tual, partly industrial, and partly religious in character."[34] Variety in the evening meeting was also perceived as a way to keep out of a rut; comments on this point also help to define the attitude toward intellectual activity.

Personal relationships were considered to be important contributors to self-improvement. As a result, Noyes conceptualized human relationship as well as spiritual ones in three ways: ascending, horizontal, and descending. Ascending fellowships focused on an upward development and was characterized by a superior and inferior social interaction. The scheme was delicate, however, as the superior in the relationship was theoretically drained by too many relationships with inferiors. The practical aspects of the concept are found in modern tennis "ladders" where the best players are at the top and the weaker players are at the bottom. Poorer players may improve their game by playing better players, but not vice versa. This idea was not limited to intellectual matters, it was also used as a guideline in sexual relationships within the community, which, along with other aspects of the concept of group marriage, has received notable discussion.[35]

It was also accepted that any member's knowledge was to be of service to all. If one could draw or sketch, or sing, they should be ready to teach others. Hence the democratic ideal of peer teaching was institutionalized in the educational program. From the earliest days of the Association, Noyes believed a significant part of each day should be spent in intellectual activity. In 1874, he argued for a six hour work day with the rest of the day devoted to study and recreation.[36] This position is consistent with a comment appearing in the *Circular* of April 14, 1859.[37] It was attributed to Noyes that the legitimate purpose of labor was to secure leisure for social, intellectual, and artistic cultivation.[38] This is a good place to observe that the Bible Communists at Oneida also provided educational opportunities for their workers.

The idea of continuing education is also found among the Oneida Bible Communists. It was suggested that following their schooling at age twenty the young men should not consider their education finished, but should deem that they had only laid the foundation for further advance.[39] Finally, the role of the community in stimulating educational interests is noted. They believed that enthusiasm for knowledge was communicated from those that had "a lively taste for knowledge by contagious enthusiasm." [40]

Educational Activities

Various descriptions of educational activities of, and by, adults are found in Community literature. Some examples are provided below. For example, one individual had this to say about education: "After supper helped J. study his Greek; attended class and the evening gathering in the parlor. I have lately desired the elevation of my attractions, and feel a confidence in the confession of Christ that it will effect in me what I desire."[41] Another described the aftermath of the evening meetings in glowing terms. This Community member indicated that following the conclusion of the evening meetings "the majority of the family remain in their seats, and the transition from meeting to after meeting is mainly marked by a buzz of cheerful conversation."[42] The same individual reported that after one evening meeting some of the scholars recited from their studies.

Educational or intellectual activities were not limited to the evening meetings and the formally appointed times for study. The Community often devised special work projects that within themselves might seem to be drudgery. Therefore, to minimize the negative aspects of the activity, which they called "bees," they would recruit a reader who read to them during the bees. As a result, "they got through a great number of books, much to their pleasure and edification."[43]

The community took pride in the extent of the members' erudition. For example, the *Circular* as quoted in Robertson (1970) provides the following comment:

> There is no sect in which the parents allow their children the freedom of books written in the spirit and interest of other sects that we do; nor do they encourage them in freedom of thought as we do. We keep ourselves saturated all the time with worldly influences through our library. We keep our library crammed with the ideas of the world. We meet the world with freedom in music, and in literature.[44]

The enthusiasm for learning was maintained at a high pitch for some of the family members.

> Mrs. N (over 40 years of age) is very enthusiastic [about study] and says she now cares nothing about her work, but wants to be studying all the time; while she used to be all absorbed in her work, and care nothing for books. She now attends to three regular studies - grammar, German and French - besides reading Cromwell and superintending the kitchen.
>
> This scholar is in the 'sober afternoon of life.' According to Mr. Greeley's horology - but quite early in the morning, if we judge by the freshness of her own feelings and tastes.[45]

Other descriptions and observations concerning educational activities in which community adults engaged represent the attitudes toward intellectual activity as being enthusiastic. In November of 1874, one observer said, "the enthusiasm [concerning study] is intense." [46]

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Courses

The educational curriculum for the Oneida Community was not lightweight. An excerpt from the *Circular*, dated November, 14, 1864, describes some of the courses for that winter. They include arithmetic, at two levels, grammar and composition, Latin, French, natural philosophy, geometry, algebra, astronomy, chemistry and "thorough bass."[47]

To address the challenge posed by the heavy demand on some of the courses like arithmetic, the community leaders engaged in creative scheduling. As all members of the community could not be at leisure at the same time, they scheduled the classes at different hours of the day. Thus, the fifty members who wanted to take arithmetic met one of the three classes scheduled at the following hours: 9:00 a.m., 3:00 p.m. and in the evening.

In order to meet the needs of the community members a committee was established to develop a survey. All members were invited to make out a program of study they wished to pursue, the time at which they could conveniently meet classes, and the preferred teacher. The system must have been successful, based upon the number of courses offered and the number of students enrolled in the different subjects.

Library

All educational activities were not restricted to formal classes. As noted above, the Community members were avid readers. In the earlier days of the organization they maintained their library even when food was limited. After becoming more prosperous they were not reluctant to fill their library with a range of books, magazines and newspapers. In 1875 the library was reported to have the following materials, including other unnamed items: the *Daily Graphic*, lively, gossipy and picturesque. The *Daily Tribune*, crammed with information but not always of the juiciest kind. The Utica *Herald* and the Utica *Daily Observer*. The *Evening Post*, semi weekly, has always been on the reading list, as is true for the *Tribune*. Political sheets included The Nation, Religious newspapers included *The Independent* and *Methodist*.[48]

Science was represented in the library by such papers as the *Boston Journal of Chemistry*, *Journal of Applied Chemistry*, *Nature*, and the *Popular Science Monthly*. The arts were not overlooked as they subscribed to *Scientific American*, *American Artisan*, the *Telegrapher*, and the *Manufacturer and Builder*. Five unnamed agricultural papers, one music publication, and an unnamed publication on field and aquatic sports were available.[49]

Publications addressing health, law, spiritualism, and natural history, also, were obtained for the Community. These and other publications arrived in Oneida from numerous sources such as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and St. Louis. But it was noted that the "greater part of our current literature comes from New York." [50]

All of the books in the library, for which we have no complete list, were not limited to heavier works on history, language, math, and science. Lighter reading fare was available. In fact thirteen library shelves were devoted to novels and poetry. Novelists from Bronte to Virgil included such luminaries as Bryant, Burns, Cooper, Dickens, Goethe, Longfellow, Milton, Pope, Scott and Thackery.[51]

Conclusions

It should be stated clearly that there were differences between the Chautauqua Assembly as developed by Miller and Vincent and the Oneida Perfectionists Community created by Noyes. Yet, there are a number of provocative similarities that raise the possibility that Miller and Vincent may have been influenced by Noyes. Since Noyes' work at Oneida pre-dated the Chautauqua and other religious activities in which Miller and Vincent engaged, the direction of potential influence is logical. The religious community in the mid-nineteenth century had a good communication network, and given the common heritage of the Wesleyan Methodists Perfectionists and Noyes' Perfectionists, it is not unreasonable to assume that Miller and Vincent were aware of the Oneida Community. Just as the Oneida group received the *Methodist* and other religious newspapers it is possible that Miller and Vincent had an awareness of the *Circular* and other public information written by such luminaries as Henry James and Horace Greeley. Thus, they could have learned many things about Oneida educational activities in the 1850s.

Apparently, Noyes and Miller and Vincent shared some of the same ideas. Yet, the fact they held some views in common does not necessarily mean that Miller and Vincent took those ideas from Noyes. As noted in the beginning of this paper, the idea of self-culture or self-improvement was a central theme in the idea of progressive amelioration of the human condition. This idea was broadly discussed by such divergent groups as the transcendalists, the leaders of the secular American Lyceum, and the socialist reformers such as Fourier and Owens, as well as the revivalists. Thus, the idea was common to both secular philosophers and to theologians. Noyes and Miller and Vincent placed the concept within their theological framework. Even though it is not possible to trace directly the concepts Miller and Vincent used to create their commune, the Chautauqua Assembly, to Noyes' Oneida Commune there is reason to believe in that possibility until other better hypotheses concerning the origins of the Chautauqua are available.

Areas of agreement between the Oneida Community and the Chautauqua Assembly are summarized below:

1. A religious justification for self-improvement.
2. Ability of adults to learn.
3. Education as a right.
4. Education as a democratic endeavor.
5. Education within the real world for application and life.
6. Education as a continuous activity that is not dependent upon a place and time.
7. The importance of written materials as an aid to education..
8. Belief in educating the individual.
9. Belief that self-culture could be entertaining as well as intellectually stimulating.
10. Interest in general education topics as well as religious concerns.
11. A kind of withdrawal from the world. Chautauqua participants withdrew to the lake front community on a temporary basis whereas, the Oneida members partially withdrew for longer times.

There are, also, some differences between the two organizations.

1. The Chautauqua was more "expert" driven by the use of paid professionals than Oneida, which was based on peer teaching.
2. Spiritual dimensions of learning were emphasized more by Oneida programs.
3. Oneida programs were limited to their members and workers and was provided by community resources without charge.
4. Chautauqua programs were open to the public upon payment of appropriate fees.
5. Historical treatment of the two organizations is vastly different. The Chautauqua and its founders are subjects of more favorable comment. Because of some of Noyes' strange beliefs, including Bible communism, group marriage, and the practice of eugenics by the label stirpculture, Noyes more often is negatively portrayed in history.

Regardless of the importance attached to the more bizarre aspects of Noyes' theology and life, he must be credited with innovations in the education of adults. His surveys of commune members to determine educational opportunities foreshadowed the practice of educational needs assessment by more than one half a century. His emphasis on aesthetics in education also appeared at least sixty years before Lindeman addressed the topic.[52] The use of a Likert type scale in evaluations was also a novel approach for the time. Provision of educational opportunities for the Oneida work force also merits attention as an innovative practice. Finally, the integration of educational activities into work schedules seems to be prescient.

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The Evolution of Employee Education in the American Work Place

Edward E. Gordon
Loyola University of Chicago

Rapidity of change has become the central issue facing management development. Why? Look at the historic record of human technological progress. Between 1750 and 1900, human knowledge doubled. In the first fifty years of the twentieth century, it doubled again. Each decade since 1960 has seen a further acceleration in the pace of change (Steinmetz 1976).

The challenge for training is to teach the principle of managing others during today's "future shock" period of rapid change and intense international economic competition. In order to perform the elastic, evolutionary jobs of the future, more employees than ever before must develop leadership abilities that require higher level thinking and problem solving skills. Static jobs for life have become a relic of the past.

I predict that the need for developing these leadership abilities will reach deeper and deeper into all businesses both large and small. This is symptomatic of fundamental changes taking place throughout the U.S. and worldwide marketplace (Conner et al. 1992).

As the economy becomes increasingly high-tech, existing jobs are being permanently wiped out through computerization, improved machinery, and new ways of organizing work. These are not all blue collar jobs. Government data show that between 1982 and 1993 the country's 500 largest manufacturers slashed nearly 4 million jobs. Seventy percent of these lost jobs were white collar jobs. During the 1980s new technology enabled U.S. policy makers to increase output by 30 percent and reduce labor rolls by 4 percent. In 1993, this trend is extending into service industries, affecting skilled professionals such as computer designers and programmers. Lifelong education for all American workers who will continuously experience job obsolescence is one of the realities of advancing technology (Myers 1992; Zachary & Ortega 1993).

This environment hardly encourages employee productivity and high personal motivation unless business adopts "lifelong education" thinking. Otherwise, America is faced with the prospect of hordes of educated people either underemployed or unemployed. If we factor in the up to 84 million currently undereducated employees, many of whom are incapable of handling almost any job in a high-tech twenty-first century work place, the entire nation can anticipate serious social economic displacement. Many of these Americans face the prospect of becoming the "new peasants of the information age."

Competition for goods and services revolve around two main questions. How well does any business manage its "information content" of sophisticated technology and management design? How cheaply can it mass produce goods or provide a service?

In 1992, U.S. business invested over $40 billion in employee training and development, trying to become more competitive (Lee 1992). However, Henry Conn, coauthor with J. H. Boyett of *Workplace 2000* (1991), estimates that only 10 to 15 percent of all training was retained and used on the job. He sees a more realistic target in the 80 percent range, if America hopes to beat its global competition.

At issue for most companies are two questions. To what extent will more extensive and effective management development retool the work force? Will corporate decision makers adjust their strategic thinking to include lifelong education for all employees? To begin finding answers to these questions, we will review the evolution of training in the United States.

Training's Evolution

Before 1820, America adapted an apprenticeship system from Europe. Trade guilds, which ensured that products met standards of workmanship, had developed in Europe during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries. This guild system was a forerunner of today's unions. It strictly regulated members' hours, tools, wages, and, most importantly, training (Sonnenfeld & Ingols 1986).

At the top of this work hierarchy was the fully trained master. He had many years of experience. Through the local guild he enforced professional craft quality standards and regulated the training of new workers. He supplied the tools and materials, and managed his shop. Apprentices, who lived with the master, learned their trade by passing through prescribed stages of training. If successful, they became journeymen traveling from town to town, receiving a fixed wage for their labors. Some remained in their master's shop to gain the requisite knowledge and take their final craft examination. If the journeyman passed the guild's examination, he became a master craftsman and was entitled to set up his own shop. A variant of this guild system was the organization of the medieval European university faculty system that awarded bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees. Modern Germany continues to use a formal craft training program as part of its dual educational system (Federal Republic of Germany 1987; Miller 1987; Nothdurft 1989).

The apprenticeship system never worked well in early America because of a severe shortage of skilled labor. Colonial America was largely an agrarian economy based on small farms. There were few large cities. Most manufactured goods were imported from Europe. As a result, the majority of potential workers were never employed as tradesmen but were either farmers or associated with the shipping trade (Eurich 1985).

The characteristics of the master-apprentice-journeyman craft system made it a very close knit work team. Apprentices were often viewed by masters as sons. Though the technologies employed were meager and simple, this working by doing learning approach required a very long term commitment. The training program was geared to the individual artisan's craft needs and expectations. Employee motivation was critical to the success or failure of the entire training system (Sonnenfeld & Ingols 1986).

By 1820, the Industrial Revolution was well under way in America. An average of 77 patents was issued each year prior to 1810. By 1860 Yankee ingenuity had raised the annual average to over 4,500.

Industrialization required training for specific tasks. The pattern of stable, lifelong occupations began to change. Work was not home based but became focused on larger, depersonalized organizations, usually established in growing urban areas (Steinmetz 1976).

Between 1820 and the outbreak of World War I (1914), factory schools were established to supplant the apprenticeship system. Hoe and Company, a manufacturer of printing presses, founded in 1872, established one of the first factory schools to train machinists. As the nineteenth century advanced, available machinists often proved incapable of operating more complex technology. Most machinists until then had relied on rule of thumb methods and had neither the mathematical nor the technical knowledge required to make precision parts (Stevens 1990).

Factory schools were established by Westinghouse (1888), General Electric (1901), International Harvester (1907), Western Electric (then part of AT&T), Ford, National Cash Register, and many other manufacturers. They provided specific task education within the emerging modern business organization (Miller 1987).

This early industrial period was driven by a work force of largely unskilled machine operators. Both unskilled and skilled workers were viewed as a variable cost. Worker employment fluctuated with market demands. The technology of new machines was still evolving with the development of energy sources. Even though some technical training was offered, fewer skills were taught to fewer people in comparison with the prior craft system. The importance of individual employee motivation was replaced by the market forces of a unified national economy. By 1900 the United States had emerged as the world's largest industrial power (Sonnenfeld & Ingols 1986).

Mass Production Triumphs (1915—1945)

In 1910, Henry Ford introduced assembly line manufacturing based on Frederick Taylor's principles of scientific management. The assembly line system consisted of small divisions of labor and machine work, further reducing the need for skilled workers. An individual tightened a specific bolt rather than assembling a complete product. Workers were not required to think, learn, adapt, or solve problems, but only to endlessly perform mechanically simple tasks.

World War I provided a major stimulus for mass production. Charles R. Allen's "four step method" (show, tell, do, and check) became a standard method for on the job training (OJT) adopted by burgeoning assembly line war industries (Miller 1987).

The ending of the Great Depression with America's entry into World War II sparked a reformulation of the OTJ approach. America became the "arsenal of democracy" during World War II defeating the Axis powers with mountains of assembly line products. These tanks, guns, trucks, and jeeps all had mass produced, interchangeable parts made by many different manufacturers, all of whom used assembly line training systems.

A train the trainer system called Job Instructor Training (JIT) was designed for first line and second line supervisors to support the expansion of assembly line production in the U.S. defense industry. Over 2 million supervisors received JIT or offshoot programs in job methods and human relations.

From 1915 until 1945, the work force was composed of large numbers of unskilled men (and, for the first time, women), who were largely interchangeable and driven by machine pacing. Employment downturns occurred at the end of World War I and during the Great Depression. Layoffs were based on seniority. A machine technology clearly dominated. The training provided by business stressed functional expertise and administrative efficiency. Individual employee motivation was not considered an important factor in making this system successful (Miller 1987; Sonnenfeld & Ingols 1986; Steinmetz 1976).

The Cold War Era (1946—1992)

The United States emerged from World War II the most powerful and prosperous nation on earth – a position it enjoyed until the 1990s. The

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technologies that had made America into a world power were now exported overseas. A postwar baby boom helped ensure that the great industrial capacity built during the war years was retooled to support a large scale, consumer driven society. Management development was mobilized to meet these new complexities of production and distribution, using the military chain of command model with twelve layers of management.

By the early 1950s, business training began to focus on supervisory development. This interest was directed, at least in part, by the rediscovery of Elton Mayo's Hawthorne studies, conducted in the late 1920s and early 1930s at the Hawthorne plant of Western Electric, near Chicago. This was the telephone manufacturing arm of AT&T then employing over 40,000 workers. The Hawthorne studies led to the recognition that managers trained in leadership can influence human relations, thereby improving employee morale and personal motivation (Roethlisberger & Dickson 1941).

Later studies (Landsberger 1956) debated whether the "Hawthorne effect" was behind the achievement of desirable productivity goals. Additional research conducted during the 1950s by James Worthy, Charles Walker, and Robert Guest documented the negative effects of repetitive, low skilled, machine paced work on employee morale and productivity.

For the first time in American history, the Engineering, Science and Management War Training Program (ESMWT) established during World War II, and the GI Bill after the war, exposed millions of adults to college courses on almost every aspect of management, technology, psychology, and education. These continuing education and management training programs provided the impetus to the formation in 1944 of the American Society for Training and Development and fueled the vast expansion of the American Management Association that was founded in 1923. These organizations helped increase the popularity of off site management and executive development programs. By the mid 1950s, human resource development (HRD) had become a widely respected field. Training and development programs began to feature business games, "in basket" exercises, simulations, and the extensive use of role playing exercises.

The performance based psychological theories of B. F. Skinner at Harvard University had a significant impact on training practices that were designed both to control human behavior and to bring about behavior change. Training laboratories of the 1960s used behavior modification techniques, programmed instruction, teaching machines, and training hardware designed to shape and control desirable work related behaviors (Miller 1987; Steinmetz 1976).

The 1970s witnessed another behavioral application in HRD with the widespread growth of company assessment centers that "objectively" measured employee management potential. In 1987, Malcolm Knowles stressed more humanistic or cognitive approaches to learning. He saw the role of the trainer as the facilitator of the learner's needs, rather than as the controller who sought to shape desired behaviors.

The concepts of organizational development (OD) also gained widespread support during the 1970s, interlocking all areas of business HRD. OD shifted the focus of concern from "people development" to one centered on the well being and efficient operation of the entire organization.

Training and development in the 1980s witnessed the rapid growth of quality circles (based on Japanese models) throughout American business. Computer based training and interactive video were introduced into many companies. They spread quickly with the increasing availability of personal computers (PCs) and appropriate software. However, entering the 1990s, their major limitation remained the lack of customized, inexpensive training and development software for specific company applications. Undoubtedly this issue will begin to fade as increasingly powerful PCs drastically reduce local software development costs.

Management development of the 1980s and early 1990s also saw the continued use of behavioral models of training. They were considered by many trainers and course designers as constituting the best practices for management development, technical, and educational training programs.

During the Cold War era, training and development programs characterized the work force as groups of employees under a supervisor. Most workers were viewed as long term, career oriented community members. Business emphasized employment stability. Because technology had become more complex and interactive, training began to stress teams and retraining, while still emphasizing technical skills. Employees were motivated through raises, promotions, and benefits (Knowles 1987; Miller 1976; Rush 1987; Sonnenfeld & Ingols 1986).

Preparing for Work Force 2000

By the early 1990s, the training and development needs of American business had begun undergoing significant dynamic shifts. Many employees at all levels have discovered that much of what had been learned in school or on the job was now obsolete. They struggled to master high-tech skills or were forced to seek new employment. Many lamented that supple minds had become more important than supple joints. America won the Cold War by rebuilding and reequipping former adversaries. However, their new industrial base has produced complex technologies and an organizational versatility that place extreme competitive pressures on most U.S. business sectors (Gordon et al. 1991).

The 1990s reshaping of American business often will mean the elimination of many middle managers. But the success of this strategy will largely depend on how well newly empowered supervisors and line workers are educated to maximize their individual talents. Strategic manpower planning requires training programs that are designed to foster workers' abilities to perform complex jobs through the development of abstract thinking, problem solving, and comprehension skills (cognitive abilities) (Boyett & Conn 1991).

Future managers, supervisors, and workers must learn how to rethink new solutions to the old ways of doing business. These Total Quality Management (TQM), ISO 9000, business process re-engineering, team building programs feature problem solving, creative ability, cognitive based learning. They are far more complex than past behavioral based company training. They will challenge both manager and worker alike to develop leadership for tomorrow that maintains organizational competitiveness (Goldstein & Gillian 1990; Greenwood et al. 1993).

The organizational structure of the work force for the year 2000 will most typically be smaller companies utilizing work teams. An employee will be viewed as a human resource who needs constant development. Individual employment will be very changeable and intermittent, driven by rapidly changing technology and the need for extensive continuing education. The training and development offered will be committed to lifelong learning that copes with these frequent changes. Employee motivation will become vested in these job changes and in enrichment that broadens daily work assignments (Sonnenfeld & Ingols 1986).

Future Work

Societal changes in the next decades will be enormous. The entire world is now in the midst of a second industrial/technology revolution. Over the next thirty years major scientific breakthroughs will significantly alter technology, the workplace, and daily life. International economic competitiveness will demand that America create and maintain a world class, universal worker educational system. If both employees and organizations are to thrive, training and development must become a force in strategic planning that educates all people to their highest potential. However, too often in contemporary business, "wisdom" and "creativity" are seen as opposites. Many managers view creative people as "mavericks," not quite fitting into the corporate culture. They certainly are not the people who should be running the shop!

Yet many of these same managers have embraced quality as the competitive cure all of the 1990s. A comparison of Crosby's fourteen steps, Deming's fourteen points and Juran's seven points finds a common call to expand training that promotes employee problem solving on the job. All three call for empowered work teams that can integrate a range of complex thinking tasks into their daily work activities. The quality "continuous improvement process" requires that people make decisions, analyze systems, investigate, invent new processes, classify, compare, and generally manipulate information. Increasing personal creativity has become the name of the game for American business (Hunt 1992).

We believe that most companies need to encourage employee education at all levels. A business that cannot bridge the "business wisdom" versus "employee creativity" culture gap will soon experience serious trouble. The worldwide competitive marketplace has already begun this winnowing process.

The foundation of America's national wealth is really its human capital– people. Their knowledge, skills, and motivation remain the primary assets of any business. In 1987, William Wiggenhorn, director of training at Motorola, noted, "We've documented the savings for the statistical process-control methods and problem solving methods we've trained our people in. We're running a rate of return of about 30 times the dollar invested" (Peters 1987).

The $40 billion a year corporate training budget of U.S. companies sounds impressive. But it is only a fraction of America's annual corporate capital hardware bill, which runs about $400 billion each year. Motorola is not a nationwide industrial leader by accident. Employee education is at the heart of its short term/long term planning.

As part of any company's strategic business plan, executives need to reconsider training by assessing your total work force's skills. What are the employees' educational skill levels in relation to your domestic and foreign competition? Is this educational skill gap increasing or decreasing versus key competitors? In many instances individual businesses will find that they are far behind in the education and training they will need to offer all their employees for the ultra modern, post twentieth century marketplace (Peters 1987).

However, the experience of too many managers is that for the most part training is "not worth what I've paid." People go and listen and say it was wonderful, and they do it for a while, only to forget it and go back to their old habits. Training is useless unless change results, and it is part of a process that awakens people to their own strengths and weaknesses (Harte 1990).

In the 1980s, many new adult learning strategies were discovered for stimulating thinking and intelligence. Frederick Goodwin, director of the National Institute of Mental Health, believes that educational programs cannot make a 70 IQ person into a 120 IQ person. "But you can change their IQ in different ways, perhaps as much as 20 points up or down, based on their environment" (Kotulak 1993). There are many untapped abstract reasoning capabilities that currently are not being developed by traditional business training/educational programs.

I propose FutureWork as part of this human development revolution reshaping American business. Companies will continue to offer training such as basic management, supervision, service, and assembly behaviors. They will add a component for employee skill requirements that increase overall personal comprehension: writing, math, reading, foreign language, and English as a second language. Only after addressing these two employee development areas will a business be able to successfully address the education issues of building higher thinking skills for TQM, ISO 9000, business process re-engineering, work teams, problem solving, personal creativity, and advanced technical or professional education.

I see FutureWork as being based on the Work Force Education Triad of training, skills, and education. For the rest of the 1990s, maximizing the talents of all people is emerging as a major business goal. How America will reach these objectives will be presented in the following chapters.

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Henrietta Rodman and other Modern Feminists: Redefining the New Professional Teacher

Julie C. Laible
The University of Texas
at Austin

Women educators have seldom been the subject of traditional or feminist texts. They are also absent from studies of educational reform at the beginning of the twentieth century. Educational policy makers and historians have overlooked the central actor in the education process, the teacher, and in doing so, have neglected the female teacher who dominated the profession numerically by the early 1900s. In fact, very few scholars have explored the historic experiences and perspectives of teachers (Altenbaugh 1992). Female school teachers, however, played an extremely important role in the changes that took place as they pushed and negotiated the educational policies made by dominant Anglo middle- and upper-class males on local school boards. In her study of female civil servants, Desley Deacon (1989) argues that policy formation and implementation cannot be fully understood unless the history, interests, resources, and effects of public servants, such as school teachers, are considered seriously. I will argue in the same way that women teachers of this period were central actors, not only in educational reform, but also in the larger societal reform for women led by modern feminist groups.

Henrietta Rodman was both a modern feminist and a school teacher in New York City in the early 1900s. Modern feminist school teachers such as Rodman played integral roles in reframing educational policy issues and redefining the modern professional woman. As such, the voice of Rodman, along with the other modern feminist school teachers, must be examined as they challenged the dominant discriminatory policies of the era.

Methodology

This study argues that by examining the life of one woman, we can demonstrate the extent to which women resisted patriarchal authority and influenced educational policy. As Kathleen Barry states, "women can be reconceptualized as 'historical agents' through a biographical method which locates itself in social interaction and interprets subjective meaning at a critical juncture between political and social history, daily life and epochal events, macrostructures and microdynamics" (Barry 1989, 563). Thus, I examine closely the multivoiced social events and dialogues of the participants in educational policy making -- the dialogues of teachers, administrators, and school board members of that time.

The Dominant Discourse

In the rapidly changing context of increased industrialization, immigration, and urbanization at the turn of the century, the Progressive educators were successful in promoting an image of the new modern professional female teacher: She would be cost efficient by accepting lower wages; she would be controlled by the new "scientific" centralized administration; and she would be committed to her career for a period of years or until she decided to marry, at which point it was her duty to return to the home to raise a family. Indeed, Charles Bardeen in *Education Review* expressed alarm that the biological functions of women were destroying American education: ". . .twenty-eight should be the maximum age for women teachers and six the total years she be allowed to work. After that they develop a pessimism, a contempt for mankind that is not healthful and that boards of education shrink from" (Bardeen 1912, 19).

The power afforded the male educators over the female school teachers allowed discourse such as that of Bardeen to become dominant. The hegemonic views of the Progressive male educators -- for example, Ellwood P. Cubberly at Stanford; Edward Elliott at Wisconsin; Nicholas Murray Butler at Columbia University; and William Rainey Harper at Chicago -- defined the new modern school teacher (Douglas 1977; Tyack and Hansot 1982). Most stories that challenged this definition and the interests of the educational reformers were sequestered by framing devices such as the discussion of a woman's biological and intellectual inferiority, her appropriate "private" sphere of domesticity and child rearing, her "natural" tendency for emotional/irrational behavior, and her efficient employment at a lower wage. Modern feminists such as Henrietta Rodman, however, had radically different views than most new Progressive male educators on the definition of the new professional school teacher.

Henrietta Rodman -- New Teacher and New Feminist

Henrietta Rodman was one of the new teachers recruited by Progressive administrators to teach in the New York Public Schools. Born in

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New York City in 1878, she was educated at Columbia Teachers College. In 1898 she began teaching at Wadleigh High School in the New York City Schools. A new "professional" school teacher, Henrietta Rodman was also a modern feminist whose personal and professional views and actions were influential in reframing the way school boards across the nation viewed marriage, motherhood, and educational policy. With other members of the modern feminist group, Heterodoxy, in Greenwich Village, Rodman challenged the Victorian worldview and rigid moral values, arguing for the pragmatic character of knowledge, the erasure of social barriers, and the importance of experience as a guide to truth (Singal 1991). Rodman was a "charismatic personality who attracted attention to feminism with her sandals and loose-flowing gowns, her habit of smoking in public, and her gatherings at the Liberal Club in the Village" (Sochen 1972, 16) Little is known of her life before 1910. Her parents, Washington and Henrietta Rodman, were native New Yorkers and apparently believed enough in women's education and independence to give their daughter a college education. By 1910 she was thirty-two years old and a practicing feminist. She is said to have lived openly with many men before her marriage in 1913. When she married Herman DeFremery, she retained her maiden name. DeFremery remained in the background of his wife's feminist activities. They adopted two teenaged daughters, because Henrietta did not care for babies but enjoyed teenagers.

Rodman was a charter member of Heterodoxy, the unique luncheon club for "unorthodox women" in Greenwich Village founded in 1912, and there she networked with other modernist feminists who taught at various times of their lives. A few of these women devoted their lives to education, but none matched the dramatic role of Rodman and her attempt to redefine the modern professional school teacher (Schwarz 1986).

Challenging Victorian Moral Codes and Social Barriers

One radical group of which Rodman was a member and organizer was the Liberal Club, originally based at 132 East 19th Street and founded as a lecture society with clubroom advantages. Young artists, radicals and social reformers from the universities, the settlement houses, and the apartments and garrets to the south of 19th East Street began to make the club a home. Rodman was part of this group. Although she never used this organization as a platform for equitable educational policy for women, she did make contacts there with many members who supported her radical activities and challenged the nineteenth century moral codes and racial boundaries of men and women alike.

Floyd Dell was one of Rodman's staunch supporters from his arrival in Greenwich Village in 1913. As editor of *The Masses*, he described Henrietta as he knew her, but he called her by the name of Egeria.

> Egeria (Rodman) had the rare gift of being able to start things. Some people, it is true, said that what she inevitably started was trouble; but that was scarcely just to her. Incredibly naive, preposterously reckless, believing wistfully in beauty and goodness, a *Candide*, in petticoats and sandals, she did always manage to involve herself in complicated difficulties serenely, and fought her way out of them - into some new thorn-patch. People laughed at her a good deal, and loved her very much indeed, and followed her beck into the beautiful and absurd schemes she was forever inventing.
>
> The Village had been quietly there all the time; but from the moment Egeria (Rodman) moved the Liberal club down there, it was different. She touched it off, and it went up like a sky-rocket: the bright gleams of that pyrotechnic spectacle have hardly yet faded from the sky.
>
> There was no common center, no meeting place for the Village as a whole. And Egeria (Rodman) determined that there should be one. Indeed, without such a center, how would the new invaders, Egeria and her friends, ever get acquainted with those shy and timid aborigines, the artist-folk?
>
> 'We need each other,' she declared. 'They have something to teach us -- and we will wake them up!'
>
> Egeria's 'we' meant the group of university people, students, and professors, the social workers, the newspaper men and women, who accepted her as their leader in rash idealistic enterprises. Egeria herself was a school teacher.
>
> Yet, let it not fail to be recorded among the paradoxes of our American social history, that the Greenwich Village of which all the world knows was founded by a schoolteacher in all earnestness! (Richwine 1968, 211).

In the fall of 1913, two disputes fractured the five-year-old organization. The first was over the issue of sexual morality. Henrietta Rodman endorsed free love and inspired one member to take a mistress who then moved in with him and his wife to the dismay of other members. On September 12, 1913, *The New York Times* alluded to this member being inspired by Ms. Rodman who had married another member of the club, DeFremery, with the full consent of DeFremery's common-law wife, who had come to the home of the bride and bridegroom (Richwine 1968). The second issue concerned racial discrimination. Rodman insisted that the club admit Blacks, something many members resisted. Consequently, she and her followers found alternative space at 137 MacDougal Street above Polly's Holladay's restaurant and flourished there until 1919 (Miller 1990).

Challenging the Private Imprisonment of the Modern Professional Woman

Not only did Rodman and the modern feminists attempt to break the moral traditions and racial barriers imposed on the new professional woman, they also challenged the notion that married women who worked allowed their homes and families to deteriorate. In 1914 Rodman founded the Feminist Alliance, built on the ideas of Charlotte Perkins Gilman. The Alliance issued the following declaration:

> Feminism is a movement which demands the removal of all social, political, economic, and other discriminations which are based upon sex, and the award of all rights and duties in all fields on the basis of individual capacity alone (Sochen 1972, 47).

The Alliance focused on admission policies concerning women to universities, graduate schools, and professional schools in the face of men's fear of feminization (Douglas 1977; Rosenberg 1982). It also proposed a new type of housing for women -- an apartment house with meal service, minimum housework, and childcare which "would free the middle-class professional woman to work at her profession at day and be a companion to her husband in the evening" (Sochen 1972, 51). This "middle-class professional woman", of whom Rodman spoke, fit right into the plans of the centralized school administrators who wanted a new type of teacher who was efficient, manageable, and desiring a commanding career (Murphy 1990). Rodman, however, in contrast to the male educational reformers, intended for these professional women, many whom were teachers, to continue working after marriage and motherhood.

Dolores Hayden (1981) calls women such as Henrietta Rodman material feminists because they dared to define a grand domestic revolution in women's material conditions. They demanded economic remuneration for women's unpaid household labor. They proposed a complete transformation of the spatial design and material culture of American homes, neighborhoods and cities. Rodman and the other members of the Feminist Alliance were determined to rearrange home life so that women could combine a career and marriage successfully, by creating women's housing less tied to specific types of work than the settlement houses which reinforced the stereotype of women's labor being solely domestic. Unfortunately, because of a lack of financial support, the apartment house was never built. This proposed project, however, served to strengthen the Feminist Alliance and to prepare its members for their next battle -- fighting for the rights of mother-teachers.

Challenging the Inferior Status of Professional Teacher-Mothers

As seen in their plans for the feminist apartment house, the modern school teachers believed the middle-class professional woman who was committed to her career as a teacher could successfully be a mother, a view which differed drastically from the male school board and administrators for whom many of them worked. One of the Alliance's most successful crusades was its battle with the New York City School Board of Education to eliminate discrimination against married women in city schools. Inspired and initiated by Rodman and determined to successfully incorporate the public and private domains of teacher-mothers, the Alliance fought for maternity leave for female school teachers. In 1914, the Board's practice was to hire married women only if they had been separated from their husbands for at least three years or were widowed. If a woman married while teaching or became pregnant, she could not return to her work after having her child. In 1915, a male educator warned, "The farmer that uses his land for golf-links and deer preserves instead of for crops has but one agricultural fate; the civilization that uses its women for stenographers, clerks, and schoolteachers instead of mothers has but one racial fate" (Clifford 1989, 305). This warning along with the current Board policy prompted *The Masses* to write tongue-in-cheek:

> The impulse of life to reproduce itself will probably not be entirely annihilated by the New York Board of Education, but we are glad to see that institution doing what it can to suppress this craze. Women teachers at least shall not be allowed leave of absence to have children. Maybe it does not come within the province of education to prevent babies from being born, but at least it makes their education unnecessary (Max Eastman 1913, 1).

Determined to break the boundaries between the public and domestic spheres, Rodman adamantly opposed the Board's policy. In March 1914, Rodman challenged Board policy by announcing she had been married to Herman DeFremery a month earlier and reported that her admission of marriage was calculated to force a test case with the Board of Education. She could no longer tolerate the "silence agreement" used by other married teachers to protect their positions ("Aided Mrs. Edgell" 1913). Rodman felt:

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> The Board of Education of the City of New York is opposed to married women continuing to teach in the schools. If it had the power it would simply expel them. Since, however, the law does not permit a woman to be deprived of her occupation simply because she is married, the Board seeks to attain its ends indirectly. It refuses to appoint or reappoint teachers already married, it withholds promotion from those who marry subsequently to their appointment, and it denies to married teachers leave of absence before and after childbirth. Life is to be made so unendurable for married teachers, they are to be compelled to make such heartbreaking sacrifices, that they will sooner or later accept defeat and allow themselves to be driven out of the schools ("Restoring the Family" 1914, 8).

Even though the Board of Education did not take action on Rodman's admission of marriage, later that spring Rodman decided to take up the cause of Mrs. Engell, a New York City school teacher who had been dismissed for refusing to leave her job after becoming pregnant. Rodman organized rallies with the aid of the League for Civil Service of Women. A group of twenty women and men met at the Liberal Club on June 27, 1914, to plan widespread local protest meetings in the city and a large citywide rally at Cooper Union (Richwine 1968). Charlotte Perkins Gilman and sympathetic male allies such as John Dewey and Rabbi Stephen Wise participated in the rallies and appealed to the mayor. Rodman was suspended on November 12, 1914 for writing to the *New York Tribune* about what she called the new sport of mother baiting. This was a new game, she wrote:

> The majority of the members of the Board of Education are expected to play on one side, and on the other, two women, each with a baby a few days old. The object of the game is to kick the mothers out of their positions in the public schools. It will be played according to the rules of the Board of Education. Mother-baiting is popular with the majority of the Board. The game is rather rough, but like wifebeating, which used to be so popular, it is always played for the good of the women (Rodman 1914).

Rodman quickly became a martyr in the cause of free speech. Rather than argue the strictly feminist line -- that she had been discriminated against because she was a woman -- Rodman contended that she had been deprived of her civil liberties. As main speaker at meeting after

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meeting, she proclaimed the injustice of her suspension. Her fight, she said, was different from that of teacher-mothers. Their cases, "involve the question whether married teachers shall have the right to have children. My case involved my right to be a citizen as well as a teacher" ("Mother-Teacher to Fight" 1914).

In a closed session in December 1914, the noted civil rights attorney Gilbert Roe defended Rodman. Despite her protests that she had a right to free speech, she was fined and suspended without pay for eight months. After the decision Rodman commented, "My suspension amounts to a fine of $1,800 for writing a satirical letter about the Board of Education which in ten years will be universally regarded as immoral and absurd" ("Miss Rodman Suspended" 1914). This decision provoked a new commitment from Rodman's supporters to end discrimination against teacher-mothers. Some even considered forming a union which could strike in retaliation to unjust board policies (Sochen 1972). Floyd Dell wrote in *The Masses:*

> In the great city of New York these gifted amateurs [the board members] decide that a mother is not fit to teach school, and make pregnancy a crime punishable by dismissal. They are so certain of their right to decide these matters, or so filled with a sense of their own administrative dignity, that they prohibit criticism from within the teaching body. The case of Miss Rodman is the latest and most notorious example of their parochial temper and quality. We have a 1915 public school system. How long must we blunder along with an 1830 board of education? (Dell 1915, 11).

An unsigned editorial, *To the School Board,* in the same publication states:

> In his anxiety to defend the New York school board for its policy of discharging teachers who become mothers, a member of the board, William G. Willcox, urges that a distinction should be made between voluntary and involuntary indispositions.
>
> This implies that motherhood is a preventable indisposition. That is true, but it is true also that many women, married and exposed to it, do not know how to prevent it.
>
> We suggest that the Board institute a course of instruction in the matter of voluntary and involuntary motherhood, and place Margaret Sanger, who is now under a criminal indictment for mentioning the subject, in charge of the course ("To the School Board" 1914, 18).

The energetic cries of feminist indignation forced a special committee of the Board to recommend a two year maternity leave for married teachers on December 31, 1914. The Commissioner of Education reinstated seventeen teacher-mothers with full pay for their suspended time. In June 1915, Henrietta Rodman's suspension was removed with a transfer to Julia Richman High (Richwine 1968).

The modern professional woman school teacher was now allowed to become a mother and retain her position in the school. The hegemonic view of the inferiority of teacher-mothers, exacerbated by professionalization of the "new" teacher and rhetoric of women's appropriate domestic sphere, was being eroded. Men, as well as women, were beginning to understand what modern feminist Elsie Clews Parsons argued eight years earlier:

> Pedagogy cannot afford to entirely overlook the experiences of maternity. All teachers do not need to be parents, but parental experience in pedagogy is a valuable asset. No community can afford to segregate any number of healthy women as non-child bearers. Is it not utter folly to harangue against race-suicide and yet to place women in a position where they must choose between celibacy, or childlessness? (1906, 146).

Challenging the "Efficient" Lower Wage of the Modern Professional Woman

In addition to defying the discriminatory policy of dismissing teacher-mothers, modern feminists also challenged the lower wages of female teachers through forming unions. The new teachers' unions were not just woman-led; they were feminist. They challenged the structural and psychological handicaps to women's economic independence.

This emancipation was nearly impossible with the discriminatory low wages female teachers earned. Affiliation with the union movement, however, gave women new access to the halls of political power. Women such as union activist Margaret Haley in Chicago could not believe that the city could not scrape together enough money in taxes to pay teachers a fair salary. Haley traveled across the nation during the Chicago tax crusade and found a basis for uniting women to obtain better wages in each city. Between 1902 and 1910, over eleven of these organizations joined the American Federation of Labor. They became the nucleus for the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) (Murphy 1990).

These organizations, in contrast to the National Education Association founded forty years earlier and which remained firmly in the hands of male administrators, were formed by women teachers. For example, in New York City the Interborough Association of Women Teachers (IBTA) formed in 1906 and argued to the Board of Education that female teachers ought to receive the same salaries as male teachers. In 1911,

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under the leadership of Grace Strachan, this organization steered through the state legislature a new law prohibiting discrimination in salary because of sex and giving women teachers a pay raise. IBTA eventually grew into Local 5 of the American Federation of Teachers to which Henrietta Rodman and other modern feminist school teachers belonged (Urban 1989).

A new sense of confidence seemed to emerge from new professional women's groups which contrasted with the male administrators desire for a manageable, "efficient" teacher. Teachers considered themselves autonomous in the classroom and resented incursions on their autonomy. With the help of the union in 1922, for example, Henrietta Rodman fought against the Lusk Law, an anti-sedition law backed by New York Senator Lusk, which required all teachers to appear before an advisory board to be questioned concerning their civic beliefs. Rodman was one of twelve teachers denied a certificate of loyalty.

Conclusion

The early 1900s was a time of major reform in American education. Immigration along with urbanization and the commitment to universal schooling allowed cities such as New York to hire many women to fill new teaching positions. New Progressive administrators, favoring centralization, attempted to define a new middle-class professional teacher who would see the economic benefit to the district of her accepting lower wages, promptly resign her position after marriage especially after motherhood, and accept the fact that all the policies which affected her would be made by the male administrators and board members. Unfortunately for the reformers, they did not predict the reaction of the modern feminist school teachers to this definition/appropriation of their selves. Women teachers' unions as well as modern feminist groups such the Feminist Alliance and the Liberal Club organized by Henrietta Rodman challenged this new definition of the modern professional woman. Contrary to the definition of the new Progressive administrators, this new middle-class woman could raise a family and work outside the home, receive a higher education, be economically independent, and have a strong voice not only in education but also in larger political movements. Henrietta Rodman continued to defy the patriarchal frame of the schools until her death in 1923. Current feminist educators and policy analysts have much to learn from the struggles of Henrietta Rodman as we attempt to reframe new discriminatory patriarchal definitions placed upon us even today.

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Alice Miel: Ideas on Democratic Curriculum Development

Elizabeth Anne Yeager
The University of Texas
at Austin

A study of Alice Miel's contributions to the curriculum field and of her role in the larger historical context offers a type of perspective on the past that, according to Kliebard and Franklin (1983), is "most appropriate for reaching conclusions about curriculum thought and, in a more limited way, curriculum practice." They note that prominent curriculum leaders may not necessarily influence the actual school curriculum, but they may be viewed as "barometers of the direction the school curriculum was taking." Miel's career offers an excellent source of knowledge and deeper understanding about a vast, shifting span of historical time in American schooling.

Alice Miel, one of the foremost female contributors to the American curriculum field and a leading curriculum development scholar-practitioner, frequently has been overlooked in much of the research on the nature and evolution of the curriculum field. This paper, part of a larger study of Miel's career, specifically examines her contributions in the area of democratic, participatory curriculum development in schools. Laurel Tanner (1994) describes Miel's major book, *Changing the Curriculum: A Social Process* (1946), and her continuing work in this area, as helping to state "the ideas that are foundational for collaborative decision making in schools and school systems (which help to) constitute the legacy from which contemporary workers draw." Huebner (1994) characterizes the book as a "masterpiece," while Foshay (1994a) cites her work in this area of the curriculum field to support his assertion that Miel "exemplifies the best of the meanings of the Progressive Education Movement of 1925-1960."

Several themes emerge in Miel's body of work. First, Miel advocated democratic ideals and the development of democratic behavior as the ultimate goal of schooling. Second, and to that end, she applied theories of social learning and democratic principles and processes to various aspects of curriculum development and school administration, emphasizing that curricular change was a social process involving an array of participants on the local school and community levels. Third, she focused generally on the democratic social learning environment of children in schools and articulated aspects of cooperative learning and other democratic procedures available to teachers. Fourth, she applied her ideas on a democratic social learning environment to specific areas of the curriculum, particularly to the social studies and to the elementary curriculum as a whole. A fifth theme emphasizes "process," or the "dynamics of change in curriculum matters" (letter to author from Kliebard 1994), and cooperative action research (Foshay 1994b) as the vehicles for curriculum development and improved school planning. Miel's advocacy of action research was based on her belief in testing "in a specific situation the findings of research carried on in other places and situations" in order to allow teachers and other participants to work together on school problems, try out and evaluate new procedures appropriate to their school setting, and gain new perspectives on their practices (Ambrose and Miel 1958).

Miel' s Career: An Overview

One of only a handful of doctoral students supervised by Hollis L. Caswell at Teachers College, Columbia University, Miel went on to a fruitful career there as an instructor, assistant and associate professor, and professor (1942-1971) and as head of the Department of Curriculum and Teaching (1960-1967). Her teaching and writings focused on democratic curriculum development and policy in local schools (e.g., *Cooperative Procedures in Learning, 1952; Changing the Curriculum: A Social Process,* 1946); social studies education (e.g., *More Than Social Studies: A View of Social Learning in the Elementary School,* with Peggy Brogan, 1957); and children's social and democratic values (e.g., *Children's Social Learning,* with Edna Ambrose, 1958). She was also involved in the action research movement of the 1950s and 1960s (e.g., *The Shortchanged Children of Suburbia,* 1967).

Miel's career at Teachers College, first as Caswell's student and, later, as faculty member and department chair, spanned the latter years of the College's preeminence as the "intellectual crossroads" of the progressive education movement under Dean James Earl Russell (Cremin 1961), its decline and disarray in the 1950s as the main target of conservatives who attacked progressive philosophy and demanded a return to the basics of schooling, and the shift of national mood again in the 1960s when Silberman and other humanist educators decried conformity and rigidity in school curricula and wanted to return the focus of education to the needs of individual learners (Zilversmit 1993).

In addition, Miel helped professional organizations that attended to the curriculum. She was one of the early presidents of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (1953-54). In fact, she succeeded Caswell, her mentor, and preceded in this role by two other Caswell advisees, William Alexander and Galen Saylor who were her classmates at Teachers College. She also edited ASCD's 1949 *Yearbook*. In the 1970s, she became a guiding influence in the founding of the World Council on Curriculum and Instruction (WCCI). She served as this group's first president and, later, in other capacities. The establishment of the WCCI was a natural outgrowth of her interest in improved curricula for all children and her work with doctoral students from all over the world. In addition, she played an active part in the Association for Childhood Education, International (ACEI), for many years.

Miel and Curriculum Development

The formative years for what would become the centerpiece of Miel's career in education can be traced to her experiences at Tappan Junior High School in Ann Arbor, Michigan, where in the early 1930s, she taught Latin, French, and history. Most importantly, her principal at Tappan was G. Robert Koopman, who led a "democratically run school" (Miel 1978), who nurtured her interest in the application of democratic principles to education, and who initiated the involvement of teachers, parents, and community members in curriculum development (Miel 1994; Berman, 1992).

Koopman put Miel in touch with Hollis Caswell in 1942. Caswell, then chairman of the newly organized Department of Curriculum and Teaching at Teachers College, Columbia University, had already enhanced the visibility of the curriculum field, developed the idea of method in curriculum making, focused attention on the process by which a variety of people interacted in order to make the curriculum, tried to reduce the gap between theory and practice by defining curriculum as actual experiences undergone by learners under the direction of the school, and provided a curriculum design that helped teachers to apply concepts from organized knowledge to the solution of social problems (Seguel 1966; Miel 1989; Burlbaw 1989).

Caswell encouraged Miel to attend Teachers College for her doctorate and offered her a position as part time instructor. He agreed to become her major advisor and helped her to formulate the problem of curriculum change as a social process for her dissertation (Miel 1978; Miel 1994; Berman 1992). Later published as *Changing the Curriculum: A Social Process* (1946), this work synthesized many of the ideas that she had developed with Koopman and Paul Misner, superintendent of the Glencoe, Illinois, public schools, on the processes of change in schools. She was interested in "ways of bringing about desirable changes in the curriculum at the local community level" (Berman 106). Miel devoted particular attention to cooperative procedures because she considered them essential to problem solving in a democracy, and to the fundamental importance of people having "the opportunity to determine purposes toward which they will work" (Berman 106).

To begin with, Miel argued that certain "cultural maladjustments" existed in the schools that caused them to lag behind society and sometimes to ignore social problems altogether. This tendency, in effect, made the curriculum "unreal" and "irrelevant" because the curriculum did not fit life as it was being lived in particular communities (Miel 1946; Miel 1994). A second, related basis of Miel's argument concerned crystallization as a recurring phenomenon in American education; that is, she criticized approaches to curriculum development that were good beginnings which had turned in upon themselves and had reached a point at which "an idea or habit is accepted uncritically so that it limits the integrity, autonomy, and opportunities for self expression of individuals and groups" (Miel 1946, 1).

The focus of Miel's attack on crystallization in curriculum development was the "course of study" approach to curriculum making that excluded teachers and members of the community. Through her experiences as a teacher in a school that developed curriculum "democratically" at the local level (see Koopman et.al. 1933), and later, through her exposure to the ideas of Caswell, Harold Rugg, George Counts, and L. Thomas Hopkins at Teachers College, she concluded that the curriculum development field had "simply stopped" at the point of written courses of study. "My enemy was this course of study," she explained, "and (this problem) just seemed worth spending time on...Someone could come up with a new course of study and call it `curriculum change,' but that wasn't the kind of change I wanted to see. Curriculum change should mean something that is growing and emerging" (Miel 1994).

Miel found that a statement by Harold Rugg (1926), one of her professors at Teachers College, captured the essential problem of the "crystallized" process of curriculum change:

> Partial, superficial, and timorous "revision" rather than general, fundamental, and courageous reconstruction characterizes curriculum making in the public schools... the existing program is always taken as the point of departure...Thus curriculum making becomes a process of accretion and elimination. There is little, indeed almost no movement under way in public schools to initiate curriculum making from the starting point either of child learning or of the institutions and problems of American life. For over fifty years, tinkering has characterized the attack on the curriculum. (426)

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Miel's Definitions and Conceptualizations of Curriculum Development

Miel defined "democratic cooperation" as "participation all along the line - in planning, in execution, and in appraisal of results; it is *not* cooperation if it means *you* help *me* to achieve *my* purpose" (1938, 343). As for the concept of "curriculum" itself, Miel continued to revise and refine a definition throughout her career, but the definition that she had developed by 1972 was the one with which she felt most comfortable: "a set of *intentions* about *opportunities for engagement* of persons to be educated with other persons and with things in certain arrangements of time and space" (Lewis and Miel 1972, 27). Though originally influenced by Caswell's definition of curriculum as experiences undergone by the learner under the school's guidance, she was later informed by Huebner's (1966a, 1966b) notion of "opportunities for engagement" and felt that his definition was less ambiguous than one that attempted to grapple with "experience" (Miel 1994).

With regard to the concept of curriculum *development*, however, she emphasized separating out the idea of *intentionality* in a definition of curriculum. "When you see curriculum as a set of intentions," she asserted, "then curriculum *planning* makes more sense as an activity once you know your intentions, you can begin to think about the process of developing them into curriculum" (Miel 1994). Consequently, because the school curriculum is a "changing assemblage of opportunities for educative experience," with a number of elements that must be "ordered and reordered," the process of curriculum planning and development "is a process of making many kinds of decisions", such as what is to be taught, to whom, when, how, under what circumstances, and how are results to be evaluated, to arrange learning opportunities (Miel 1960, 115).

> All curriculum decisions are governed by the basic values of the society and by the nature and scope of the responsibility which the community and the education profession have settled upon as appropriate for the school. In other words, those making curriculum decisions are working in a direction and within limits that have been agreed upon (1960, 116).

Miel continued, "It is the proper function of curriculum development to provide opportunities for experience which have educative potential for each student" (1960, 117).

Aspects of Curriculum Development

Clearly, Miel believed there was a "better way" to bring about curriculum change, first, by acknowledging that it is a type of *social* change.

Fundamentally, she argued that "the changes involved when the school curriculum is really modified are actually changes in the attitude and behavior of persons" (Miel 1946, 14). Most importantly, she believed that "a curriculum change has not actually occurred until it has been registered in the minds and hearts and habits of people" (1945, 189).

Miel also emphasized the social *learning* that took place through group efforts to effect change. She considered social learning to be "changes in understandings, attitudes, and skills that enable the individual to take a satisfying and useful place (in terms of democratic values) in the various groups with which he is associated" (Miel 1950-51). The overarching goal of social education was "democratic socialization of the individual, which is also a process for working toward the goal and which includes individuation and socialization as two sides of the same coin" (Miel 1950-51; see also Koopman, Miel, and Misner 1943; Miel 1949; Ambrose and Miel 1958). She asserted:

> The first and most important trend in the modern approach to curriculum change is the group approach. Education is a group-linked profession. (Teachers') education must be continuous. If we want the effort of these people to add up, then we ought to find ways for them to plan together and pool their strength." Teachers must ask, "What is this job we are trying to do? How are we doing it? How could we do it better? Using the group approach, we can get more consistency. People will build with each other rather than canceling out efforts. We can get more richness because different people will be willing to pool their particular interests and strengths (1957, 7).

Miel drew from social theory and from educational and social psychology to support her emphasis on appropriate group *processes* that could eventually bring about curriculum - and, therefore, social - change. The "cooperative way," according to Miel, meant that the group "made plans together for experimentation with teaching smaller groups to be followed by exchange of experiences, evaluation of results, and planning of next steps. That is the way real growth takes place" (1938, 44; Miel 1994). Miel added that group processes themselves "must contain (their) own guarantees if (they are) to be judged sound and adequate" for planning change; the guarantees that she considered essential included security, individual and group growth, and accomplishment (1946, 21).

She addressed human motivation as a fundamental factor in processes of change, arguing the importance of the group setting goals for itself, articulating its own values in operational terms, and utilizing dissatisfaction in bringing about change (1946, 33). Miel outlined three essential conditions of effective group endeavor as well: organization and purposeful participation, group solidarity and unity of purpose, and creative use of individual differences in a heterogeneous group setting (1946, 61). Additionally, Miel suggested that participants in the process of curriculum change operate continuously on the basis of new knowledge, with opportunities to "grow slowly and naturally toward new beliefs as the result of a series of experiences" (1938, 343); that "expertness" be developed along many lines and brought to bear on the process of change; and that educational leaders help to develop and extend techniques of group action (1946, 191; 1948, 300). Finally, she consistently stressed the obvious significance of *time* and *freedom* in a satisfactory process of curriculum development. She believed that participants must have sufficient time to work efficiently and to make progress, while they "must have assurance that they will be able to carry out plans that have been thoughtfully worked out and can be justified" (1948, 300; 1957, 7-10).

In broader terms, Miel's ideas on curriculum development suggested the reconfiguration of power relationships as decision making shifted to and diffused at the local school level. She maintained that "constructive social power" could be built in groups and individuals in order to "counteract destructive power tactics commonly employed by selfish or shortsighted individuals and interest groups in local communities" (1946, 191-192). Moreover, Miel stated that authority should be regarded "as something residing in a working group to be delegated to any and every person to whom it becomes desirable to assign responsibility" (1946, 192). She advocated the development of shared leadership "in every participant in the process of curriculum change, along with the ability to follow the lead of others" (1946, 192).

Some Implications of Miel's Work

Several characterizations and points of departure emerge from this account of Miel's approach to curriculum development. First, the essence of Miel's work in the curriculum field is an instance that curriculum must be developed at the local school level. This assumption clearly remains as problematic as it is true, partly because of the difficulty of defining and untangling the intertwined terms "curriculum" and "development." For instance, she appeared to understand "development" in at least two ways. On one hand, it consisted of the participants' agreement on topics, issues, factors in the environment, processes, and sources of ideas with regard to the curriculum. On the other hand, development meant the personal reeducation of the teacher.

Second, the curriculum becomes the teacher's meanings that guide his or her choice of emphasis, topic, time allocation, assignments, and so forth. Clearly, Miel believed that, if curriculum development meant the planning of learning opportunities, the most important factor was the teacher. "If that person doesn't become possessed of some new understanding, and new skills," she argued, "then you have not changed the curriculum" (1957, 5).

Second, Miel's view of cooperative curriculum development implies that one of the great strengths of this approach is how it strengthens each member of the group, "leading to efficient results and being within the concept of democratic action" (1947, 398). Further, Miel argued that "people must be helped to see that new ways and ideas can usually be made to work if they are thoughtfully selected as the basis of group action and if enough attention is given to making them work" (1946, 19).

Third, through her emphasis on collaborative decision making that included the involvement and interaction of teachers, administrators, community adults, pupils, *and* "expert" consultants in education, she addressed the gap between educational theory and practice that has long existed. Through the processes that she advocated, participants could discuss questions such as, "What do we mean by 'theory'? Who holds it? Where does it come from? Why should we consider a particular theory? How do *we* decide what is needed and how to do it?" In effect, Miel implied that the involvement of various participants in the curriculum development process *creates* a relationship between theory and practice and allows that relationship to flourish. Furthermore, participatory democracy "lets people have experiences so that they will have something to judge with otherwise, there will be gaps in experience and practice when someone is trying simply to push a new idea through" (Miel 1994).

Fourth, Miel believed that her research and observations in schools helped to explain why such efforts often fell by the wayside in actual school practice: they were "empty of the people who will have to carry them out" (Miel 1994). She held out more hope for the success of "grassroots" reform efforts at the local school level than those designed by academic, business, or political leaders, but she acknowledged that teachers' efforts failed when "people got tired of working this way, lost patience, and decided to take a `top-down' shortcut. It was quicker to tell people what to do - and to be told what to do" (Miel 1994).

Fifth, Miel admitted that the phenomenon of teachers in change posed its own problems, and that the "patience factor" was formidable in the curriculum development process. Her work continually emphasized that people need to feel comfortable with change, that much depended on how people built up their security and to what degree they felt their security to be threatened by change. For her, the advantages to working through group processes addressed these difficulties: she believed that working on problems "in the open" enabled participants to see evidence of "things that were not working," to identify changes that needed to be made, to "find like-minded people" with whom to work on particular problems, and, most importantly, to "move from mere griping to responsibility and action" (Miel 1994).

On the larger question of *schools* and social change, Miel did not see the school merely as a reactive institution or only as the target of social change efforts. Her conceptualization of the school's role was an active one, albeit indirect. She was influenced by Counts, Rugg, and other "social reconstructionists" in education and was informed by the stirring discourse in the 1930s on the question of whether the school dared to build a "new social order" (Counts, 1932). She did not, however, understand Counts to mean that people should have "ridiculous expectations" for the school to be directly responsible for social change. Rather, she claimed that the educational process - and the curriculum - should be "the beginning of helping children to understand social problems and to feel a responsibility for helping to solve them. If you have a curriculum where you're looking at community problems, drawing attention to certain issues, and helping children study them, you're already initiating a look at change" (Miel 1994). Moreover, addressing social problems was, for her, a natural outgrowth of the development of relationships between school and community. Schools were in a unique position to be influential, she posited, because they affected all children and their parents, and in many places one could see "shining examples" of education as a major factor in community solutions to problems.

Finally, all of the aforementioned implications of Miel's work are underscored by her firm belief that creativity thrived as groups worked together productively in the process of change, and that this type of creativity enhanced teaching and helped to accomplish social purposes:

> Creativity is something where everybody puts in a piece and together we can create an outstanding educational program, which is our product. The children coming through it are not products. They come out of the process, but we don't fashion and mold them like clay. All we can fashion is opportunities for them to have experience and the guidance we give them in trying to get something out of their experience. Together the teacher and the educational leader can create a curriculum, an educational program that we can all be proud of. Working in some of these ways will mean that we can have many more people in our profession whom we can call creative (1962, 28).

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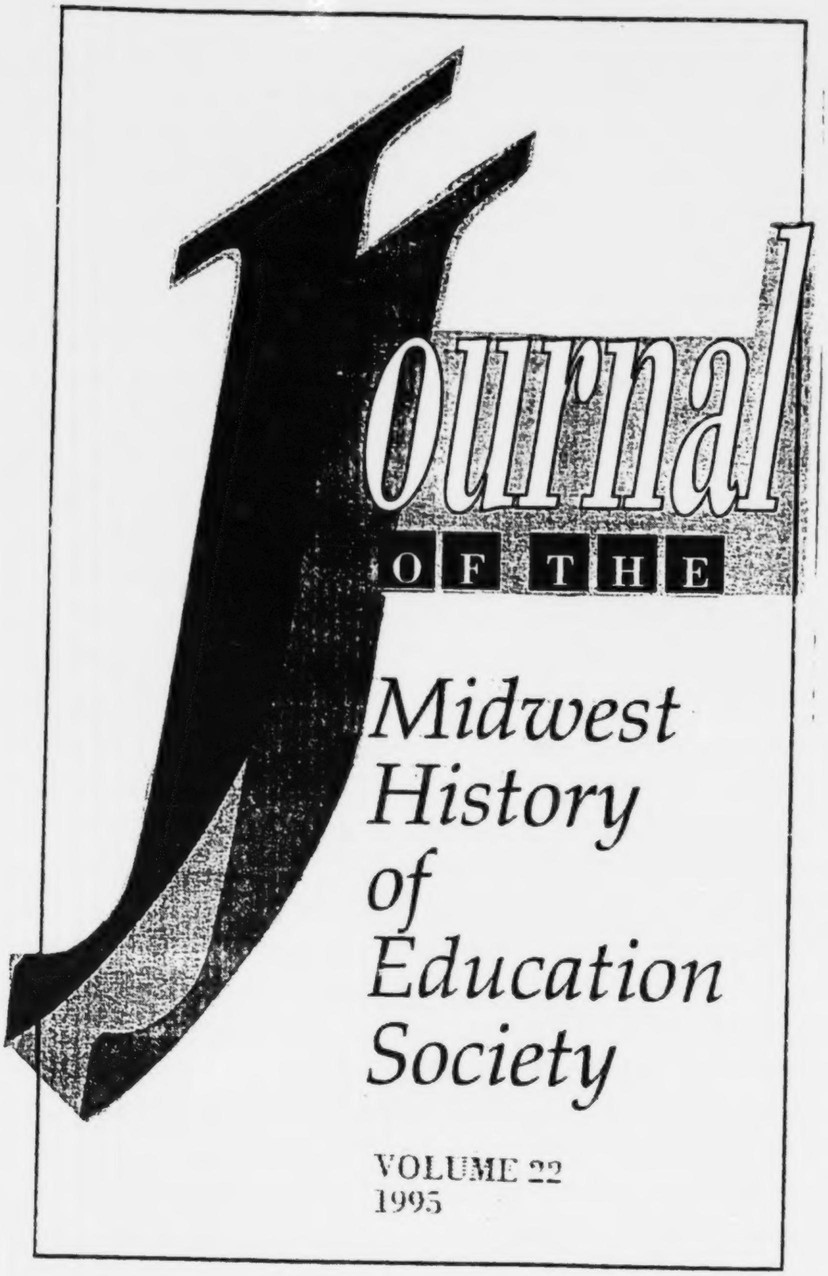

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E.D. Hirsch, Jr. and Carleton Washburne: Cultural Literacy and Progressive Education

Gloria Roth
Chicago, Illinois
Public Schools

The issues of cultural literacy and what Americans need to know have been two of the most controversial in American education. One of the leading advocates of cultural literacy, E.D. Hirsch, Jr., has argued that Progressive education played a major role in the demise of the teaching of history and traditional culture. Specifically, Hirsch targets creation of social studies. Social studies, Hirsch argued, contributed to the decline of history teaching, the loss of shared historical information and ultimately a fragmentation of our common culture. Earlier, however, Carleton Washburne, Superintendent of the Winnetka Schools from 1919-1943 and progressive educator, compiled a list of people, places, and events related to history and geography comparable to Hirsch's vision. The list was created in order to identify definable common knowledge that all students in Winnetka Schools must know to communicate effectively and for effective learning to take place.

Hirsch's Criticism of Progressive Education

In his influential book, *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know,* E.D. Hirsch, Jr. pointed directly to progressive education as the key factor behind the problems American students have with the subject of history. Hirsch charged that over the past fifty years, the faulty educational theories of Rousseau and Dewey have replaced traditional content-oriented curriculum by curriculum favoring abstract skills development. Specifically, Hirsch argued that these theories have led to the disappearance of history from the curriculum.

Hirsch argued that:

> Believing that a few direct experiences would suffice to develop the skills that children require, Dewey assumed that early education need not be tied to specific content.

> He placed too much faith in children's ability to learn general skills from a few typical experiences and too hastily rejected "the piling up of information."[1]

However, as Hirsch pointed out, "only by piling up specific, communally shared information can children learn to participate in complex cooperative activities with other members of their community."[2]

Unfortunately, Hirsch contended, the faulty theories of Rosseau and Dewey have taken hold of American education and supplanted the focus on traditional content with a new focus on a variety of courses to meet the educational needs of the many instead of the chosen few. Hirsch saw the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* as the vehicle for these changes. According to Hirsch, the aims implicit in the *Cardinal Principles* combined many new conceptions, but fundamentally they rested on the ideas of Jean Jacques Rousseau and John Dewey. Educators latched on to Rousseau's notion of the significance of first-hand experiential education over abstract bookish education. Hirsch noted those educators believed "the most appropriate replacement for bookish, traditional culture would be material that is directly experienced and immediately useful to life in society."[3] According to this theory, history was a flat indirect subject without obvious social utility, which missed the dimension of direct experience. This view of history is precisely what Hirsch decried, claiming that history was pushed out of the American curriculum as soon as educators viewed it "as an indirect and inefficient means of achieving the social goals of inculcating the traditions and duties of Americans."[4] He pointed out that

> social studies courses were directed to the activities of life rather than to the demands of any subject as a logically organized science. But since the application of social studies to the activities of life were infinitely various, different schools came to teach different sorts of information in them, and the transformation of history into social studies led inexorably to a lack of shared historical information.[5]

Hirsch argued that the lack of shared historical information has resulted in a fragmentation of our common culture and a fragmentation of the American school curriculum. He admonished the educational community for not doing its fundamental duty "to teach shared content."[6] He specifically blamed Dewey and Rousseau, but he generally targeted progressive education for this fragmentation. Hirsch believed that education professors and policy makers approved and adopted the theories of the progressive education movement, and as a consequence American education has deteriorated.

Ultimately, Hirsch blamed the decline of American education on our reluctance to decide "what knowledge is of most worth" to teach children.

He also pointed to the decentralization of the elementary school system itself. "Americans have hesitated to make a decision about the specific knowledge that children need to learn in school. Our elementary schools are not only dominated by the content-neutral ideas of Rousseau and Dewey, they are also governed by approximately sixteen thousand independent school districts."[7] Indeed, Hirsch maintained that the problem was worse than it seemed. He argued, "the American curriculum is fragmented both horizontally across subjects and vertically within subjects. For one student in grade nine, social studies may focus on family relations; for another, the focus may be on ancient history."[8] Moreover, just because a course shared the same name with a course in another school, there was no guarantee students were learning the same thing. Educational authority was in so many people's hands that it became hopelessly diffuse. Hirsch argued, "We have viewed this dispersion of educational authority as an insurmountable obstacle to altering the fragmentation of the school curriculum. We have permitted school policies that have shrunk the body of information that Americans share."[9]

The problems also related to teacher education courses in which teachers were taught how to teach skills, and they in turn taught skills--not content. Hirsch expounded, "teachers are not expected to have mastered particular factual and traditional information of any special academic discipline; they are trained only to impart skills."[10] The emphasis on skills over content was a monumental educational mistake: "To miss the opportunity of teaching young (and older) children the traditional materials of literate culture is a tragically wasteful mistake that deprives them of information they would continue to find useful in later life."[11] Moreover, according to Hirsch, "the inevitable effect of this fundamental educational mistake has been a gradual disintegration of cultural memory, causing a gradual decline in our ability to communicate."[12]

Hirsch believed that the ever-widening gap in our ability to communicate was the fault of progressive educators: He asserted "the polarization of educationists into facts-people versus skills-people has no basis in reason. Facts and skills are inseparable."[13] Learning facts is an everyday activity for young people. They learn minute details concerning baseball, football, and basketball stars.

> The old prejudice that facts deaden the minds of children has a long history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries but it isn't facts that deadened minds of young children, who are storing facts in their minds every day with astonishing voracity. It is incoherence --our failure to ensure that a pattern of shared, vividly taught, and socially enabling knowledge will emerge from our instruction.[14]

Hirsch suggested "'a radical change in school policy,' underwritten by a new 'corrective theory'--an anthropological theory of education based on the anthropological observation that all human communities are founded upon specific shared information."[15] His theory for educational reform would 'break the cycle' of illiteracy by changing the fragmented curriculum to a unified, integrated one. In order to do this, American educationists must identify and define the common knowledge that is used every day in order to communicate, and then they must build a curriculum around it. As Hirsch stated, "the remedy must be to institute a policy of imparting common information in our schools."[16] With that goal in mind, Hirsch collaborated with Joseph Kett and James Trefil on compiling a list, or index, of what the common reader should know.

Was Hirsch right in this assessment of progressive reform? The next section of this paper will consider Hirsch's accusations in the context of a representative progressive school district.

Winnetka As a Model Progressive School System

The Winnetka Public School System became nationally renowned in 1919, when Carleton Washburne became the superintendent of its schools. According to Washburne, the Winnetka Public Schools "became the first progressive public schools of the century and were known throughout the world for the effectiveness of their education."[17] For the next two decades, according to Lora Townsend Dickinson, "Carleton Washburne brought the Winnetka schools national and international recognition as a center of progressive education."[18]

Many educators and scholars have recognized and singled out Winnetka and its school system as a national laboratory for educational innovation from the early 1920s to the early 1940s. For example, Lawrence Cremin pointed to 1919 "as the year that a relatively different venture in public school progressivism began in Winnetka, Illinois when Carleton Washburne assumed the superintendency of schools there."[19] John Tewksbury, in his mammoth historical study of the Winnetka Public Schools, stated that "the Winnetka schools were unique, because they combined in one place so many of the new approaches to education developed during the first half of the twentieth century."[20] J. Minor Gwynn underscored this belief when he stated, "Perhaps the most outstanding system wide movement in curriculum revision was that which was in operation from 1919 in Winnetka, Illinois."[21] *The Encyclopedia of Education* (1971), in its article on the progressive education movement, called the Winnetka schools representative of progressive systems of the 1920s.

Washburne and the Social Studies

When Washburne took the helm in Winnetka in 1920, he encouraged the faculty to do research studies in order to change the social studies curriculum. At the same time, vigorous national criticism of the courses in the social sciences had prompted reorganization and research by other school systems. Noted educator Harold Rugg and his associates at the Lincoln School of Teachers College, Columbia University, had already begun to answer the criticism leveled against the existing social studies courses and the methods by which they were organized. Rugg's group had conducted investigations into what subject matter in science and social studies was essential to solving problems in terms of facts, concepts, and relationships, and proceeded to produce an experimental edition of seventh- and eighth-grade social studies pamphlets.

According to Tewksbury, "one of the principal features of the Rugg material was that information from many disciplines was integrated and presented to the reader in the form of units."[22] Washburne shared the belief that a single course of study that would draw from history, geography, and civics would be superior to the existing one covering them as separate disciplines. According to Tewksbury, "Washburne was familiar with Harold Rugg's initial efforts and wanted to use Rugg's text material in Winnetka."[23] The material for both grades dealt primarily with the major trends of societal development and were, according to Washburne, "an excellent beginning for a social studies course of study."[24] Washburne and his staff adopted the Rugg materials for the seventh and eight grade as did hundreds of other school systems across the country, as soon as they were available in the early 1920s.

According to Tewksbury, "because of the availability of these materials for older children, and because of the dearth of the type of materials Washburne wanted for younger children, he decided to focus his attention on developing a social studies fact course for younger children."[25] Washburne's faculty then formed a social science seminar in order to conduct research for creating a course of study in social studies for the first through sixth grades. Washburne said simply that these studies "had as their object the improvement of the content and the methods of instruction in the elementary grades."[26]

Washburne's initiation of research to change and improve the social studies program generated virtually no controversy. The new faculty was familiar with the existing program and found it wanting. One of the many questions raised by the teachers concerning what they were teaching in social studies and the usefulness of the texts they were using was "Did the books contain, and did the curriculum call for the study of facts that the children might be expected to use frequently in the present, and in their later life?"[27]

In an article in the *Journal of Educational Research,* Washburne explained and summarized the Winnetka social studies research. He stated that the entire study was organized around one question, "What notable places, persons, and events should be presented to children in the public school curriculum?"[28] Washburne believed wholeheartedly in finding the answer to the question through scientific investigation. Moreover, he said, "the answer probably can be secured by scrutinizing the usages of intelligent adults. The children should be taught the facts which as a man he will need to know."[29]

The scientific development of a curriculum was central to Washburne's philosophy, and for Washburne that meant a commitment to research studies. Ultimately, this was the underlying force behind his philosophy. According to George Thompson, "the social studies curriculum that was developed in Winnetka was radically different from the more traditional social studies curricula across the nation."[30] Before discussing the details of the study produced by the Winnetka Social Science Seminar, it is appropriate to illuminate the unique component behind the research that served to make Winnetka's social studies course different from all others. Fundamentally, it was Carleton Washburne's philosophy at work.

Washburne's Philosophy

Carleton Washburne's philosophy was synonymous with the doctrine stated by his good friend and mentor, Frederick Burk, who held that "there is a body of common knowledge that must be learned one way or another, some time or another, if people of any culture are to exchange ideas, thoughts, and information."[31] Washburne believed this doctrine to be a fundamental principle in education. When some progressive educators opposed this idea, Washburne explained that "if forced into a corner, they will grudgingly admit that of course there are some things that everyone needs to know."[32]

Ultimately, according to Washburne, the progressive educators who were against learning facts, believed over time "that these things will be learned inevitably and incidentally just through living or when the need arises, if the child has skill in using reference material he can fulfill the need for himself."[33] The reality was that these same progressive educators were afraid of falling back to old patterns. That is why, according to Washburne, "these educators warned against making lists of places or persons or dates or scientific principles that everybody must know that is what killed the joy of learning, what sterilized the educative process in the traditional school."[34]

Washburne acknowledged "that the fear of a fixed, over-planned, stereotyped curriculum is a well-founded fear, based on past, and, too often, current practice in schools but the righteous revolt against this practice must not carry us to the opposite extreme of planlessness and a failure to coordinate the work of successive levels."[35]

On the contrary, Washburne argued that "part of the business of the schools was to find out specifically what the common essentials of communication and social interaction are."[36] He argued further, that it was the job of wise and technically trained teachers to play a vital part in helping the child to select and organize those things which he needs and desires to learn,"[37] and to help him learn them. Washburne emphasized the importance of a common body of knowledge by describing the deficits one faces without it.

> Without the common base of understanding and knowledge, expressible in a common language, self expression is thwarted. An individual has no sense of security. . . a realization of social integration cannot be achieved. The coordinated work, the specialization and exchange of labor that make society an organic whole, are impossible.[38]

Washburne was convinced that

> a child has an instinctive craving for knowledge based on the fundamental tendency and need to communicate. Moreover, he points out that a child has an inherent need for systemization of knowledge, and the demands upon him, of the world which is essential to effective living.[39]

Washburne maintained that students needed to have knowledge of the vocabulary of "common currency" found in the daily newspapers, in magazines, in conversation and in books. It is a vocabulary of associations or allusions, that we share with others in our society without which understanding is lost. Washburne elaborated, "If a person does not know whether Paris is a city, a mountain, or a river, he cannot read or converse intelligently with people who assume that he has this knowledge."[40] In order to discover the requisite "allusions," students needed to know, teachers who formed the Winnetka Social Science Seminar surveyed periodicals to provide the necessary list of items. He stressed the fact that "since many writers of books also write for periodicals, the allusions in one are probably those of the other. The seminar therefore decided to investigate the allusions in periodicals."[41]

Determining the Program

Crucial to interpreting the method that Washburne and his teachers chose to develop was an awareness of two underlying themes in his philosophy: his wholehearted belief that learning could not be left to purely incidental and haphazard stimuli and his sensitivity to the importance of content as fundamental to creating a good program. Over and above these two themes was the one criterion used to plan systematically the curriculum and that was the criterion of use.

Washburne defined two uses of subject matter. He said, "one is the vocabulary use. To talk with each other and to read intelligently, we must be familiar with those persons, places, events, concepts and scientific facts to which common allusion is made."[42] The second use that Washburne turned to was the ability "to have access in our thinking, and in our action based on thought, to those facts, relationships and concepts which have a direct bearing upon problems we are almost sure to have to help solve."[43]

Both uses of information can be determined by research. Along with the criterion of use for subject matter there were two "sub" principles of Washburne's educational philosophy that spurred this departure from the more standard approaches being used throughout the country. These two principles were: the principle of functionality and the need of an education for world-mindedness. Washburne's most concise description of the principle of functionality is "we have no right to induce a child to acquire any knowledge, skill, or convention which we are not reasonably sure, from objective evidence, will be used by him."[44]

The first principle, functionality, was equally applicable to all curricular subjects. But the second principle, world-mindedness, applied particularly to social studies. Washburne believed in the interdependence of all human beings. According to Washburne,

> The fundamental purpose of the social studies course was at all times to awaken children and students to the realization that we are all members one of another, that the long-run good of the individual is inextricably bound up with the long-run good of society. Society is not made up of isolated groups; it is an organic, worldwide whole.[45]

Washburne was unequivocal when he explained that in preparing the social studies course, "one is not exclusively concerned with facts. The focus must be woven together in such a way as to produce certain desirable attitudes."[46] He went on to single out two attitudes which he said were of primary concern when organizing the history work in Winnetka: "First, a depth of understanding of American culture and institutions, and second a breadth of understanding which will include America's relationship to other nations."[47] Washburne maintained that "a depth of understanding of our country necessitates a world background."[48] He then named particular markers that explain the deep rootedness of American institutions. He argued that

> children must have an understanding of our American heritage from the philosophy of Greece, to the religion of

> Judea, to the laws of Rome, to the discoveries of the Renaissance, to Anglo-Saxon struggles for individual liberty and the struggle for liberty of thinking that came later in the Reformation, to the ideals of the Pilgrims and the early settlers in America, to our frontier days, to the Declaration of Independence and the making of the American Constitution, to the industrial revolution as factories and machines began to replace man's work, and so on up to the cementing of our nation in the civil War and to the problems of the present day.[49]

Although Hirsch quarreled with progressivism in education, on closer examination he and Washburne, the consummate progressive, share many common beliefs. Both shared a belief in the importance of all Americans knowing a specific "critical mass" of information.

Similar Methods in Developing the List

The Winnetka Social Science Seminar that drew up Washburne's list comprised twelve to fifteen well-trained and experienced teachers who met once a week from September 1920 to May 1922 for discussion and research. Their work was funded by the Commonwealth Fund, a subsidiary of the Rockefeller Foundation. According to Washburne, "the group read 266 magazines and newspapers which represented eighteen different periodicals and which covered nearly every month of the last eighteen years."[50] He further explained that "from these periodicals every allusion to persons, places, events, and dates was culled, with careful note of the place and date of its occurrence."[51] The periodicals to be used were decided upon based upon the type of subject matter covered. According to Washburne,

> the seminar group used four literary periodicals: *Atlantic, Bookman, Century, Scribner's;* five popular fiction periodicals: *American, Cosmopolitan, Saturday Evening Post, Ladies' Home Journal, Good Housekeeping;* five news periodicals: *World's Work, Literary Digest, Outlook, New Republic, Nation;* and four newspapers: *New York Times, Chicago Tribune, Chicago Herald-Examiner, Christian Science Monitor.*[52]

Washburne explained further, "we chose about fifteen issues of each of these periodicals, three every third year, in such a way that one periodical or another covered almost every month of every year from 1905 to May, 1922."[53] According to Washburne, "on our final list, we included only those names, dates, and events which occurred in more than 6 periodical-years."[54] The Seminar also consulted the best authorities to reaffirm the importance of specific items. According to Washburne, "these authorities include some source materials, some works on recent research in the field, and some advanced standard works, such as the Britannica."[55] Tabulations on the number of these allusions most frequently written about were recorded, and the final list was created from this.

Hirsch, whose field is English, created his list with collaborative assistance from a scientist, James Trefil, and a historian, Joseph Kett. The Exxon Education Foundation funded the Hirsch, Kett, Trefil project. According to Hirsch, "each of them took the primary responsibility for developing the vocabulary [items] within his field, consulting numerous sources--indexes, reference books, textbooks, general books, magazines; one combed through a large dictionary page by page."[56] The three also looked at each other's list and then submitted the final list to more than a hundred consultants. They also asked John Castern, then Secretary of Education of the Commonwealth of Virginia, dean of the Graduate School of Education at Berkeley, and Diane Ravitch, educational historian and professor at Teachers College, Columbia University,78 to examine and give suggestions about the list.

The Lists

Hirsch's list had 4,547 items on it, while Washburne's had 1,439. Washburne's list was compiled by using names of people, places, and events related to history and geography to which frequent allusions were made. Hirsch's list was compiled similarly, only he extended it to cover many other categories, including terminology related to science, economics, business, art, music, psychology, math, medicine, anatomy, literature, law, politics, and grammar. He also included foreign phrases, names of famous literary characters, book titles, song titles, names of myths and the gods associated with them, references to religion, holidays, geography, and famous sayings.

In order to compare both lists and to form a conclusion of just how similar the two are, given the seventy years separating their creation, I recorded all the items on Hirsch's list that covered the same categories as did Washburne's, up to and including 1922. My list included all religious references, U.S. holidays, geographic place names, and historical names. I eliminated terminology associated with the above categories not utilized by Washburne. Of course, a person's name, place, or event that occurred after 1922 was automatically eliminated as well.

Allowing for all of these delimiting criteria, I arrived at a reduced total from Hirsch's list of what knowledge is most worth knowing of 1,180. Matching these items to Washburne's list of 1,439 items reveals an amazing similarity. Almost sixty percent of the items on both lists is identical. Six hundred ninety-six of Washburne's items are on Hirsch's list of 1,180.

The similarity is evident in many areas. Both contain the same presidents, including Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln. Woodrow Wilson was the last one Washburne included. Both contain the same battles: Waterloo, Lexington, Yorktown, Gettysburg, and Bunker Hill. Both contain the same cultural references: the Statue of Liberty, Wall Street, Uncle Sam, Union, Columbus, Valley Forge, Salem witch trials, Wright Brothers, Pilgrims, Monroe Doctrine, General Custer, Aaron Burr, Coney Island, Nobel Prize, Harlem, Federal Reserve, Benedict Arnold, Appomattox, and prohibition, just to name a few. Furthermore, both lists contain all of the states of the union, including Hawaii and Alaska and large cities in America and throughout the world, from Birmingham, Alabama to Baghdad and Bombay; from Nantucket and Nashville to Munich and Madrid; from Dallas and Des Moines to Dublin, Belfast, Peking, and Berlin. Hirsch's list includes more African cities and countries than Washburne's, undoubtedly as a result of national movements after World War II.

There is an additional duplication in items that name leaders or kings and queens such as Charles I, George III, Henry VIII, Louis XIV, Marie Antoinette, Robespierre, Napoleon, William the Conqueror, and Charlemagne. Hirsch and Washburne include the same references to music such as Beethoven, Bach, Brahms, Chopin, Liszt, Mendelssohn, Mozart, Schubert, Strauss, Tchaikovsky, Handel, George M. Cohan, Gilbert and Sullivan, and Caruso.

Religious references are another area in which the same names and terms are found. Both lists contain Abraham and Isaac, Jacob and Esau, Christ, Buddha, Confucius, Mohammed, Moses, Mormon, Moslem, Jew, Jesuit, Presbyterian, Catholic, Protestant, Quaker, Solomon, and the Vatican.

The greatest duplication occurs in two areas: names of countries and names of literary people. Here the scope is greatest, as well. Both lists contain countries ranging from Austria, Australia, and Japan to Ireland, Afghanistan, and Syria, and include such non-western countries as Ecuador, Guatemala, Peru, Costa Rica, Chile, Borneo; and cities such as Delhi, Cairo, Damascus, Alexandria, and Buenos Aires. The literary figures ran the gamut from Nathaniel Hawthorne to Oscar Wilde and from the Brontes to Alexander Pope. George Bernard Shaw, Henry Fielding, Flaubert, and Joseph Conrad are also on both lists.

Conclusion

Given the strong resemblance of both lists, it is apparent that Hirsch was too quick to condemn the progressive philosophy of education. Carleton Washburne, the most famous progressive superintendent of the era, followed almost the plan and method that Hirsch proposes for today.

Moreover, there was substantial agreement between Washburne and Hirsch in general beliefs. Essentially they both believed that there was a body of identifiable and definable common knowledge that all Americans must know. They both believed that the acquisition of this knowledge was critical in order to communicate effectively in society and for effective learning to take place. They shared in the belief that this knowledge can be taught systematically to all students.

In the final analysis, Hirsch acknowledged that schools need progressive methods coupled with traditional content. Hirsch's assertion is not a new idea; in fact it is an old, Progressive idea, and it is just as valid today as it was seventy years ago when expounded by Washburne.

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ENDNOTES

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Educational Alternatives in the Public Schools: 1900 to 1960

William C. Purves
University of Michigan

This paper reviews much of the literature on the history of alternative and experimental programs in the public schools from 1900 to 1960 and sorts it into two main categories. The first contains histories or accounts of individual programs or schools, while the second includes histories of education in the twentieth century or the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In general, there was an overwhelming concern with the Progressive Era, perhaps because there was little experimentation going on in the public schools after the nineteen thirties, although some of the sources point in different directions. There is little consensus in what I read on what "progressivism" meant and I will not enter the fray here. Progressivism generally was used to describe an array of trends and movements during the Progressive Era, from the late nineteenth century through the first two decades of the twentieth. Others would argue about the dates as well.

I first want to discuss two issues of definition, one being what "alternative" or "experimental" meant, and the other being when does a program cease to be alternative, especially if some of its precepts are accepted into conventional wisdom or practice. What was considered alternative or experimental in 1918 might look very different from an alternative program in the late 1950s. Therefore, I relied on the labels of the era or the labels others applied back towards the era. This seemed to work fairly well since by the turn of the century and certainly by World War One there was a consistent view and continued conversation about experimental schools and alternative methods of education. This was perhaps due to the reform focus of the times and the new sciences and experimental methodologies. Most of the conversation in the first three to four decades of this century centered on the Progressive Movement; indeed, it was difficult to find information on any alternatives that were not associated with the progressives.

The second question centered on when an alternative or experiment stopped being so. For example, when did kindergarten cease to be an alternative or experimental program and become an established part of

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the public school system? Vocational education raises the same issues. Even though some experiments were never integrated in public schools at large, some of the attitudes and approaches tested during the Progressive Era have had a profound influence on how public schools have operated since. Several elements from that time continue today: the general disappearance of rote learning; the view of children as individuals having a variety of needs; and the use of projects, group work, life skills, etc. all continue in many elementary and high schools today. The long term effects of educational alternatives is perhaps one of the more tantalizing avenues for future research.

I looked only at public schools, as opposed to private, in part due to my own interests in improving public schools today, in part due to the complexities of innovation within public schools, and in part due to the relationship of the public schools to the society at large. Public schools are both a reflection of society and the main vehicle for producing members of society. There was a great deal of interaction between public and private schools during the Progressive Era, especially as reforms were promulgated, so the distinction may be in some ways an artificial one. What this paper will not deal with is the rhetoric about alternatives, the philosophy of schools or school reform, or the people who moved these programs forward. I am interested in the programs themselves, what they looked like, how they came about, and how they ended up.

Several different types of histories emerged, each containing several trends. Most of the writings on educational experiments and alternatives in the twentieth century deal with progressivism in some capacity. The first group deals with the effects and nature of progressivism in a general sense, and most of these writings are the larger histories of education, as well as some scholarly articles. The views range from that of R. Freeman Butts (1953, 591) who characterizes all of twentieth century as modern and sees American education as an experiment stemming from the Progressive Era to historians such as Newton Edwards and Diane Ravitch who consider progressivism a movement without a distinctive philosophy and with limited effects.

Within the study of the larger movement, however, there are several strands of research. The first deals with the various plans and programs developed during the first three decades of this century. Winnetka, Dalton, Gary, and others are the most widely studied and explored, although other cities and groups certainly disseminated information as well. At the same time, there are contemporary critiques of public education and examinations of innovative programs. Though not strictly history, the latter were generally written after the schools were started and serve to recount the events and circumstances of formation as well as describe the school or program as it existed. The following items fall into this category: Washburne's writings on the Winnetka plan (1929), Parkhurst's description of the Dalton plan (1924), Agnes De Lima's work on the state of experimental education in the late teens and early twenties (1926), and the Dewey's account of experimental education (1915).

Finally, there is a group of papers on specific types of reforms or groups within the reform period. Centralization of districts, particularly urban districts, is discussed here as well, but I will not explore it in any depth as it lies outside the boundaries of this paper. A second set of articles deals with the role of teachers in the Progressive Movement. There is a certain amount of disagreement over how much teachers participated in the spread of progressive ideas reflected in these papers.

Examination of the Literature

Outlines and histories of the various plans and programs proposed in the early years of this century often began with those closest to them. Washburne wrote various accounts of the Winnetka plan (1929; 1932; 1963), as did contemporaries of the Dalton plan (Parkhurst 1924). The Gary plan, or platoon schooling, attracted great attention throughout the country and the world, and several pieces were written about it (Spain 1924; Flexner 1918; Bourne 1916; Bourne 1970). The plan attracted many people from across the political spectrum.

The other relevant type of account from the period was the review of educational programs and experiments around the country. Agnes De Lima's collection of *New Republic* articles, *Our Enemy The Child* (1926), was by far the most complete. She spent several years tracking down programs, observing schools and classes, and interviewing teachers, professors, and students. Even with the author's agenda, the book provides the only overview of the range of activities carried out during the 1910s and 1930s. Another broad review of programs is found in *Schools of Tomorrow* by John and Evelyn Dewey (1915). An example of a work on a specific program is Ellsworth Collings' *An Experiment with a Project Curriculum* (1923), which examines the author's own research in local public schools.

Current scholarship on these plans seems relatively sparse. There is an anthology of oral histories published in 1976, *Roots of Open Education in America*, collected by Ruth Dropkin and Arthur Tobier, but this work offers no analysis or contextualization. Carol O'Connor (1980) wrote a piece on the application of the Dalton plan in Scarsdale, New York. She concluded that this application, and others, helped set the standard for suburban schools from the 1930s onwards. Ronald Cohen described the Gary plan as an example of the growth and spread of a progressive educational program. He claims that aspects of the plan worked themselves into all public schools in the country over time. More recent work on the Gary schools includes Cohen's *Children of the Mill* (1990).

Many authors look at the application of general ideas in a specific geographical area. McBride's article (1974) on industrial education in Massachusetts from 1900 to 1917 and James' paper (1988) on reforms in the Navajo schools in the 1930s fall into this category. Several dissertations look at the impact of progressive ideas in general and not necessarily at alternative programs. Among these are Getz's (1990) research on New Mexico in the 1920s and 1930s, part of Moyer's (1986) study of progressivism in Arkansas, and Link's (1981) investigation of rural school reform in Virginia, and Prewett's 1993 analysis of Alabama's educational efforts.

The disagreement over the role of the teacher in the Progressive Movement was the closest thing to a scholarly debate in the material. During the summer of 1967, two articles about the role of teachers in the progressive education movement were published in *History of Education Quarterly*. Gary Peltier wrote about the beginnings of the Denver curriculum revision program from 1922 to 1928. He saw the teachers as pivotal and the administration as facilitating the central position of the teachers in the reform process. In the same volume, William Issel looked at Pittsburgh and concluded that from 1904, teachers have played a major role in transforming the schools. The then newly formed Pittsburgh Teacher's Association pressured the administration and won reforms in setting up special schools for truants, instituting industrial education, reducing overcrowding, advancing public health, and implementing a school code.

In 1976, Wayne Urban reached an opposite conclusion after looking at reform movements in Atlanta, Chicago, and New York. Although Urban was looking primarily at centralization of governance, he found that organized teachers were neither educational nor political progressives. Teachers were often opposed to progressive reforms because they were more concerned with their economic well being and with job security.

Ravitch considered curriculum revision and the role of teachers and administrators in some depth in *The Troubled Crusade* (1983) and seems to agree with Urban. She generalizes about the curriculum revision process coming primarily from administrators who saw the progressive light and initiated a training program in their schools. Ravitch describes several accounts in which teachers resisted the changes and were fired for doing so. Her account of the progressive reforms and alternatives is one of the fuller ones contained in any of the general histories of education. Few of the volumes give more than a short section to the progressive educational experiments, let alone any other alternatives in U.S. public education.

In a very useful book, Tyack (1974) covers administrative progressives, who he says enjoyed a great deal of success in moving their reforms through the public school system. Tyack makes short shrift of those he calls the libertarian or educational progressives, who "had little practical impact on urban schools" (196). Other authors sound similar refrains. Though Meyer gives a whole chapter to progressivism, he concludes that progressives played essentially a gadfly role. Only the best of their ideas were adopted by the slower moving public schools.

On the other hand, Butts, Edwards, and Ravitch assess the impact of the educational progressives. Their conclusions about the long term effects of the educational progressives revolved around four core ideas. First, progressive efforts broke the lock step of formalism and formal learning. Second, the progressive educators placed the needs of the individual child first. Third, they made educators aware of the importance of experience and purposeful activity. Fourth, they influenced the adoption of teaching methods and curriculum that stressed the importance of developing personality and improving behavior.

This is one of the more fundamental historical arguments about the Progressive Era and points in definite directions for future research. There remains a great deal more to be explored and explained in a number of areas.

Future Research

With regard to the direction future research might take, there is a fair amount of work to be done. The first area is to increase the number of case studies of specific schools, districts, cities, and programs. The second is to build on this work in the general histories. In many of these, there is little to be said about innovations in education. Although as one gets closer to the present, the chapters tend to get longer and more detailed. Within this framework I propose the following projects or areas of research.

First, there is some work on the administrative progressives, but less on the educational progressives. I do not want to confuse the matter here. I am not suggesting more work on the history of ideas or writings of the educational thinkers of the early twentieth century. I seek answers to the following questions: What kinds of programs were being tried in schools? How did they get into the schools; that is, who initiated them and who supported them? Did social, religious, and ethnic groups fight over curricular reforms in the same way that Mirel (1993), Urban (1976), and Shrader (1980) documented that they battled over administrative reforms?

Second, a great need exists for work on what reform programs of the Progressive Era were adopted and put into widespread use in other U.S. public school systems. How did these ideas spread? What were the patterns of their dissemination? O'Connor (1980) provides one of the few accounts I could find of the spread of one such program, the Dalton plan. She concludes that only wealthier suburbs could put these plans into place. How true is this statement? Did urban districts attempt these sorts of reforms in the same way Mirel (1993) showed that Detroit adopted the platoon aspects of the Gary plan? Ravitch (1983) goes into some detail on the patterns of the spread of curriculum reform in her chapter on progressivism. More research is definitely called for. A follow up question would be the following: which of these ideas is at work today?

Third, there is a great geographic disparity in the research to date. The work has been concentrated on urban education, principally in the East Coast and the Midwest in large and well publicized programs. There is a need for research on alternative programs in the South and in the West, particularly in rural areas. If such programs did not exist in certain geographic areas, why then were they concentrated in particular places?

Fourth, the relationship between ethnicity, race, class, and experimental education needs to be addressed, as almost no research on this subject exists. Most questions in this area are rather basic. What was the relationship? In the 1970s and 1980s, the new and the alternative programs tended to be in wealthier districts. Was this true at other points during the century? There is some evidence to suggest that this was the case, notably the Scarsdale, Winnetka, and other suburban programs, but more research is needed to explore whether there is a historical pattern or if this is a recent development.

Fifth, whether alternative programs existed in the 1950s is a question justified by the lack of material on the period following World War Two. One gets the impression that with the death throes of the progressives, the alternatives stop until the late 1960s. Mitchell (1950) merely hints about this time period.

All in all, the possibilities are rich. I am particularly interested in the geographic question and in the post World War Two era. The beginnings of the civil rights movement brought in a number of changes. Accounts of new kinds of schools and education, such as Dropkin's, are fairly easy to find. What was going on elsewhere, outside of this movement, under the shadow of the McCarthy hearings and the dawn of the Cold War? This information is harder to find.

A specific project that would address both of these areas would be a look at a program in Holtville, Alabama covered by *Life* magazine in 1941 and a paragraph by Mitchell. The program had been established for ten years and representatives of all community organizations met several times a year to decide what share each organization, including the schools, was going to take in the solution of community problems.

In the larger picture, this could affect the assessments of such programs in the general educational histories. The *Life* magazine reference came from Ravitch and was in a footnote after a section on innovative programs. How innovative was it really and how uniform was the group in which Ravitch placed it? What were the differences along many of the points I outlined above? There is a great need to press the issue of specificity of historical research on education, as Mirel did in his work on Detroit (1993), especially education in which there is a great deal of rhetoric and a deficit of underlying substantive research.

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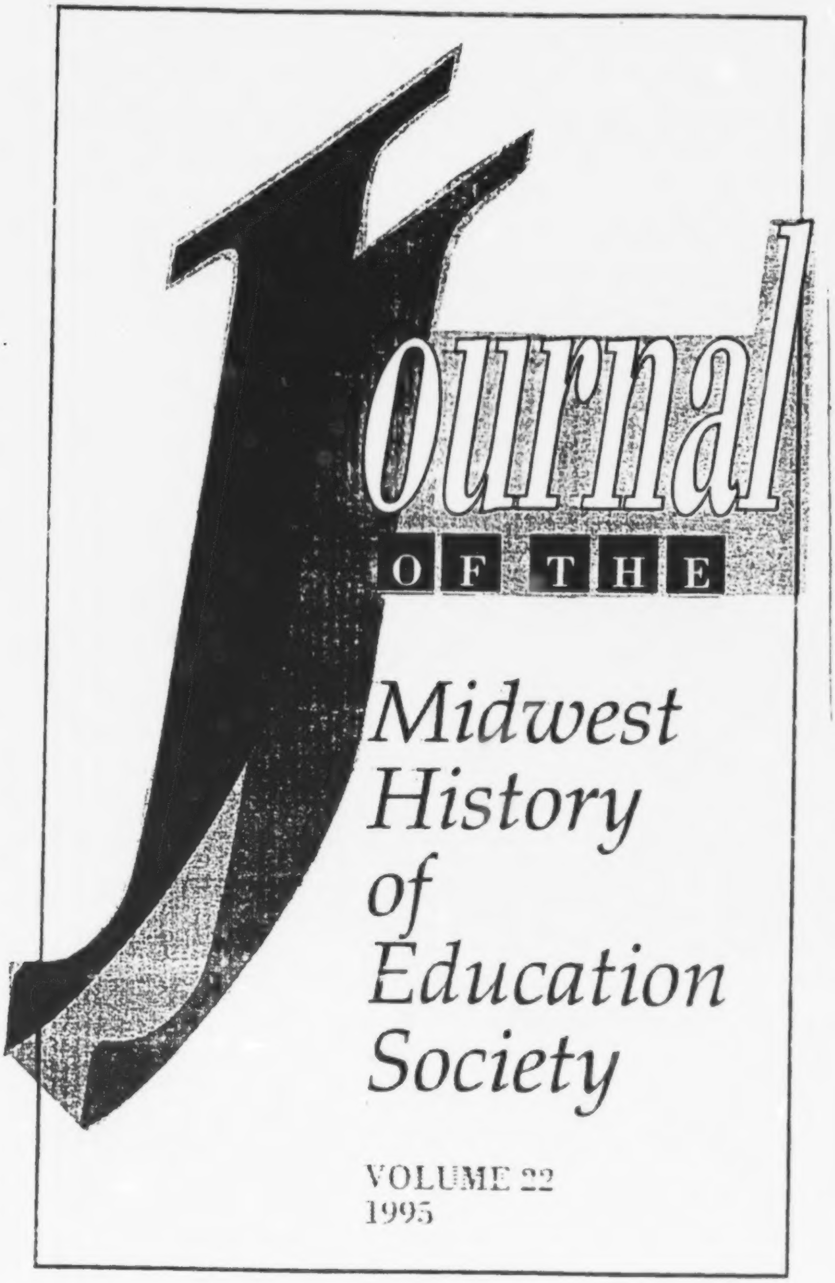

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A Postancient Prelude to Postmodern Discourse

James Biddle
University of Dayton

Many of us have learned to cope with Charles Dickens' historical dilemma of living through "the best of times and the worst of times." Where we seem to flounder is in "the in-between times." Our current turn-of-the-century anguish of knowing the "post" but not the "pre" threatens to elevate chaos, ambiguity, and arbitrariness to positive states.

Sixteen hundred years ago, in perhaps history's most dramatic time of inbetweenness, the Bishop of Hippo, Aurelius Augustinus, stood at the "Axial Period" of universal history--the sack of Rome. That "shudder which passed over antiquity" was the very watershed between the old and new worlds.[1] Augustine, the postancient and premodern, was a central mediator in the transference of cultures and the transformation of ideas. An examination of his analysis of verbal discourse might demystify some of our inbetweenness as well as enhance our insight into public speech.

Like all seminal thinkers, Augustine was most puzzled by the taken-for-granted: the simpler the issue the greater the mystery. For example, take the mystery of memory.

> When the memory itself loses something, as happens when we forget and try to remember, pray, where do we look for it, unless in the memory itself? And in it, if one thing is presented in place of another, we reject it until the thing we are looking for turns up. When it does turn up, we say: "This is it." We would not say that unless we recognized it, and we would not recognize it unless we remembered. Yet we certainly had forgotten it.[2]

But the greatest of all mysteries for Augustine was learning in general and the role of words in particular. Throughout his *Confessions*, Augustine charged that the Roman schooling he experienced as a student and a teacher was little more than "tongue science." Students practiced exercises in "smoke and wind" producing a "hollow verbalism" which tacitly denied the connection between words and things. Teachers were "sellers of words" and students learned only words about words. And the

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words were like food in dreams--they had the appearance of reality, but without substance and nourishment.

In *The Teacher,* Augustine went even further:

> What I am above all striving to convince you of, if I can, is that we do not learn anything by means of the signs called words. For, as I have said, we learn the meaning of the word--that is, the signification that is hidden in the sound--only after the reality itself which is signified has been recognized, rather than perceive that reality by means of such signification.[3]

He went on to say, "By means of words, therefore, we learn nothing but words; in fact, only the sound and noise of words."[4] Augustine rejected the postancient virtual reality, which countered the Greek pursuit of the ideals of truth, beauty, and goodness with assertions of universal uncertainty. Roman education implicitly defined the real and the practical in terms of rhetoric and oratory. By the fourth century, the pursuit of the real had devolved into talk about the real; or finally, into talk about itself. This reified, verbal, virtual reality was the ultimate meaninglessness for Augustine.

Augustine identified the dilemma of "ex cogitate" as carrying the world within while endeavoring to go beyond it; ideas, those shadowy phantasms of images derived from experiences, had the capacity to extend beyond experience to imagination.[5] Words, the signs of the shadowy phantasms, "serve merely to suggest that we look for realities."[6] For Augustine, postancient education was signs about signs with little regard for any experience, lived or otherwise. Quoting Cicero, Augustine maintained that "the wise man should not be an artificer of words, but an inquirer into realities."[7] The starting point for the quest for reality is experience.

The abstract theorizing of the postancient world separated the lived experience from memory and voice by means of words. Rhetoric and oratory divorced the shadowy phantasms from experience, thereby replacing meaning with memorization and mystery with superstition. For Augustine, such verbal/conceptual virtual reality was merely a juxtapositioning of shadowy phantasms in search of bridges, warrants, and relationships which were themselves abstractions. The resulting esoteric, gnostic cosmologies had difficulty with both mystery and rationality, but retained the faith that the universe could be condensed to human intellectual categories. Words became things and the map became the territory.

Words may have been inadequate for Augustine, but he did not deem them impotent. At the height of his professional/political career, the twenty-nine year old Augustine reached the depths of his intellectual/moral sensibilities; he was overcome by a "realisation of my misery. I was preparing an oration in praise of the Emperor in which I was to utter any number of lies to win the applause of people who knew they were lies."[8] Words can mitigate against insight because understanding can be "darkened or confused by zeal for vain verbal victory."[9] His pride in verbal victories spawned a mid-life crisis and a return to experience rather than words.

When related to experiences, words have the power of "dislodging [the student] from his hiding place."[10] Through the confrontation with experience, the student is "pricked by the sting of personal concern [so that] he may arouse himself."[11] Fostering a confrontation with one's own experiences, words can awaken voice, but only as they resonate with experience.

In seeking the conceptual watershed between ages, ideologies, paradigms, or whatever, edges can be pushed for at least two reasons: one is to expand boundaries to encourage new beliefs, and the other is to move boundaries to marginalize opposing beliefs. Although a degree of both are at work among these two, most "post" movements seek to draw clear lines of demarcation between the old power and the new challenges. Therefore, boundaries which exclude tend to amplify negation; more is spoken about what is rejected than what is anticipated. Being controlled by what is reacted against can turn distinctions into differences and elevate abstraction over experience. Such "tongue science" culminates in a true-believerism of assertions rather than voice, discourse or public speech.

Our current age of inbetweenness reflects insecurities similar to those of Augustine's time. Postancient claims of universal uncertainty resemble the metanarratives of indeterminacy in that both assert the certainty of uncertainty. During such times, verbal signs or words take on a reality or life of their own; High Theory becomes reality and postmodern discourse inhibits public dialogue.

Although it is much easier to identify what postmodern theorists are against rather than what they advance, Jean Anyon has identified three generally agreed upon analytical heuristics: "the importance of the local, the validity of deconstruction, and the centrality of discourse."[12] Despite its claimed centrality, the openness of and access to this discourse is problematic. How does this discourse differ from the abstract (virtual) verbal "realities" of Augustine's time or the privileged tone of modernist metanarratives of determinacy? Does postmodern discourse promote or retard contemporary public discourse?

Accepting Derrida's arguments that discourse/language does not reflect fixed meaning, postmoderns seek to free linguistic meanings from externals. Regardless of their opposition to the privileged discourse of modernist meta-narratives, postmodern theorists are dangerously close to a type of discourse which marginalizes sympathetic others as well as potential publics. Susan Bordo noted that the slipperiness of some postmodern discourse can be maddening to many wishing to enter into critical dialogue.[13] Even more serious than what might be excused as unintended marginalization is the use of language to create intentionally a very specific audience; purposeful exclusion is a limitation of public discourse. An example is needed.

The Summer 1994 issue of *Curriculum Inquiry* contained Stephanie Kirkwood Walker's review of Patti Lather's *Getting Smart: Feminist Research and Pedagogy With/in the Postmodern* and a response from Lather. Walker contended that although Lather "clearly understands the crucial role that 'access to discourse' plays in her emancipatory programs," her language has a "separatist tone" which denies access to all but those included in Lather's "exclusivist salon."[14] The charge is that the form of discourse is at war with the supposed intent of the discourse; i.e., a discourse of emancipation which results in marginality.

In her response, Lather asserted that "developing a more 'flexible' narrative style that speaks to a broad based audience seems much less the answer than does using the site of writing to construct audience."[15] Noting that Walker's concern is "widely shared by other reviewers: my use of dense language and an intertextuality so thick it borders on parody,"[16] Lather further acknowledged that "my book works at one level to construct leftist theater for the consumption of the educated."[17]

The issue raised by this interchange between Walker and Lather focuses on the role of discourse in the creation of public speech--or public silence. Walker asked, "Is her [Lather's] work an example of the inaccessibility of institutions of knowledge to marginalized groups who know differently?"[18] The question raised here is broader than Walker's: Does discourse which creates exclusivist audiences contribute to the erosion of public discourse? Can the cacophony of private words culminate in public silence?

In a recent article in *Teacher College Record,* Thomas Green argued that public speech has deteriorated into silence. "And this silence, I think, has permitted us to engage in a flurry of deeply confused talk. Without public speech there is no public, only a babble of lamentations and complaints, pleadings, pronouncements, claims and counter-claims."[19]

The constitutive nature of public speech presumes that the denial of voice both marginalizes and silences; where there is no dialogue and discussion, there is no public discourse. Furthermore, any type of listening which does not entertain "the speech of another as a candidate for one's own" thereby makes the other invisible, hence nonexistent.[20]

While the exercise of personal voice may create a constituency or an audience, it may also serve to further diminish public discourse. Green noted that our current public babble has created a "culture of suspicion" wherein nothing that anyone says can make that person anything but an "other." Green holds that we must move from the "culture of suspicion" through the "hermeneutic of suspicion," (recognizing one's personal history, biases, and preferences toward the "other") to the "hermeneutic of affection" with its intent to identify, share, and engage in public speech for the common good.[21]

Perhaps this "hermeneutic of affection" could replace the repressive public silence with a permissive private silence, a silence of personal experience and reality sought for by Augustine. "We are more charmed and arrested by that which we perceive in silence in our minds, and do not wish to be called off from it to the babble of words which fall far short of reproducing it."[22]

ENDNOTES

1. Eugene Kevane, *Augustine the Educator* (Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1964), 19.
2. Augustine, *The Confessions* trans. Edward B. Pusey in *Great Books of the Western World* ed. Robert Maynard Hutchins (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., 1952), X,19,28.
3. Augustine, *The Teacher* trans. Joseph M. Colleran (New York: Newman Press, 1950), Ch 10.
4. Ibid.
5. Augustine, *On True Religion* in *Augustine: Earlier Works* ed. J. H. S. Burleigh (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1953), XX, 40.
6. *Teacher*, Ch 11.
7. Augustine, *Against the Academics* trans. John J. O'Meara (New York: Newman Press, 1951), II, 11, 26.
8. *Confessions*, VI, vi.
9. *Religion*, XIX, 37.
10. Augustine, *The First Catechetical Instruction* trans. Joseph P. Christopher (New York: Newman Press, 1946), Ch 13, 18.
11. Ibid., Ch 13, 19.
12. Jean Anyon, "The Retreat of Marxism and Socialist Feminism: Postmodern and Poststructural Theories in Education," *Curriculum Inquiry* 24 (Summer 1994): 118.
13. Susan Bordo, "Feminism, Postmodernism, and Gender-Skepticism," in Linda Nicholson, ed., *Feminism/Postmodernism*, (New York: Routledge, 1990), 144.
14. Stephani Walker, "Canonical Gestures," *Curriculum Inquiry* 24 (Summer 1994): 174.
15. Patti Lather, "Dada Practice: A Feminist Reading," *Curriculum Inquiry* 24 (Summer 1994): 183.
16. Ibid., 183.
17. Ibid., 185.
18. Walker, 177.
19. Thomas Green, "Public Speech," *Teachers College Record* 95 (1994): 369.
20. Ibid., 380.
21. Ibid., 381-2.
22. *Catechetical*, Ch 10.

Mentoring Students for Professorships

A Panel Discussion

During the 1994 meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society, several members of the society at various stages of their academic careers agreed to discuss mentoring from a personal perspective. All set out to earn doctorates in anticipation of becoming university professors of education. Marie Hassett is a doctoral candidate in Curriculum, Instruction and Media Technology, Indiana State University. She is seeking a tenure track position while writing her dissertation, which she hopes to complete in spring, 1995. John C. Scott received a doctorate in Higher Education Administration from the University of Toledo in 1991. He teaches history and sociology at Northwest State Community College, in Archbold, Ohio, while continuing his search for a university teaching position. Maureen McCormack is a tenured associate professor in the College of Teacher Education at Eastern Michigan University, where she has taught for the past seven years. Since 1972, Gerald Gutek has been a full professor at Loyola University of Chicago, where he served as dean of the School of Education from 1979 to 1985. He was a co-founder of the Midwest History of Education Society. Joan K. Smith is professor of education and history, associate dean of the Graduate School of Loyola University of Chicago and past president of the Midwest History of Education Society. Lucy F. Townsend of Northern Illinois University organized the panel.

While it is a commonplace that everyone who makes it has a mentor, an article in the May-June, 1992 issue of the *Journal of Teacher Education* by Terry Wildman and others argues that researchers have yet to find compelling evidence that teachers need mentors. It is not even clear what the term "mentoring" means. Yet, doctoral students have limited prospects for employment in academe. In such a climate, older professors must play increasingly important roles in placing their graduates. For the purpose of this panel, the participants decided to apply the term "mentor" to professors who attempt to prepare their doctoral students for and assist them in finding employment in academe.

In an effort to more fully understand the role of mentors, each of the individuals on the panel answered two questions about having a mentor and being a mentor. The first question was the following: In what ways, if any, have your professors been mentors to you?

Marie Hassett answered as follows: Four persons have gone to great lengths to assist me in making decisions about teaching, research, and searching for jobs. Only one is on my dissertation committee, while another is at a different university. What has made them so helpful has been their willingness to give advice and assistance without also making the assumption that I am uninformed. Two professors contribute primarily to what I call my procedural knowledge base about university cultures and practices, and the other two focus on the conceptual knowledge that drives teaching and research.

The two faculty members who probably contributed the most to my awareness of issues in education have done so through informal contacts rather than in classroom settings. The professors have offices on the same corridor, and I can wander in and out to ask questions or join discussions. One professor frequently suggests that I read a specific article or book, probing my knowledge of a topic in discussion and cautioning me of potential problems in my research. With the other professor, discussion is more open ended and issue driven. I stop to talk to her about things that bother me in a class or in my reading, and we trade viewpoints. Both professors provided me with models of the professorate that I hope to emulate: their commitment to their students, to their own continuing growth, and to the growth of their profession.

I began working with my assigned supervisor almost three years ago while doing a study with another doctoral student on the communication skills of students in undergraduate teacher education programs. At the time, my supervisor was teaching the introductory course for our department. When the study revealed problems in students' communication skills, particularly their writing, I began working with him regularly to enhance the writing component of the course. At the beginning of this partnership, students had "lecture" days and "writing" days. Although we were trying to integrate the two components of the course, neither of us had done much team teaching, and we weren't sure how to proceed. Now we team teach two intermediate courses, working together to develop a syllabus, leading group discussions, and determining grades based on our personal observation and mutually agreed upon criteria. This experience has contributed greatly to my repertoire of teaching skills and my ability to work comfortably with another teacher.

I met the fourth professor at a conference last spring. He alerted me to two other conferences where I have since presented papers. A number of his former students, now professors, also attended those conferences. He has given me extensive advice about searching for jobs, about problems I'm likely to encounter, and about how I might make myself marketable. Spending time with him and groups of his former students is like participating in a seminar on every conceivable topic. This professor provides socialization into the profession.

Based on these experiences, I would define mentors as those persons who have contributed to my professional development and who have demonstrated ongoing concern for my success in academe. Mentoring relationships, which are personal in nature, strengthen my professional skills and commitment to the scholarly life.

John C. Scott answered as follows: At the University of Toledo, I specialized in history, a discipline in which few of my professors in the Department of Higher Education Administration had experience. They told me that it was nearly impossible to secure a tenure track position in higher education administration, which turned out to be true. They said they could not do much for me, but they are still supportive of me and believe that I can find a position.

My dissertation committee accepted my rather ambitious dissertation proposal and allowed great flexibility in my research methods. This is one reason I studied at the University of Toledo instead of an institution where my research agenda would have been constrained. Unfortunately, my doctorate has not yet proven valuable in the job market.

None of my professors have networked for my employment. No professor has ever helped me publish. Few students or older faculty in my department wrote for publication while I was a student. However, an educational foundations professor who did publish frequently told the class that he expected all written assignments to be of "publishable quality." This statement was a great revelation and spurred me to improve my writing. My dissertation was published by Mellen Research University Press in 1992.

My fellow doctoral students and I often felt "kicked around" by our professors. We came to the conclusion that holding a Ph.D. could be comparable to a fraternity membership and that the abuse was like hazing. I would advise professors to be more human and less professorial. They should encourage attendance at regional and national conferences and subscribe to *The Chronicle of Higher Education,* which lists jobs, conferences, and calls for papers. I would also advise professors to encourage their students to have some college level teaching experience before seeking employment. Lack of experience may limit their marketability. Probably just as important is publishing as soon as possible.

Maureen McCormack answered as follows: During the first semester of my studies in educational foundations, a professor who was not my assigned advisor said, "I want to be your mentor, so let's start today with lunch!" Six months later she resigned from my doctoral committee and in so doing also resigned as my mentor. The ending of that relationship was one of the most traumatic events of my life. I believed my mentor when she told me that if I stuck with her, my name would be professionally known and respected nationally in five years. At forty-three years of age, I had missed the opportunity for what could have been a major advancement in my career. What went wrong?

The conflict began the night before my doctoral program review, when my mentor presented me with two volumes describing a large national grant she was directing. She wanted me to read the volumes prior to the next day's meeting, as she was going to propose that I work as her assistant. I told her I was not certain that I wanted to work in an area far removed from my research interests. The next day, at the program review, the other members of the committee objected to my working on the grant. However, my advisor said that I needed to make the decision. I declined the offer.

After the meeting I went to my mentor's office to show my appreciation for her interest in me. She pointed at a chair and ordered me to sit down. She then told me that she had made me an offer that could have made me famous within five years. She did not make offers to be refused. When I said I would be glad to work with her on another project, she said there would be no more offers. She was very angry. I was totally unprepared for it, and I began to cry. However, a few weeks later she told me she had an opening for a data collector on her grant. I met with her and agreed to travel to five cities to collect data. All went well on the first trip. On the second trip, one of the professional data collectors refused my offer of assistance, but after I had finished my own work and was scheduled to return by air to the university, the data collector suddenly asked for my help. I declined and took my scheduled flight home. Upon hearing about this decision, my mentor angrily told me I had "missed a golden opportunity." Again I was unprepared for her anger; however, this time I did not cry and stood my ground. However, in a few days she asked me to fly to another city and be away during the Christmas holidays. I refused, but no excuse or reason was good enough. My mentor said it was clear that I put my personal life before my professional life and that I would not go far! She said that I greatly disappointed her. After that, she made no more requests for my assistance.

When I learned that this woman was to be my professor for a required course, my anxiety began to mount. During the course she made a great display of throwing my paper across a large seminar table. She said I had not read enough, and she cited authors I had neglected. After that incident, I began to avoid her. Students assured me that this had happened to others. However, I grew increasingly depressed. How I could possible pass my comprehensive exams with her on the committee? I began to consider withdrawing from the doctoral program, but another student who had worked closely with my "mentor" and knew of our conflict went to the department chair with the story. Subsequently, my committee met in the chair's office. At the beginning of the meeting, my former mentor informed me that she was resigning from my committee. I was, however, asked why I had not stood up to her. I answered that my attempts made matters worse. The two of us were the same age and had rich educational histories; however, I was the subordinate, and I thought I was expected to act as such. The committee members stated that my response to my mentor had not been assertive enough and that my reactions to her behavior were inappropriate. Thus, they urged me to see a counselor. My former mentor insisted that I see her personal counselor, and after some resistance on my part, I finally agreed to do that. I was not surprised when the counselor advised me to seek assistance from a different counselor.

I was not wise enough to understand fully this conflict. I felt that it was inappropriate for my mentor to order me around, berate me, and throw my papers across a seminar table in front of my classmates. Yet the faculty women who met with the chair seemed to support the professor entirely and blame me. My confusion was intensified because the other professors were all females who called themselves feminists. I had assumed that our common commitment to women's equality meant that we shared the same humane values, but apparently I was wrong. For me, the doctoral process was one of almost constant anxiety and doubt, and I was vulnerable to discouragement and manipulation.

I think the process could be made caring and fair. Perhaps it would help to publish a handbook describing a doctoral student's rights and expectations. Certainly, much of the anxiety comes from rumor and from finding out too late that word had not reached you about some expectation. Most of the help and encouragement I did receive was from other doctoral students. They supported me in my conflict with my mentor and helped me to see that she treated other students as she was treating me. They also helped me find employment by explaining that the *Chronicle of Higher Education* lists job prospects. I scoured *The Chronicle*, found listings to which I applied, and was granted several interviews. One of the schools was Eastern Michigan University, where I am now tenured.

Some professors did assist me during my doctoral work. The greatest help came from a professor who advised me to seek out professors who would insist that I write. Another professor urged me to submit an article for a writing award and offered editing assistance. The worst mistake was not returning major pieces of writing. I think that dissertation advisors can be helpful if they take responsibility for seeing that the dissertation is completed in a reasonable amount of time. They might also help the student prepare the work or part of it for publication.

Gerald Gutek answered as follows: My mentors were J. Leonard Bates, who directed my master's thesis in history, and Archibald W. Anderson, who directed my doctoral dissertation in the history of education at the

University of Illinois at Urbana. I think my recollections are useful in illustrating how mentorship develops as a line of continuity. When I received my doctorate, the University of Illinois was well known for its Foundations of Education Program, particularly its progressivism and social reconstructionism and its work in consolidating what was called the social foundations of education approach. The essential pattern of doctoral study was to concentrate in an area of disciplined inquiry in educational foundations, such as history of education or philosophy of education; to develop a broad competency in the other related foundations areas; and to complement that program with work in an academic discipline. Anderson was my mentor, while professors Joe Burnett, William O. Stanley, and Harry Broudy took an active and highly supportive interest. They were all highly visible and active even though busy in the profession. For instance, Anderson was editor of *Educational Theory* and had been editor of *Progressive Education*.

The doctoral program was our mentorship for becoming professors. The courses required the writing of papers and their defense. The professors were close enough to the students to be imitated but distant enough so that we did not become familiar with them. There was also a kind of network operative in placing doctoral students. John Wozniak, dean at Loyola University of Chicago, needed a foundations person. Harry Broudy called him, an interview was arranged in 1963, I got the job, and I have been here ever since. What we can gather from my own mentoring? (1) The institution I attended had a good reputation in the area in which I was working; (2) the professors in the program were well connected professionally; and (3) the program was academically suited to replicate in its graduates the scholarly activities of its practitioners.

The second question has two parts. The first part is "Do you try to mentor your students?" The second part is "If so, how do you view your role?"

Maureen McCormack answered as follows: I'm not sure I am a mentor. I would say that I have a fear of expecting too much, and thus my relationships with students are marked by detachment. I do not choose this detachment because I am wise to the ways of Oriental philosophy; it is out of selfishness: it protects me as well as the student. I try to have an open door to all my students. Because I am concerned about the abuse of power, however, I begin by speaking about the power relationship between a professor and student. I do not invite the students to assist me in my work. While I share my research with them, I prefer to work alone. I ask them what they would like to do with their lives, and I try to give guidance as to academic and political processes that could be helpful to them. While I do see them outside of the university, such meetings are infrequent. I do encourage them to attend conferences, give them leads, read their papers when asked, and occasionally write and present with them and encourage publication.

Gerald Gutek answered as follows: Directing doctoral students is something that I do routinely, but I really haven't reflected about the activity in a generalizable way. I followed the course that many young Ph.D.s take when hired by a university. I followed and implemented the U. of I. model. Loyola's Department of Education had been involved in doctoral level work since 1926, but primarily in educational administration and professional education. Although some candidates did historical or foundations dissertations, there was no specific foundations doctoral program. If such a program had been in place, I would probably have been an understudy for many years. As it was, I was able to take a key role in establishing the doctoral program in foundations in 1969, with the encouragement of the administration.

In the past thirty plus years, I have directed about sixty Ph.D. and Ed. D. doctoral dissertations to completion. The majority of these students have been school administrators, classroom teachers, university and college administrators, and other kinds of professional educators. I believe only about six have become professors. My doctoral level activities assume that I am preparing professors, but the results suggest something very different for the majority of people I have directed. Perhaps a leading question might be "Is a program designed to prepare professors appropriate for those who are unlikely to become professors?" Since the middle of the 1970s, numbers of professorships available in my foundations area have greatly declined. There are some jobs but many more candidates than available positions. Helping students find faculty positions in this very tight job market takes consummate political skills that I don't have. I also think it takes a kind of positioning in the national scene that only a very few schools of education occupy.

What contributes to my satisfaction has been a persistent belief that the history of education is a significant area to work in. Moreover, the knowledge and competencies that historians of education possess have both an applicability and intrinsic value that encompasses but also exceeds the utilization in a professorship.

Joan K. Smith of Loyola University, Chicago made the following statement: Mentoring doctoral students in the 1980s and 1990s has developed a character that is quite distinct from its earlier form, which lasted throughout the 1960s and 1970s. There are many reasons for this, including changes in affirmative action policies. While originally the mentoring process had been a more informal one in which the full professors worked through their informal networks to place their graduates in professorships, currently the process is much more formal. Today's mentors must be certain that, in addition to strong research and teaching skills, their new graduates are prepared for a rigorous interviewing process.

Loyola students who want to move into foundations faculty positions within the higher education structure chose from four foundational areas in which to take courses: historical, philosophical, sociological, and comparative/ international. Along with an appropriate research base, this path prepares students to meet a higher educational market that expects new professors to be able to teach general foundations while maintaining a foundational research specialty focus. As students are interviewed and accepted into the program, I try to discern what their goals are, so that I can guide them in the appropriate directions for attaining their destinations, given the foundations market in higher education.

Although Loyola's Ph. D. is defined as seventy-two hours beyond the baccalaureate, our students usually come to us with at least one earned master's degree. In preparing their programs, I try to keep in mind their professorial goals, their past work, and their academic interests and talents. These aspects become the framework for their program plan and for which three of the four foundational areas they enter, what research strengths and weaknesses they have in terms of their future research potential, and what kind of topics interest them for potential dissertation material. For example, let us take the case of student A, a thirty-eight year old, female high school English teacher, with a master's degree in curriculum and instruction that included some English and foundations course work. Her literary background becomes a useful context for her foundational study. She has an understanding of the structure and method of the English discipline, and she is attracted to historical and philosophical aspects of education. She is also interested in the sociopolitical dimensions of women's roles in education. At this point I would channel her in the directions of historical, philosophical, and sociological foundations. I would also ask her to start thinking about a dissertation topic vis-à-vis women and education, explaining to her that it is never to early to be thinking about possible dissertation topics.

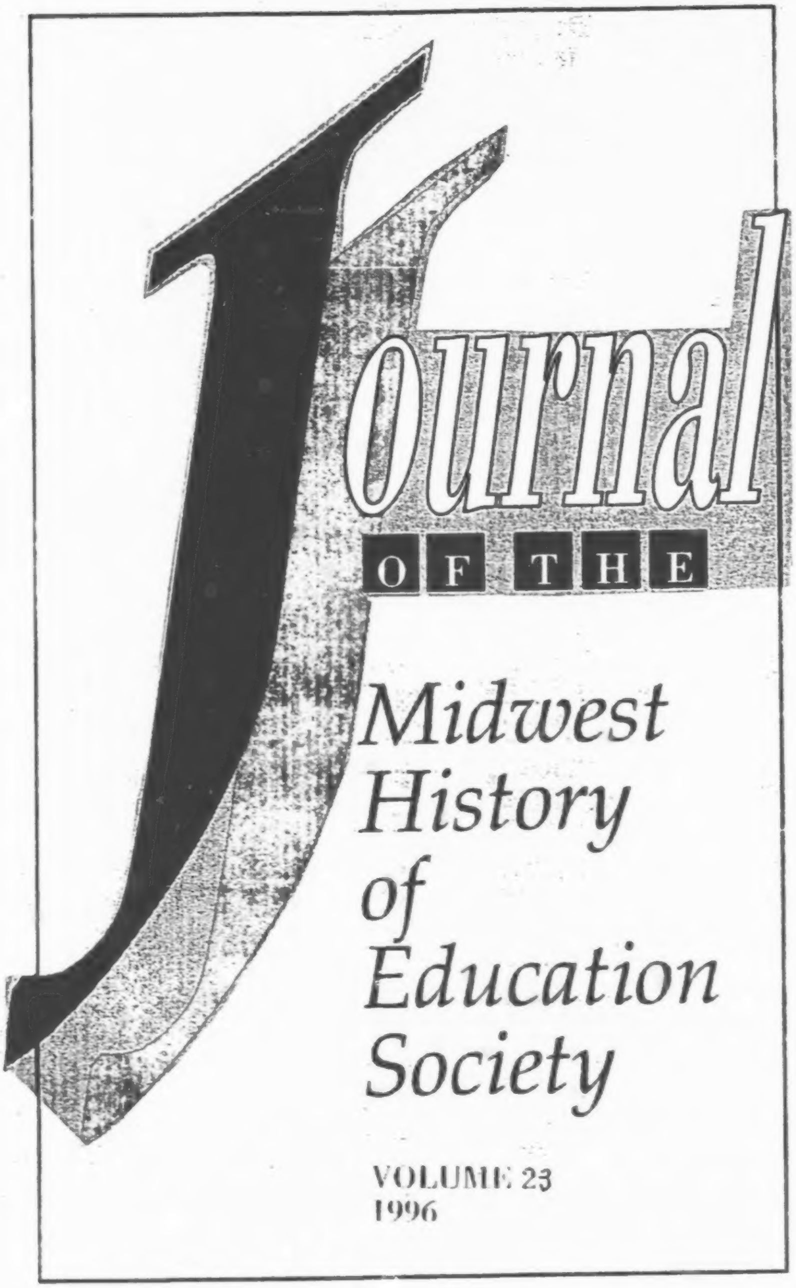
As the student moves through the program, completing course work and taking comprehensive examinations, I continue to work with the student in developing a dissertation proposal that has potential for research, publication, and paper presentation. Regardless of whether or not the student seeks a Research I or II type of university or a small liberal arts college, it is important for her to maintain an inquiring attitude beyond the dissertation stage and to become active in professional and scholarly societies where foundations colleagues converse. As mentor, it is my responsibility to advise my students to participate in this larger academic arena, providing opportunities whenever I can. For example, I usually encourage them to start by attending regional conferences earlier in their programs. Because we are located in Chicago, it is easy for them to participate in this way. By the time our students reach the dissertation stage, they have attended at least one regional conference: either the Midwest History of Education Society and/ or the Midwest Philosophy of Education Society. Organizations such as the latter are also good places to begin the presentation of papers, because of the smaller, friendlier and more trusting nature of the culture. The society's proceedings afford an excellent publication outlet. Studies continue to reveal that the sooner students incorporate research and publishing into their professional lives, the more likely they are to continue this activity throughout their careers.

Next, it is important for prospective faculty to gain some national and international convention experiences. There are numerous foundations oriented organizations whose conference formats allow for wide participation of their regular and student membership. These include the American Educational Studies Association, various divisions and special interest groups (SIGs) of the American Educational Research Association, the History of Education Society, and the Philosophy of Education Society, to name a few. At the international level, the Society of Educational Biography meets annually in a North American city and sponsors a journal entitled *Vitae Scholasticae.* The International Standing Conference on the History of Education meets annually in a European city. It juries its published proceedings, and it also has several topical working groups that meet in conjunction with the main conference. These include the following: Education and the Enlightenment, History of Early Childhood, and Education and Gender.

As part of the mentoring process, I have also co-authored papers that were presented at various national and international conferences. When co-authoring I usually make certain that both of us contribute original work. If the paper is based on the student's dissertation research, I usually provide the conceptual interpretive framework from an intellectual historical perspective. My name appears second on the paper. If the piece is part of my research agenda, my name appears first.

Finally, I try to arrange for the individual to have some form of formal college/university teaching experience. Loyola does not have teaching assistantships, but it does have opportunities for the part-time teaching of undergraduate foundations courses, including sections offered at night and on Saturday mornings. In today's market, I think it is important for prospective faculty to have these teaching opportunities.

To date, our students who have actively pursued the professoriate or other university positions have been quite successful. Mobility is, of course, very helpful, even though there are many opportunities in the greater Chicago metropolitan area. Thus, while the mentoring picture has changed dramatically from the one of decades earlier, it is still an important commitment for professors to make to their students. Successful mentoring seems to foster the future successful mentors who will be needed if we are to keep foundations alive and well.



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The *Journal* has published authors from disciplines ranging from political science to philosophy to marketing to instructional technology to adult education. Its editorial board consists of a diverse group of professionals who referee articles according to their expertise. While the main criterion of acceptance consists in a well articulated argument concerning an educational issue, the editors prefer those papers that offer a historical analysis. Authors should contact the editor to receive a copy of the style sheet before writing the paper.

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From the Editor

Several people made possible this issue of the *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society.* Dean Patricia First of the School of Education at the University of Dayton supported the project generously. The authors whose papers appear in these pages offered work of the highest quality. The editorial board and the associate editors worked diligently and carefully. Anna Victoria Wilson of the University of Texas at Austin set the format of the journal.

The *Journal* offers an important outlet for mature scholars and for students beginning professional careers. In these pages, as at the annual meeting of the Society, papers of all types appear together each reinforcing the other.

Joseph Watras
University of Dayton
Dayton, OH 45469-0525
watras@keiko.udayton.edu
(513) 229-3328

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Development of the Music Conservatory in Europe and the United States

Tim Hays
Elmhurst College

Since its earliest organization during the Medieval epoch, the music conservatory has prepared students for careers in music. Reaching an apex as one of the symbols of cultural development for Western European nations during the late nineteenth century, this unique institution was reborn in the fertile soil of the New World. Beginning with a survey of the roots of music education, this paper will chronicle the development of seminal European conservatories and explore the influences that these institutions had on the formation of music conservatories in the United States.

Music has been a discipline of inquiry since ancient times. The systematic study of music has been linked to contrasting attributes such as emotional and spiritual expression or intellectual pursuits like geometry and astronomy. Music was included by Aristotle as one of the seven customary branches of knowledge necessary for education in the liberal arts.[1] Through these influences music becomes codified as a requirement in the classical educational system of the Medieval and Renaissance periods, the quadrivium.[2]

At its essence, music's inclusion in the quadrivium was a humanistic and intellectual orientation to music education. Education for the *performance* of music was another matter entirely. Herein, an important distinction needs to be made. To use the language of the Renaissance, the humanistic study of music theory as a science was known as *musica speculativa*. This is to be contrasted with *musica practica*, the study of music performance, called *applied music* today. While *musica speculativa* was an integral part of a Renaissance liberal education, *musica practica* was often not included, and in some cases, was looked down upon.[3] Knowing this, it is not that surprising that the first school for the study of music performance did not occur at one of the venerable European universities, but rather at an institution known for its practicality.

The first music conservatories developed from hospital asylums, or *ospedali*, for orphaned and illegitimate girls in Italy. The oldest of these institutions were in Venice (*Ospedale dei Mendicanti*, 1262; *Ospedale della Pieta*, 1346), but the name "conservatory" originates from the name given these institutions in Naples: "*conservatorio*" (*Conservatorio Santa Maria de Loreto*, 1537).[4] The rationale for this name is cited in *The New College Dictionary of Music*. "In Italy a *conservatorio* was originally an orphanage, where children were 'conserved' and given an education with emphasis on music."[5] Funded by charity, the *ospedali* provided girls with vocal and instrumental training and gave regular public concerts. The public supported the *ospedali* due to the immense popularity of these concerts and because the best of these trained musicians went on to staff the orchestras of the burgeoning opera movement, all the rage throughout the Italian provinces.[6]

The abilities of the girls of the four Venician *ospedali* were particularly celebrated. After a concert at the *Mendicanti*, Jean Jacques Rousseau was so compelled to meet the singers that he broke church rules to do so. In 1784, Goethe exclaimed that he "never imagined such voices could exist," upon hearing the *Mendicanti*.[7] During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Italy's most famous composers--Monteverdi, Cavalli, Lotti, and Galuppi--taught at the *ospedali* and wrote music for their ensembles: choruses, orchestras, and chamber groups. The most famous composer of the period, Antonio Vivaldi (1678-1741), was superintendent at the *Ospedale de Pieta* in Venice and premiered nearly all of his non-operatic music using *ospedali* musicians.[8]

About the time when the *ospedali* were fading (during the reign of King Murat, under Napoleon) another, far more professional model of the music conservatory was beginning its influence. The *Conservatoire National de Musique* was formed on August 3, 1795 by decree of the Convention Nationale. While the forces which gave immediate genesis to the Conservatoire were wrought during the French Revolution, there were a number of institutional antecedents relative to schools of music. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, wealthy French nobles supported teaching academies connected with the musicians engaged by the courts. While these small academies served the purpose of providing musicians for the courts, "their pedagogical importance was perhaps negligible."[9] However, a few of these academies went on to achieve a more privileged position.

The Modern European Music Conservatory

The most immediate precursor to predate the founding of the Paris Conservatoire was a school of sorts that was connected with a band that was engaged by the Municipality of Paris in 1790. Titled *Ecole gratuite de Musique de la Garde Nationale Parisienne,* the school was the seed for the founding of the Conservatoire during the revolution. Given the climate of the times, it comes as no surprise that musicians were expected to take up the cause of liberty. The republicans, and specifically, the Committee of Public Safety, posted musicians on street corners to teach revolutionary and patriotic songs to the people. In a report (1796) to the legislative body, citizen Lockpeiser sets out the purposes of the young Conservatoire, which is to provide musicians for national holidays and celebrations "as prescribed in the Constitution," supply "the Government with musicians for the armies," and maintain the "lyriques theatre." The report goes on to posit that the Conservatoire needs support since it is the only music school in France and will further "national glory."[10]

From the beginning, the Paris Conservatoire was administered under strict guidelines approved by the government. The French talent for bureaucracy, which had produced the most powerful army in Europe, was applied scrupulously to the Conservatoire. It was funded by the National Treasury; instruction was free; salaries were fixed by the state; and the number of teachers and students per department was predetermined. The educational philosophy of the Conservatoire can be expressed in two guiding principles which shaped the curriculum: (1) emphasis on individual competition, and (2) progress and accomplishments measured against strict predetermined standards. Individual competition was assured through the prize system in which students performed for a faculty jury at public competitions. The winners (first and second only) were awarded instruments, books, or printed music. Failure to win a prize after three years of study meant dismissal.[11]

Regarding the second principle of strictly imposed standards, the curriculum developed to require prescribed tracks for the study of voice, keyboard, and orchestra instruments, with heavy early emphasis on sight-singing *(solfege)* for all students. Music theory, orchestration, composition, and ensemble performance were major subjects of study. However, most students concentrated on applied music, particularly piano, violin, and voice (1850). There existed four "degrees" of study through which a student progressed. The first three were pure music, but the fourth had some minimal requirements in science, mathematics, and philosophy. In the broadest scope, the Paris Conservatoire offered a complete music education to the student. Its world-wide reputation grew as it set up twenty-eight branch campuses (1957) and its alumni went on to success in the concert halls: Berlioz (awarded the prestigious *Prix de Rome*), Bizet, Debussy, Dukas, Faure, Massenet, Ravel, and many others.[12]

Given the musical legacies of masters such as Bach and Handel, it seems strange that a full scale music conservatory did not develop earlier in the German provinces. For centuries, the courts of the German states (particularly the Prussian courts) and churches had sponsored music to a level surpassing all other European patronage, except perhaps Italian. Vienna, particularly, seemed ripe for such an institution, given its favorite sons during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and Schubert. And in fact, a Viennese school for children was founded in 1812. *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* grew to include an Opera School and Dramatic School and had a wealth of famous alumni and teachers associated with it, names like Bruchner, Mahler, and Hugo Wolf.[13] Still, this school was not a professional conservatory in the manner of the Paris Conservatoire. The next European and first German institution that was comparable was the Leipzig Conservatory, founded in 1843.

The city of Leipzig had a considerable tradition of music activity to make it a logical choice for a major conservatory. There was the renowned Lutheran church, the Thomasschule, with its list of important cantors, including J.S. Bach. There were a major publishing house, an influential music periodical called*Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, and an established concert series centered around the performance venue, the Gewandhaus. Two months before the coronation of Frederick IV of Prussia in 1840, a citizen named Blumner bequeathed 20,000 thalers to endow an institute for the arts. Composer-conductor Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847), a favorite at the Gewandhaus series, then sought support for such a venture from the Dresden court in a lengthy letter which appealed to the state for support.

The King expressed his support for the project since it would bring more glory to Saxony, and added his financial backing. *Das Conservatorium Der Musique* opened its doors on April 3, 1843 due to tireless effort on Mendelssohn's part. Notable teachers were Hauptmann on counterpoint and harmony, Robert Schumann (1810-1856) on composition and piano, and Mendelssohn himself, who refused the directorship yet continued to help guide the Conservatorium until his death in 1847. Leipzig Conservatory historian, Leonard Phillips, states that the "Paris Conservatory was an impractical model for Germany," but the "scope and vigor of the school, together with its place in the French government" had a significant influence on the founding and the scope of the Leipzig Conservatorium.[13]

While the Conservatorium's curriculum evolved to include many of the subjects taught at the Paris Conservatoire, there existed distinct differences in pedagogy. While the Paris Conservatoire continued the tradition of individual instruction that predated any conservatory founding, the Leipzig Conservatorium also used class groupings for applied lessons, music theory, and other subjects.[14] Eschewing the Conservatoire prize system of applied instruction, the Leipzig Conservatorium emphasized a unified view of music over the extremely technical approach of the French. As with the Paris Conservatoire, the Leipzig Conservatorium expected students to complete their general, liberal education elsewhere, either before or during their conservatory study.

Four principles guided the new Conservatorium and set it apart from other similar institutions, particularly the Paris Conservatoire. (1) The faculty members were successful musicians of note and were expected to continue their professional careers while teaching. (2) Nationalism was not overtly emphasized and foreign students were welcomed. (3) A broad music theory foundation was required of all students. (4) There was no contest or prize system characteristic of the Paris Conservatoire and other European conservatories to come.[15] As will be demonstrated, these principles will later be attributes associated with the first conservatories established in the United States.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the Paris and Leipzig conservatories grew in stature and influence, while a number of new conservatories were founded throughout Europe. Most, like the Prague Conservatory of Music (1811) or the Imperial Conservatory of Music at St. Petersburg (1862), were national adoptions of earlier, private music schools.[16] A few were the enterprise of a single architect. The Budapest Academy of Music (1875) was founded due to the singular efforts of pianist-composer Franz Liszt (1811-1886), who played a series of concerts to endow the first conservatory in Hungary.[17]

Some institutions were the direct result of charters originated at the highest level of state. Belgium's *Conservatoire Royal De Musique* (1832) in Brussels or the Royal Academy of Music in London (1822) as chartered by King George IV are examples of conservatories originating with royal patronage.[18] Given the multitude of British linkages with the United States, one might be inclined to surmise that the Royal Academy could provide a model for music conservatories in the United States. This is not the case. Perhaps this is because nineteenth century England serves up little in the way of significant music, or maybe it is as American Allen Sigel later critiques in regard to the climate for the Royal Academy's financial foundation (1968), "The lack of financial support was overwhelmingly apparent. Many of Britain's finest musicians have refused positions here because of inadequate remuneration and poor facilities."[19]

Rather than the Royal Academy or even the Paris Conservatoire, the nineteenth century institution of influence for music in the United States was the Leipzig Conservatorium. This is due to a host of factors. To begin with the most sweeping influence, the waves of immigrants who came to America following the European political upheavals of 1848 included many professional musicians and artistic-minded people who strengthened the German orientation of American cultural life. The German models of education -- the gymnasium, the university, and the conservatory --became increasingly prominent in American educational thought.

Regarding music, Germany was, after all, the wellspring of great music and famous composers. The city of Leipzig's claim to Felix Mendelssohn, a composer of immense popularity in the United States, had already made it a mecca for music students and music lovers, even before the founding of the Leipzig Conservatorium. It is not surprising, then, that Mendelssohn's own institution was viewed with special reverence. American born students who studied at the Leipzig Conservatorium were admitted to the ranks of the United States' music elite, and Europeans who journeyed to the New World with this pedigree enjoyed immediate prestige and success as performers. Leipzig's alumni went on to further both the reputation of the Conservatorium and the popularity of German music in general.[20] While this synergy of influence may appear unusually focused in its locus on a single city and its school, the overall European domination of all things musical in America had certainly been the norm for centuries. Before reflecting on the genesis of American conservatories and their European connections, it is necessary to provide a context for music-making and music education in the New World.

Music in the New World

From the public records available, the first publicly announced concert in the colonies occurred in December of 1731 in Boston, a direct result of the energies of music and performing arts societies that began to form in the colonies in the middle 1700s. While Boston does dominate the literature regarding early concert life, there also existed plenty of activity in the South and Middle Colonies. There was the St. Coecilia Society (1732-1765) in Charleston, the Francis Hopkinson Society (1757-1776) in Philadelphia, and the Ranelagh Garden concerts (1733-1760) in New York. While it was not yet the practice to publicly announce the program, European music most certainly made up the performance pieces.[21] Concert societies go on to figure highly in the cultural life of the United States after the Revolution and in the founding of America's first music conservatories.

While the motivation guiding the early concert societies was to bring European culture to the wilderness, the first music education efforts were not so secular in design.[22] The singing school movement spread from its beginnings in New England throughout the colonies. It did not diminish until oratorio societies began to replace it and music education in the public schools began to enter the culture during the second half of the nineteenth century. Lowell Mason (1792-1872), prodigious composer of hymns, method books, and alumnus of the singing school movement, became president of Boston's Handel and Haydn Society and founded a singing school for children, the Boston Academy of Music (1832).[23] Like the first European efforts, this academy was not a full-fledged conservatory, but its precedence set the stage for a number of new developments.

Chief among these was the first inclusion of music instruction as a requirement in the public school curriculum. Mason argued that music literacy was an important skill that could and should be taught in the Boston schools. After a series of highly successful experiments at various schools, the resulting concerts paved the way for what the Boston Academy called the "Magna Carta of Music Education." The Boston School committee made music a regular part of the curriculum on August 28, 1838 and appointed Lowell Mason Superintendent of Music.[24] The year before, Mason had journeyed to Germany and Switzerland to study Pestalozzian methods and went on to create a significant body of educational materials and books based on Pestalozzian principles. In fact, the Pestalozzian method "became so closely associated with perceived excellence in music education that the name became a generic term that implied quality but not necessarily authentic Pestalozzian."[25]

The Music Conservatory in the United States

The public school initiative was but one of a number of factors that created the climate for the founding of America's first conservatory in New England. By the middle of the nineteenth century there existed a Philharmonic Society (1810), which sponsored the first orchestra concerts; the Harvard Musical Association (1837); the Handel and Haydn Society, which sponsored oratorios; and a number of other musical associations. Eben Tourjee, the "New England Psalm Singer" and another alumnus of the early singing schools, received a charter to found "The Musical Institute" from the State of Rhode Island in 1865. Tourjee had visited music conservatories in Paris, Leipzig, and Stuttgart and sought to establish the first American conservatory of music in Providence.

Six years later Tourjee moved what is now called the "New England Conservatory" to Boston. The new Conservatory received a lot of public attention when the Peace Jubilees of 1869 and 1872 utilized many Conservatory musicians for performances with popular conductor-composer, Johann Strauss. While the institution's curriculum provided essentially music courses *vis a vis* the European conservatories, it added departments of "Elocution, Art, Literature, Languages, Tuning, and Physical Sciences" by the turn of the century.[26]

Depending on the source, the Oberlin Conservatory of Music is either the first or second conservatory in the United States. (Some sources have the New England Conservatory founded in 1867.) In any case, Oberlin College, Ohio does boast the first American college appointment of a music professor with a Professorship of Sacred Music, established in 1835.[27] Although not an official part of Oberlin College when the conservatory was founded in 1865, the Oberlin Conservatory of Music was the outcome of decades of musical activity at the College. The influence of the Leipzig Conservatorium figured highly in the curriculum at Oberlin since one of the two founders, John Morgan, had studied at Leipzig. The other founder, George Steele, succeeded Morgan as Professor of Music and went on to study at Leipzig before taking the over the reins of conservatory administration.[28]

The other two early American music conservatories are the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music, developed and operated as the propriety of German pianist Clara Baur (1835-1912) in 1867,[29] and the Peabody Conservatory in Baltimore. Although conceived by benefactor George Peabody (1795-1869) as early as 1857, the Peabody Conservatory did not open its doors until 1868. Peabody, a self-made Yankee millionaire, was a magnanimous and avid promoter of higher education and artistic culture. He lamented the paucity of such activity in the New World. His many European travels led him to believe that the most retarded aspect of the United States lay in the arts, since the American people "would hang with ecstatic [sic] delight upon the miserable melodies of Foster, while the florious [sic] and seraphic outbursts of Mozart and Beethoven would remain unheeded."[30] Peabody's considerable endowment and his vision for a complex that would include a library, a music academy, and an art gallery were without precedent in the United States. Johns Hopkins University, with which the Peabody Conservatory later became affiliated, was also inspired by Peabody's ideas.[31]

Given the antecedents of Peabody, Oberlin, Cincinnati, and New England, a number of other music conservatories such as the Leipzig-influenced Chicago Musical College (1871; now part of Roosevelt University)[32] emerged by the late nineteenth century. So, too, did the study of music enter mainstream higher education with a key precedent being the appointment of John Knowles Paine as the first Professor of Music at Harvard in 1862.[33] Given the prominence of music (*musica speculativa*) as a liberal art in European Universities, it seems surprising that its first appearance in the curriculum of the American college takes more than two hundred years after Harvard's founding (1636).

Why is music the sole liberal art, of the seven arts and sciences, that did not find a place in the curriculum of the old-time American college? Scholar Maurice Faulkner argues that, while both institutions had music professorships, Oxford and Cambridge (unlike other European institutions) tended to conceive of music in terms of extracurricular activities, such as student music societies. Given the domination of the English higher education model on the formation of the colonial college, one might expect music to appear solely in the extracurricular offerings at Harvard, Yale, and the other early schools. And, indeed this is the case.[34]

Toward an American Music Conservatory Model

Like the other United States music conservatories, the Peabody Conservatory transformed the European model as it was transferred to America. The European systems of state and church agency did not exist in the New World, so private endowments and tuition support structures were needed. Moreover, given the nature and the conditions of American culture, it is not surprising that the music conservatory as an institution changed as it adapted to the new soil.

In founding his conservatory, Peabody was acutely aware of this. He not only advocated a more humanistic orientation to the study of music but also saw the primary purpose of the conservatory as a vehicle for educating the populace, in addition to fulfilling the strictly European mission of training virtuosi.[35] Very early on, the American conservatory curriculum began to reflect this humanistic orientation by requiring humanities and sciences not found in European conservatories, and later by granting baccalaureate degrees. Eventually, nearly all American conservatories became associated with colleges or universities.

This link is in direct contrast to European conservatories, which remained independent of the university. In 1966, American researcher Allen Sigel studied six important European conservatories in an effort to draw comparisons with university and conservatory music programs in the United States. There existed strong similarities among the European conservatories. All were state supported institutions that possessed a vocational mission of training performing musicians, for which only diplomas were granted. Intellectually and physically isolated from the degree-granting universities, most conservatories shared common types of curricular structures.

Sigel also found that the "old schism" was still in force: applied music at the conservatory and the purely intellectual study of music, now called "musicology" (the theoretical, scientific, and historical study of music), at the university.[36] The classical division between *musica practica* and *musica speculativa* was still the *modus operandi* of modern European music education. By contrast, the United States music conservatory currently includes many salient features of a liberal education as well as requiring musicology as a curricular cornerstone. Moreover, music degree programs at American universities require considerable applied music in addition to musicology.

In closing this study, four conclusions can be reached. First, as described by Sigel and developed in this paper, a common model of the European conservatory does seem to exist. While each conservatory may possess a singular genesis, their missions, curricula, and support structures are much alike. Second, when organized music performances and, later, music conservatories originated in the United States, it was through the German influence of immigration and Americans who studied in Germany. Third, due to the sheer number of Leipzig alumni who go on to teach and perform in America, the European conservatory of most influence in the United States is the Leipzig Conservatorium. Finally, the European conservatory changes considerably as it is transferred to the New World. It remains private, develops an affiliation with the university, and broadens its curriculum to include liberal studies. Most importantly, the American conservatory possesses a more holistic view of its students and of music itself. *Musica speculativa* and *musica practica* are, in a sense, fused in an educational mission that is humanistic as well as professional.

In contrasting the European approach with the American, Sigel finds a fundamental divergence. "The striking difference between the philosophy and the humanistic concept of American universities is evident. It is also increasingly obvious that in most American institutions of higher learning, including conservatories, a tremendous effort is being made to weld professional and academic education and, in the process, create a stronger, more viable basis for comprehensive musicianship and scholarship."[37] In adapting to the conditions of the New World, the music conservatory changed, and in doing so, it has gone about the task of mending an ancient rift in the conception of music education itself.

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Colonial Evening College Provisions

Huey B. Long
University of Oklahoma

University extension and evening college programs are modern educational provisions that emerged during the final quarter of the nineteenth century.[1] Such a view of the urban American college (university) fails to recognize the responsiveness of some of the earlier colonial institutions to social and economic change. King's College (Columbia) and the College of Philadelphia (University of Pennsylvania) provided an array of education activities in the late afternoons and evenings as they shifted from the classical curriculum to more practical instruction. Failure of educational historians to recognize the eighteenth century college provisions contributes to an incomplete perspective of the early American college scene. Bailyn blamed the oversight among earlier educational historians to a failure to grasp the role and relationship of education to the pre-revolutionary society.[2] Cook notes that there have been few investigations of how and why evening classes appeared.[3] Others such as Bailyn[4] and Hofstadter and Metzger[5] have encouraged studies of the kind reported here to address the neglect of the eighteenth century American college.

While it should be obvious that the evening and afternoon education activities of King's College and the College of Philadelphia did not perfectly reflect the evening college as known in the twentieth century, it is equally clear that they reveal some historical similarities. First, the lectures, some of which are identified later in this paper, were made available by experts at hours that facilitated attendance of individuals who had matriculated in the regular college curriculum. Second, as a consequence of the timing, they attracted participants who were engaged in the world of work. Third, the lectures represented some kind of innovative approach in the delivery of education services.

Bailyn suggests the College of Philadelphia, beginning about 1760, purposely and innovatively approached the college curriculum. In contrast, it appears that the evening provisions at King's College were less deliberately associated with a curriculum theory or philosophy. All of the reasons for the efforts to provide an education that differed from the classical approach of Harvard and Yale are not clear at this time. Some of the justifications are revealed in the philosophies of individual supporters such as Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Rush, and William Smith, when he was an advisor to Samuel Johnson in New York. Johnson and Smith may have indirectly contributed to the attitudes favorable to the medical lectures at King's College. Furthermore, it appears the introduction of the medical instruction at both schools was the result of the great interest of physicians such as New York's Bard, Clossy, and Jones, and Philadelphia's Morgan, Rush, and Shippen. Both Smith and Johnson seem to have been aware of the implications of the momentous changes taking place in science and commerce for the college curriculum and the hours of instruction. Smith and his colleagues in Philadelphia were more direct in espousing a curriculum that, according to Hofstradter, Miller, and Aaron, featured every thing that is useful, and every thing that is ornamental. "King's College. . . advertised that while teaching of religion was its principle objective, it is further the Design of this College, to instruct and perfect the Youth in. . . the Arts of Numbering and Measuring, of Surveying and Navigation, of Geography and History of Husbandry, Commerce and Government."[6]

While this writer has been unable to identify any specific comment on the college schedule attributed to the three college presidents during the time period studied, other evidence concerning their philosophical orientation is available. For example, had any one of the college presidents objected to evening instruction, it is unlikely the proponents would have prevailed. Second, while neither Cooper nor Johnson appears to have been as enthusiastic about science as Smith, who championed the establishment of the American Philosophical Society, Johnson reveals an awareness of the idea of knowledge obsolescence.[7] He also supported the admission and participation of non-matriculated students in the evening lectures.

Given these characteristics it is reasonable to believe that the evening instruction at both colleges was the result of several forces: pragmatic philosophical orientations of the presidents, the desires and goals of powerful physicians and others, and social conditions (including hours of work) favorable to a modification of the traditional day schedule. Given the popularity of societies and public lectures among the British, it is feasible to assume that the evening activities at King's College and the College of Philadelphia were evolutionary.

The idea of evening lectures had existed among British Americans from early in the eighteenth century and even longer among their British ancestors. Therefore, it is not surprising that evening lectures became popular in British America. The evening lectures contained a combination of entertainment, social activity, and enlightenment. As a result they enjoyed a level of popularity from Savannah to Providence. Thus, it does not challenge credulity to imagine that some creative minds such as New York's Bard, Cadwallader, Clossy, Jones, and Smith along with Philadelphians Franklin, Kinnersley, Morgan, Rush, and Shippen associated their knowledge of the evening lectures with their ideas about a new college curriculum.

Long has traced the British origins of such important colonial adult educational activities as public lectures, private teachers, coffeehouses, and intellectual social clubs.[8] Of these four educational provisions, the public lectures seem to have been more often associated with higher education than the other activities. Sixteenth century religious lectures, referred to as prophesying, appear to have prepared the public mind for secular lectures that soon became identified with faculty and students of Oxford and Cambridge.[9] For example, Kelly reported the 1588 mathematics lectures of Dr. Thomas Hood, a graduate of Cambridge.[10] Other early lecturers include Dr. Richard Forster, who delivered a lecture series in surgery as early as 1584.[11] John Florio, while a student at Oxford, taught Italian and other modern languages through public lectures in the 1580s.

At the same time, the legacy of Sir Thomas Gresham, a wealthy London merchant, led to the establishment of Gresham College. According to the provisions of Gresham's will, his former residence became a college in 1597 with seven professors. The college was intended for the common benefit of the people in London. It was anticipated that the auditors (learners) would be merchants and other citizens. By 1700 public lectures were rather common occurrences in London.[12] The colonists were not opposed to adopting the public lecture as an educational and sometimes entertaining activity. One of the earliest American lecturers was Isaiah Greenwood who delivered a series of lectures in New England from 1726 to 1727. For a fee of four pounds, Greenwood promised that he would provide learning experiences in such things as natural knowledge by means of various instruments and machines and the wonderful discoveries of the incomparable Sir Isaac Newton.[13]

First, it should be noted that early American higher education institutions were called colleges rather than universities. Only in the nineteenth century does the term university begin to appear in the titles of American postsecondary education institutions. Second, it is equally important to observe that the term "evening college" was not connected with the college or university education until well into the nineteenth century. Therefore, the evidence cited does not use the term evening college.

King's College and the College of Philadelphia reflected an increasing attention to the more utilitarian concepts of education. The College of Philadelphia, under the leadership of William Smith, appears to have represented what Cremin calls the general principles of Scottish realism.[14] Smith, born in Aberdeen in 1727 and educated at King's College of the University of Aberdeen, was the son of a substantial landholder. In 1753, he prepared a pamphlet entitled *A General Idea of the College of Mirania* that quickly attracted the attention of influential citizens of New York and Pennsylvania.[15]

There is speculation that the pamphlet, which proposed a curriculum designed not to form poets, orators, and scientists, but rather to form men who were rational about the business of life, was a factor in Smith's selection as Provost of the College of Philadelphia. The narrator of the pamphlet, Evander, notes that "a great stock of learning, without knowing how to make it useful in the conduct of life, is of little significance."[16]

It is believed that Smith, who supported Johnson's efforts to establish King's College in New York, may have been interested more in that institution than the College of Philadelphia. Franklin, however, was attracted to Smith by his pamphlet and subsequently recruited him for the Philadelphia school. Soon afterward, however, Franklin and Smith became estranged. A practical thrust to education had adherents in both Philadelphia and New York. A New York newspaper advertisement illustrates the dissatisfaction of some residents of that city with existing colleges. The ad appearing in the September 21, 1767, issue of the *New York Mercury* announced the opening of a seminary of learning with "the ablest tutors, who will teach all the several branches of literature taught in any college in America."[17]

The source of the practical thrust of the King's College curriculum is obscure. The leadership that led to the establishment of medical professorships in 1767, and the interest in continuing education could have come from

Cadwallader and Clossy's lay leadership and pressure from the City, rather than from Samuel Johnson and Myles Cooper, the college's two presidents between 1763 and 1775.

The College of Philadelphia, noted as being a cosmopolitan institution, derived its character equally from its urban location as from the Scottish modernism of the provost. King's College remained somewhat more provincial due to the political ineptitude of the New York Anglican establishment and the mediocrity of its presidents.[18] Nevertheless, both institutions antedate Josiah Holbrook, creator of The American Lyceum, and Benjamin Silliman, a public lecturer of New England fame, by fifty years in the provision of educational opportunity for individuals not normally served by the traditional college curriculum. Both institutions frequently resorted to the pages of their city newspapers to advertise the evening schedules of educational activities and lecture topics, such as electricity, medicine, and at King's College, chemistry and hydrostatics. The medical lecturers appear to be identified most closely with current ideas about higher education curricular matters.

Standard adult education references such as *The Adult Education Movement in the United States*[19] and the 1960 edition of the *Handbook of Adult Education in the United States*[20] virtually ignore the role of the colonial colleges in adult education. Knowles (1962) devotes 14 lines to a discussion of the "universities" and generally appears to discount their adult education role during the colonial period. Colleges received even less attention in the 1960 book. There is, however, ample evidence to believe that the College of Philadelphia and, to a lesser extent, King's College purposely engaged in the provision of educational opportunities for "older" adults as well as for the younger full-time students.

The first identified advertisement of an evening lecture about medicine, provided by an American college, was placed by King's College. The relatively detailed announcement appeared in the September 23, 1765, issue of the *New York Mercury*.[21] The advertisement stated that "Dr. Clossy's Anatomical Lectures will begin with the History and Uses of Anatomy, and proceed to the dry and fresh bones, with their uses, motions, and diseases."

A 1767 announcement of the medical lectures removes all doubt concerning the explicit policy of the King's College administration about the provision of educational opportunities for non-matriculated adults not normally associated with the college. The announcement specifically addressed "gentlemen who will choose to attend for the improvement of their minds. . . ." Further, "all possible care will be taken to render it useful, not only to those whose indispensable business and duty it is to be acquainted with the human structure and anatomy. But to gentlemen of other professions who may be inclined to acquire some knowledge of these subjects, as a part of philosophy."[22] Similarly, a 1768 advertisement noted that the introductory lectures to each topic were open to the public.[23]

By 1768, the medical lectures of King's College had expanded to include lectures by four doctors. Dr. Peter Middleton discussed the "theory of physic." Dr. Clossy's topic continued to be anatomy until 1770 when he also gave pharmacy prelections. Dr. John Jones discussed the theory and practice of surgery, while "the practice of physic" was discussed by Dr. Samuel Bard. Later advertisements indicated that the lectures were helpful to a broad public. Clossy's anatomy course was more than lectures, as his advertisements reported that different topics were frequently illustrated. He accomplished the illustration by the use of demonstrations, "preparations," and projected images through the use of the solar microscope.[24]

Twenty-four advertisements of the medical prelections sponsored by King's College between 1765 and 1771 have been identified in the *New York Mercury*.[25] In addition to the public lectures, there is evidence that the instructors were available to students on a private basis. Clossy's 1765 advertisement quoted his fee for private pupils as ten pounds for the anatomy course.

The availability of medical lectures for both serious and casual students of medicine requires an explanation. The relative sophistication of Clossy's lectures contrasts with the favorite medical treatment that included the lancet and staggering doses of purgatives. There is a measure of the efficacy of some of the kind of instruction provided at the College of Philadelphia and King's College. This is that,in 1827, Dr. John Richmond of Newton, Ohio performed the first successful Caesarian section in the American West. Richmond was an itinerant preacher who had taken up medicine after listening to lectures at a medical school where he worked temporarily as a janitor. Richmond had neither seen a Caesarean section performed, nor heard it described by another physician; he had only rudimentary knowledge of how to proceed, based on reading ancient accounts in Greek and Latin.[26]

The development of the medical curriculum at the College of Philadelphia from 1765 appears to be identified with John Morgan, a member of the first graduating class. While serving as an apprentice to Dr. John Redman, he enrolled in classes at the college and completed his baccalaureate in 1756. After four years as a regimental surgeon with the Pennsylvania militia, he went to London and then to the University of Edinburgh medical school. Morgan returned to Philadelphia in 1765 and successfully promoted the idea of developing the medical school under the aegis of the College of Philadelphia. His plan was promptly accepted and he found himself elected as professor of theory and practice of medicine on May 3, 1765.[27]

The absence of a medical school in the colonies prior to the College of Philadelphia's degree program indicates that probably most of the American doctors had gained their knowledge and skills as apprentices, as Morgan himself had started out. Consequently, it is likely that a large city such as Philadelphia contained a number of practitioners who could profit from participation in the medical lectures. The advertisements of the lectures invited the participation of individuals who were not currently students.

An advertisement appearing in the December 17, 1767, issue of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* noted that the medical lectures were to be provided on an "extensive" basis during the winter.[28] The statement went on to note that the lectures would be "gratis," with a view to encourage the new medical school and to extend "the usefulness and reputation of the college." Any gentlemen, who had formerly been educated at the college and who desired to renew their acquaintances with the branches of knowledge covered in the lecture were welcome to attend.

In 1769, an announcement of Dr. Smith's course of lectures in natural and experimental philosophy contained an invitation for "any of his former pupils who may be desirous of *refreshing* (italics are mine) their memories in their branches of knowledge, will be welcome to attend the course; and also any other gentlemen who may think proper to apply to him."[29] Another advertisement reported that Dr. Rush's introductory lecture to his chemistry was to be delivered publicly.[30] In 1771, an advertisement proclaimed that the medical lectures were open to the public. That advertisement, announcing Dr. Benjamin Rush's chemistry lectures and experiments, said the course "will be taught in such a manner as to be intelligible to the private gentleman and engineering artist, as well as the student of medicine."[31]

These and other advertisements appearing over a five year period provide sufficient reason to believe that the medical lectures were designed to reach a broader audience than what would be identified today as the usual university student. Meanwhile, eight other lecturers were identified in the ads published between 1766 and 1773: Morgan, Shippen, Bond, Kuhn, Rush, Graham, Smith, and Kinnersley. Each lecturer had his own area of specialization. Morgan's lectures appear to have been the most general, including botany, chemistry, and materia medica. Shippen's topics included anatomy, surgery, art of injecting, art of dissecting, and midwifery. Bond lectured on the theory and practice of physic based on cases from the Philadelphia Hospital. Kuhn addressed the subjects of botany, materia medica, and pharmacy. The noted Benjamin Rush limited himself to chemistry. Graham presented a three part lecture series on "that curious and most important organ," the eye. Smith's topic was natural and experimental philosophy. Kinnersley lectured on electricity.[32]

The advertisements provide little insight concerning the content of the different lectures, although Shippen's lectures were described in comparatively more detail. An advertisement of 1771 noted the that "Doctor Shippen will begin his lectures on anatomy, surgery, and midwifery on Monday, the 28th of October; in which will be demonstrated and explained the figure, situation, structure and uses of all the parts of the human body on the first subject; after which the Doctor proposes to perform and explain all the necessary operations of surgery." He promised to "give a course on bandages; and conclude the whole with seven or eight lectures, containing plain rules for the safe practice of midwifery and useful directions for the proper management of mother and child during the month."[33]

Knowledge of the colonial American college may improve understanding of the development of higher education in the United States. Historians such as Bailyn, Cremin, and Hofstadter have commented on the need for additional study. Cook's study of the evening college at the University of Chicago reveals how little is known about the development of specialized curricula and departments that served adult students. While there was no such college division known as the evening college at the time, it is obvious that King's College and the College of Philadelphia provided evening instruction in a manner that is not dissimilar to modern evening college provisions.

Sources reviewed for the purpose of this study support the contention that British colonists who immigrated to America came from a culture where educational activities such as public lectures were frequently provided by individuals who had some college experience. They may have been graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, and in some instances they were students. It can be argued that the American familiarity with evening lectures combined with an interest in an applied college curriculum provided an impetus to the provision of evening lectures by the New York and Philadelphia colleges, as early as the 1760s.

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31. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Sept. 5, 1771.
32. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Dec. 20, 1770.
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The Beginning of the Women's Fraternity Movement and the Growth of Coeducation

Fran Becque
Southern Illinois University

During the period from the close of the Civil War to the turn of the century, the history of the women's fraternity movement mirrored, in many ways, the opportunities for women in the male dominated world of American higher education. A brief summary will be presented of the growth of the women's fraternity system and its contribution to the acceptance of women in American higher education.

In 1870, less than one percent of all American females 18-21 years of age were enrolled in any form of higher education. Of those women, fewer than half attended coeducational institutions. In 1870, there were 582 institutions of higher education in the United States; of that number only 169 (29%) were coeducational; 70 (12%) were female only and 343 (59%) were male only.[1] By 1890, women represented a little more than two percent of the student body. Of that small number, seventy percent were enrolled in coeducational institutions. Women sought out support systems, friends with whom they could share the experience of higher education. Out of this search came the concept of women's fraternities.

The women's fraternity movement began in the Midwest after the end of the Civil War. The movement had its start in small church-affiliated institutions. In 1867, in Monmouth, Illinois, twelve Monmouth College coeds formed I.C. Sorosis, the women's fraternity that is today known by its original Greek motto, Pi Beta Phi. A year later, in 1868, one of the Pi Beta Phi founders enrolled at Iowa Wesleyan University in Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, and formed a second chapter. P.E.O., now a community philanthropic educational organization, was founded as a collegiate group at Iowa Wesleyan University shortly after the appearance of I.C. Sorosis on campus. In 1870, Kappa Alpha Theta came to life at Indiana Asbury University, now DePauw University, in Greencastle. Later that year, Kappa Kappa Gamma began at Monmouth College. Thus, by 1870, the Midwest was home to several women's fraternities.

When Alpha Phi was founded in 1872 at Syracuse University in Central New York State, the ten founders "were pleasantly unaware of the existence of any other similar organization and immediately began calling themselves a national fraternity."[2]

In 1873, in Oxford, Mississippi, Delta Gamma began at the Lewis School for Girls. The following year, Gamma Phi Beta appeared on the Syracuse University campus. Alpha Chi Omega was founded at DePauw University in 1885. Three years later, Delta Delta Delta came to life at Boston University. In 1895, Chi Omega was founded at the University of Arkansas.

Although a Panhellenic meeting had been attempted in 1891, it was not until 11 years later that a successful attempt was made to foster Panhellenic spirit. The same seven groups that had previously come together in Boston met in Chicago in 1902 at the invitation of Alpha Phi. Alpha Chi Omega and Chi Omega were invited to the meeting but were unable to send delegates.[3] This second attempt resulted in the creation of what is today known as the National Panhellenic Conference [NPC]. Only the nine groups invited to the first NPC meeting will be discussed in this paper.

During the first six years of growth, from 1867 through 1873, the women's fraternity system involved mainly church-affiliated institutions. These included Carthage College, Cincinnati Wesleyan College, Moore's Hill College, Smithson College, and Fairmont College. Extension was largely unsuccessful and most chapters did not survive very long. In many instances, the chapter did not survive because the institution ceased to exist. There are, however, several private institutions which have been home to women's fraternities since the 1870s, including Syracuse University (Syracuse, New York), Simpson College (Indianola, Iowa), Butler University (Indianapolis, Indiana), Illinois Wesleyan (Bloomington, Illinois), Hillsdale College (Hillsdale, Michigan), and the University of Akron (Akron, Ohio).

Coeducational state institutions, fostered in part by the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862, became prime spots of expansion for the women's fraternity system. Before the Civil War, the University of Iowa was the only state institution to admit women. In 1863, 30 women began teacher training at the University of Wisconsin. The Universities of Kansas, Indiana and Minnesota enrolled women in 1869. A year later, the Universities of Missouri, Michigan and California followed suit. While women were allowed to attend classes, there were often restrictions placed upon them. It wasn't until

1871 that women at the University of Missouri were admitted to all classes. But even then, they did not have full use of the library or permission to attend chapel with the men. In their early years, California, Iowa , Kansas, and Minnesota admitted only women from the home state.

Among the first state institutions to welcome women's fraternities were Indiana University (1870), Kansas University (1873), University of Wisconsin (1875), University of Missouri (1876), Ohio University (1876), Iowa State University (1877) and the University of Michigan (1879).

From 1867 until 1881, only four groups, Delta Gamma, Kappa Alpha Theta, Kappa Kappa Gamma, and Pi Beta Phi attempted to start chapters beyond the founding campus. The early efforts at expansion were quite simple in comparison to today's standards. In many cases, it took only a few interested women to begin a chapter. Methods of expansion included sending an initiated member to another institution to recruit members for a new chapter; recruiting friends and relatives to start chapters at other schools; contacting women students, sometimes blindly through college directories and asking them to start new chapters; and soliciting information from professors about potential fraternity women at other institutions.[4]

Women were not always wanted on campus. Men were sometimes openly hostile to the women students. Women's fraternities took on the nature of a protective league, providing moral support and academic encouragement. The University of Vermont's institutional history admits, "Women were second class citizens for their first twenty-five years on the campus."[5] Only ten women were enrolled at the University of Vermont [UVM] in 1883, and all but one of them eventually graduated. This same claim cannot be made for the men enrolled at UVM that year; more than 30% of those men failed to graduate. Chapters of three women's fraternities were chartered on the UVM campus before the turn of the century: Kappa Alpha Theta in 1881 (when there were 10 women attending), Delta Delta Delta in 1893, and Pi Beta Phi in 1898.

Women's fraternities played another key role in collegiate life in the late 1800s. When the Alpha chapter of Alpha Phi built the country's first women's fraternity house in 1886, it signaled the start of a new relationship with the institutions at which the women's fraternities had chapters. Before the advent of the women's fraternity house, the typical female student either roomed with town families or lived at home and traveled to campus.

The 1890s saw the rise of the women's fraternity house. Allowing women's fraternities to house their members in genteel refinement under the watchful eye of a chaperon (or housemother as she later became known) filled a housing void at little or no cost to the institution. Moreover, the watchful eye of each of the fraternities' national officers added insurance that the fraternity women would be held to high moral and academic standards.

The Kappa Kappa Gamma chapter at the University of Wisconsin, in the spring of 1891, rented the furnished home of a professor on leave. "The experiment was so successful that in the fall another house was rented."[6] At St. Lawrence University, "until the construction of our Women's Residence in 1928 and Men's Residence in 1931, the fraternities and sororities were the only places available for the students to live among their fellow students in a free and democratic fellowship."[7]

Between 1867 and 1900, women gained a foothold in the world of higher education. The first American Ph.D. was awarded to a Yale University man in 1862. The first Ph.D. conferred on a woman was in 1877 at Boston University. In 1880, Cornell, Syracuse, and the University of Pennsylvania each awarded a Ph.D. to a woman. The first woman to receive a Ph.D. at Syracuse University was Rena Michaels [Atchinson], a founder of Alpha Phi. By the end of the century, 228 women and 2,372 men had received Ph.D.s. Many of these women who had been educated in coeducational institutions were fraternity women.

Women's fraternities became an established entity and provided fellowship, academic support, and social opportunities for their membership. In some cases, they also provided housing. By 1900, most national women's fraternities had volunteers serving on a "Grand Council," whose job it was to oversee the operations of the national fraternity. Expansion became a standardized process whereby local organizations petitioned the national organization for a charter. Most chapters installed between 1890 and 1900 prospered. By 1900, the women's fraternity had become a mainstay at private and public institutions throughout the country.

Endnotes

1. Solomon, B. M. *In the Company of Educated Women*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985.
2. Singleton, O. F. *The History of Alpha Phi International Fraternity (1872-1930)*. New York: The Century Co., 1931, xxi.
3. Leonard, L. *National Panhellenic Conference: An Historical Record*. St. Paul, MN: Leland Publishers, 1957.
4. Burton-Roth, F., and M. C. Whiting-Westermann. *History of Kappa Kappa Gamma Fraternity: 1870-1930*, N.p., 1932. The Kappa Kappa Gamma Chi chapter at the University of Minnesota was formed with the help of Allen J. Greer, Chi Psi, a college professor who was teaching in Indiana. Mary Goodrich, the Minnesota coed Greer recommended, in addition to a letter asking her to start a Kappa Kappa Gamma chapter, also received one from Kappa Alpha Theta.
5. Daniels, R. V., ed. *The University of Vermont: The First Two Hundred Years*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1991, p. 87.
6. Burton-Roth, F., and M. C. Whiting-Westermann. *History of Kappa Kappa Gamma Fraternity: 1870-1930*, N.p., 1932, p. 90.
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Documenting The American College Fraternity System

John Straw
University of Illinois at Urbana

Since its beginnings in 1776, the American college fraternity has been a constant, if often controversial, part of higher education and student life. The rituals and traditions of fraternity life have often been questioned, scrutinized, and condemned, even to the point of the banning of these societies at many colleges and universities in the 19th century. Secrecy, brutality, conformity, and racial and religious discrimination are just some of the charges that the fraternity system has faced throughout its history. The negative side of fraternity life has been portrayed in many books, articles, and films. Possibly the strongest image many people currently have of fraternities is the one lampooned in the movie "Animal House." The indefensible acts of hazing that cause emotional and physical harm, even death, have been well documented in the press.

On the positive side, fraternities and sororities have been the sources of housing, social life, self-government and discipline, support networks, and lifelong friendships for millions of students. Many of the values and traditional ideals of brotherhood and sisterhood have had positive effects for the students and their alma maters.

One positive, and practical, effect has been the financial return to colleges and universities. A 1987-89 study at Indiana University of the undergraduate experience of alumni from 1949 to 1975 who contributed financial support to the university reinforced previous research showing that fraternity alumni support their alma mater in a "much greater proportion of their population than non-Greek alumni."[1] Using the Clark and Trow Taxonomy of Student Subcultures, the study found that over 56 percent of the donors to Indiana University during the established period had fraternity affiliation, even though the percentage of the student population during the period was only 18 percent.[2]

Despite the many obstacles that the fraternity system has faced throughout its existence, it has continued to grow, although the numbers have fluctuated with the times. In 1994, there were an estimated 2,834,126 sorority members (including 220,000 collegiate) and 4,500,000 fraternity members (including 400,000 collegiate).[3] While these numbers statistically may not be a large percentage of the total college graduates and students, the figures do represent one of the largest, most influential, and best organized of the student subcultures in the history of higher education.

Honor, recognition, service, and professional groups are also part of the fraternity world, even though they are often viewed as quite different from the social organizations.[4] While they do differ frequently in their purposes and membership requirements, there are many similarities in their history, development, organization, and structure.[5] Phi Beta Kappa provides an example of the historical ties between the different types. Founded at the College of William and Mary on December 5, 1776, Phi Beta Kappa was the first American college Greek-letter society. It had most of the characteristics of a fraternity today: secrecy, oaths of fidelity, a secret handshake, a motto, a badge, and a strong bond of friendship.[6] Of course, today Phi Beta Kappa is arguably our most prestigious honor society.

The history of the fraternity system's struggles, successes, and contributions to higher education provides important insights into the educational process outside the classroom. Any comprehensive scholarly work on the history of higher education would be negligent if it did not include at least some reference to the role of fraternities on American campuses. If for no other reason, the catalyst they provided in the development of student life is too strong to ignore. Helen Horowitz states that "unlike earlier student associations, they served as the base out from which the undergraduate moved, not the final stopping place."[7]

In discussing the documentation of fraternities and sororities, I will be using the University of Illinois and its student life and culture archival program as a backdrop. Not only is the type of documentation available at the University of Illinois Archives representative of what can be found at other institutions of higher education, but also its endowed archival program for documenting student life provides an opportunity to examine sources that are either unique, difficult to locate, or often inaccessible to researchers. The student life and culture archival program serves as a research center for the preservation and study of material documenting the total student experience in higher education. The program was established in 1991 and is supported by the Stewart S. Howe Archival Program Endowment.

Stewart Howe, a 1928 graduate of the University of Illinois and member of the Kappa Sigma fraternity, was a public relations and financial management consultant to fraternities, sororities, colleges, and universities. For over 30 years, branches of the Stewart S. Howe Alumni Service could be found in many university communities. The nature of his business allowed Howe to collect material on fraternities and sororities, student life, and higher education for more than 40 years. As a lifelong supporter of his alma mater and its library and archives, Howe decided that the University of Illinois Archives should be the permanent home for his collection. He made his first donation in 1967: newsletters from over 50 University of Illinois fraternities and sororities. When he died in 1973, the rest of his collection came to the Archives. Today, the Howe Collection is the world's largest and most comprehensive on the American college fraternity system.[8]

The collection contains documentation from 1867 to the present on more than 220 active and defunct Greek-letter societies. Given the breadth and scope of the collection, a description of the types of items contained in it provides an overview of the documentation that exists for the study of the history of the fraternity system in higher education.

Part of Howe's business was to publish chapter newsletters for fraternities from the 1930s through the early 1970s. His collection contains a large selection of these newsletters, as well as others that were published by different companies. The collection also contains national and chapter histories (both published and unpublished), membership and alumni directories, pledge manuals, songbooks, and magazines.

Fraternity magazines are a particularly rich source of information on the exoteric aspects of Greek-letter societies. In an 1888 article in *Century Magazine*, John Addison Porter wrote, "The hideous reptiles and winged monsters, the burning altars and dungeon bars, and other such fantastic symbolism with which the magazines and newspapers of some of the fraternities are decorated, prove to cover interesting and often useful tables of contents, including reminiscences of college life and literary articles by prominent graduates."[9]

An example of the information that can be gleaned from these magazines can be found in an article by Jack Matthews in *The Southern Review*. The article on college student life in the 1890s was based on looking at only three early issues of *Beta Theta Pi Magazine* that he picked up at a used bookstore.[10] The Howe Collection has journals for around 200 organizations dating from 1885 to the present.

In addition to publications, Howe collected brochures, reports, photographs, newspaper and magazine clippings, and other assorted items on the nationals and their chapters. He assembled these loose items in folders, arranged alphabetically by name of organization, and put the more fragile or significant items in envelopes on which he wrote descriptive information.

The collection includes minutes, reports, publications, and other documentation of many interfraternity organizations, including the College Fraternity Editors Association, Interfraternity Research and Advisory Council, National Interfraternity Conference, National Panhellenic Conference, and Professional Interfraternity Conference. It also contains complete sets of *Baird's Manual of American College Fraternities*, *Banta's Greek Exchange*, *Fraternity Month*, and *Fraternity Insider*.

Baird's Manual has long been considered the authoritative source on American fraternities and sororities. First published in 1879 by William Raimond Baird, a new edition appeared about every 5 to 10 years and was a compilation of facts and figures about all the different types of Greek-letter societies. The information was gleaned from the organizations themselves and included a brief history and list of chapters with their founding dates. Following Baird's death, others continued the tradition. The most recent update was published in 1991.[11]

Banta's Greek Exchange was a quarterly interfraternity magazine that was published by George Banta from December 1912 to July 1973. As its title suggested, the magazine provided an opportunity for exchange of information between the various fraternities and sororities concerning their activities and ideas. Organizations shared stories from their own magazines and other news items. Prominent fraternity individuals provided articles and editorials on fraternity and national issues. *Fraternity Month* was a similar interfraternity magazine that was published from 1933 to 1971. While the basic idea was the same, it contained more articles on fraternity history and traditions.[12]

The Fraternity Insider was a different type of publication altogether. Published from 1960 to 1983 by the idiosyncratic and often controversial Wilson Heller, the *Insider* was a monthly mimeographed, stapled multipage newsletter written in a shorthand style.[13] It purported to give the "true" inside scoop on fraternities. Each issue highlighted a different institution and fraternity and presented historical and current information. With the aid of a system of "spies," Heller often "tattled" on his fellow fraternity members.

The Howe Collection also includes Howe's correspondence with many individuals who were prominent in the fraternity world and higher education from the 1920s through the 1970s, including Lloyd Balfour, George Banta, Wilson Heller, and

Leland F. Leland. Howe had written articles and columns for their various publications. They provided him with copies of all the different types of items that they published, for his collection. Topics of the correspondence include publishing and business plans, fund-raising and alumni support, politics and activities of the National Interfraternity Conference, fraternity membership statistics, and restrictive membership clauses. One of Howe's main concerns was the importance of developing active alumni members. In a 1958 speech, he said, "Alumni members are the keepers of the tradition, preferred stockholders in the enterprise, the mark of its accomplishment."[14] Much of his writings and correspondence speak to this philosophy.

In addition to his correspondence with leaders in the fraternity world, Howe was responsible for obtaining the personal papers of some of these individuals to augment his collection at the University of Illinois. These collections included the Clyde S. Johnson Fraternity Collection, 1931-70; Leland Publishers Records, 1933-71; and Wilson B. Heller Papers, 1937-83.

Clyde Sanfred Johnson, Professor of Educational Psychology and Social Foundations at California State University-Long Beach, was an important supporter and chronicler of the American college fraternity. The author of many articles and publications about the fraternity system, Johnson's most significant work in the area was *Fraternities in Our Colleges*, published in 1972. He was an active leader of his fraternity, Phi Kappa Epsilon, and played a significant role in the NIC as a member of the Executive Committee and as Research Editor.[15]

Johnson's collection is an extensive source of information for research on the debate over fraternity membership selectivity in the 1950s and 1960s. It includes correspondence and source material on autonomy, membership restrictions, and other topics included in his book. It also contains NIC Executive Committee minutes, 1945-70; NIC programs, 1948-70; and a bibliographic card file of articles and books on fraternity and college life.

Leland F. Leland and his wife Wilma established Leland Publishers, Incorporated, in St. Paul, Minnesota in 1933. He was editor and publisher of *Fraternity Month* from 1933 to 1971. Leland was an active and prominent member of Tau Kappa Epsilon. He served as editor and manager of *The TEKE* journal from 1924 to 1949, as well as editor of a 50-year TKE history, manuals, and many other of the fraternity's publications. Wilma Helen Leland was a member of Alpha Omicron Pi and editor of its magazine *To-Dragma*.[16] The Leland Publishers records, which include the papers of both husband and wife, contain primarily source material for published and unpublished articles for their magazine. The collection is particularly useful for research into fraternity publishing and the history of fraternity traditions.

Wilson Benton Heller was known as "Doctor to the Greeks." In 1912, he started the College Survey Bureau to provide annual comparisons of college fraternities and sororities. The comparisons were based on surveys of student views of the "importance, prominence, and power" of individual chapters on each campus. During the 1920s and 1930s, Heller was a Hollywood press agent, but gave up that career in 1945 to devote full time to his interest in the fraternity world. In 1960, he began publishing *Fraternity Insider*, which attained a monthly circulation of more than 5,000.[17]

Heller's papers consist of correspondence, notes, surveys, and other documentation used in compiling the annual comparisons. The collection also contains correspondence and source material for articles in his newsletter. His running battle with leaders of NIC is reflected in his correspondence, as are his long personal and legal battles with Balfour. He was a prominent actor in the anti-monopoly case against the Balfour Company, maker of fraternity jewelry. This collection provides a unique view of many aspects of the fraternity world.

In addition to the personal collections of prominent fraternity individuals such as the ones just discussed, the University of Illinois Archives, like most college or university archives, holds a wealth of source material on the fraternity system in the institution's official records relating to students and student affairs, student and alumni papers and scrapbooks, photographs, and student publications. Especially worthy of mention at the University of Illinois Archives are the papers of Thomas A. Clark and Fred H. Turner. Clark was one of the first Dean of Men in the nation and a strong supporter of fraternities. A prolific writer and speaker on fraternity subjects, Dean Clark was author of *The Fraternity and the College* and *The Fraternity and the Undergraduate*, as well as numerous magazine and journal articles. Turner, Clark's colleague and successor as Dean of Students at Illinois, was also a prominent individual in the fraternity world. The Clark and Turner papers contain extensive material on fraternity issues and are especially valuable sources for an examination of a university administration's use of the fraternity system for its own purposes.[18]

Perhaps the most useful documentation of research into the fraternity movement is to be found in the records and archives of the organizations themselves. However, there can often be difficulties for researchers in obtaining access to the records of these private organizations. Indeed, it is in the very fabric of the groups to safeguard the secrets of their rituals and traditions. Often, unless a researcher is a member of the fraternity or sorority or at the very least part of the fraternal world, access to records may be denied. At best, an outside researcher may see selected material. Even with their publications, fraternities deal in the esoteric and exoteric. Most of the publications discussed in this article have been of an exoteric nature. Esoteric items are meant for members only.

During the initial discussions with Alpha Tau Omega concerning the placement of their archives at Illinois, it was decided that ATO would conduct a survey of other fraternities and sororities to determine how they were handling their archives. The results of this survey provide a glimpse of the difficulties facing researchers into fraternity history.

Only 20 social fraternities and sororities, out of a possible 87, responded to the survey. Six of the respondents had established archival programs with either volunteer or paid archivists working either full or part time. Two others had agreements with universities to preserve at least some of their records. Three had most of their records organized and some type of cataloging done. Seven were either doing or had done indexing of their magazines. Only two gave any information about access to their records. One had developed a policy statement and user forms. The other had computerized all their finding aids to assist with locating material. Both stated that internal and external use was by permission of the archivist and executive director or president.[19]

Despite some potential roadblocks to research, it is possible to have access to the historical records of some fraternities and sororities. One of the goals of the Student Life and Culture Archival Program is to work with these organizations to ensure the preservation of their records. This work takes the form of communicating with the groups to help them set up their own archives, providing for the preservation of their records in the University Archives, or advising them on other institutions where their materials could be preserved.

The University of Illinois has established contractual agreements with several honor, professional, recognition, and social fraternities, including Alpha Lambda Delta, Alpha Tau Omega, Beta Alpha Psi, Order of the Coif, Phi Eta Sigma, and the National Panhellenic Conference. An agreement is being finalized with Sigma Alpha Iota.[20] A brief discussion of the archives of the National Panhellenic Conference and Alpha Tau Omega provides a view of the types of records that are generated by an interfraternity organization and a national social fraternity. The National Panhellenic Conference was formed in 1902 as an interfraternity association for women's fraternities. As the oldest interfraternity group, their records reflect the contributions of NPC and its member sororities to both the fraternity world and higher education for women. Records that are available for research in the NPC archives include: conference proceedings, reports and programs; chairman's correspondence and bulletins; city, alumnae, and college files; committee records; Interfraternity Research Advisory Council correspondence, bulletins, and annual reports; information manuals; directories; rushing guidelines; sorority handbooks; NPC newsletters; seminar materials; and photographs, slides, and videotapes. There are no restrictions to access. An NPC Archives homepage, which includes some finding aids, is available on the World Wide Web.[21]

Alpha Tau Omega was the first fraternity founded after the Civil War in 1865. It was part of the Lexington (Virginia) Triad, which also included Kappa Alpha Order and Sigma Nu. ATO is one of the larger and better known fraternities in existence. There has been a long relationship between ATO and the University of Illinois. Dean Thomas Arkle Clark began that relationship when he was the first initiate on the Illinois campus. He was instrumental in locating the ATO national headquarters in Champaign.[22] In July 1995, ATO signed an agreement with the University of Illinois to preserve their archives. The agreement provides for funds for a graduate assistant to arrange and describe the records and provide reference assistance.

The ATO archives will be over 300 cubic feet when processing is completed. The types of records that will be available for research in the ATO archives include correspondence, minutes, reports, photographs, publications, and other documents from the Fraternity Board of Directors/High Council; ATO Foundation Board of Governors and Executive Director administrative staff and services, including Executive Director, Development, Communications, Business and Financial Services, Chapter Services, Member Services, Volunteer Services, Expansion, and Leadershape; national officers; congresses, conferences, workshops; and collegiate chapters and alumni groups. The Archives is working on guidelines for the preservation of ATO electronic records.

The correspondence in various record series throughout the ATO archives provides an extensive source of research material on the development of a major fraternity from its inception. The chapter files are especially rich sources of historical information on many fraternity issues. Confidential and sensitive material does exist in the collection, so the establishment of access guidelines were essential. As a research institution, the University Archives' basic policy has been not to take any ATO records that would be permanently closed to research use.[23]

In the final analysis, the value of any archival documentation is based on its use. In the last year and a half, a total of ten researchers from other universities used materials on fraternity and sorority history in the University of Illinois Archives: four for dissertations, three for history monographs, two for history journal articles, and one for a video history.[24] Those research uses are in addition to the undergraduate, alumni, media, administrative, and personal uses of the collections that occur on a regular basis.

Much more research needs to be done on the historical role of the fraternity in American colleges and universities. The documentation described in this article can provide some of the source material needed for that research. As new research topics emerge, the University of Illinois Archives and other academic archives are committed to providing the sources needed by scholars of the history of higher education and all of its components.

Endnotes

1. W. Nelson Thomas, Jr., *The Undergraduate Experiences of Alumni Who Support Their Alma Mater* (Bloomington, Indiana: Center for the Study of the College Fraternity, monograph series, 1988). See foreword by Richard McKaig.
2. Thomas, 32.
3. Statistics provided to author by National Interfraternity Conference and National Panhellenic Conference headquarters staff, Indianapolis, Indiana.
4. For a description of the different types of fraternities and their histories, see *Baird's Manual of American College Fraternities* (Indianapolis: Baird's Manual Foundation, Inc., 1991), I-9 to I-24.
5. Baird's Manual, I-9.
6. Baird's Manual, I-10.
7. Helen L. Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Culture from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 39.
8. For information on the history and development of the Stewart S. Howe Archival Program Endowment, See *Preserving Your Fraternal Heritage* (Urbana, Illinois: Stewart Howe Foundation and University of Illinois Archives, 1995). For more information about the Student Life and Culture Archival Program, see John Straw, "From Classroom to Commons: Documenting the Total Student Experience in Higher Education," *Archival Issues* 19:1 (1994), 10-29.
9. John Addison Porter, "College Fraternities," *Century Magazine* (September 1888), 749-760. For a discussion of the development of fraternity and sorority magazines, see Baird's Manual, I-16 to I-19.
10. Jack Matthews, "Good Old Ways of the Good Old Days," *The Southern Review* (Winter 1994), 126-135.
11. Editions of Baird's Manual were published in 1879, 1883, 1890, 1898, 1905, 1912, 1915 (with a brief update in 1916), 1920, 1923, 1927, 1930, 1935, 1940, 1949, 1957, 1963, 1968, 1977, and 1991.
12. *Banta's Greek Exchange* (Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta Company, Inc. The Collegiate Press). *Fraternity Month* (Minneapolis: Leland Publishers, Inc., The Fratenity Press).
13. Complete sets of the *Insider* are located in the Stewart S. Howe Collection, record series 26/20/30, and Wilson Heller Papers, record series 41/2/51, UIUC Archives.
14. Howe's speeches and correspondence can be found in the following subseries of record series 26/20/30: Personal Correspondence; Business; and Stewart Howe Alumni Service.
15. Biographical information from Clyde Johnson Papers, record series 41/2/50, UIUC Archives.
16. Biographical information from Leland Publishers Records, record series 41/2/51, UIUC Archives.
17. Biographical information from Wilson Heller Papers, record series 41/2/52, UIUC Archives.
18. Information from Thomas A. Clark Papers, record series 41/2/20, and Fred Turner papers, record series 41/1/20, UIUC Archives.
19. Alpha Tau Omega Survey and Correspondence, 1995, ATO Archives Administration File, UIUC Archives.
20. Alpha Lambda Delta is a freshman scholarship honor society founded in 1924. Beta Alpha Psi is a professional accounting fraternity established in 1919. Order of the Coif, which was formed in 1902, is an honor society for law students. Phi Eta Sigma is a freshman scholarship honor society that was organized in 1923 by Dean Thomas Clark. All were founded at the University of Illinois. Sigma Alpha Iota, an international music fraternity for women, was established at the University of Michigan in 1903.
21. For a history of NPC, see *National Interfraternity Conference: An Historical Record of Achievement* (Indianapolis: National Panhellenic

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Conference, 1981).

22. A three volume set published by Alpha Tau Omega Fraternity, Inc., Champaign, Illinois, provides a comprehensive history of the fraternity: Claude Reno, *The ATO Story: The First Fifty Years* (1962); Harry L. Bird, *The ATO Story: From Gold to Diamond* (1965); Bird, *The ATO Story: On to the Centennial* (1968).

23. As of this writing, the ATO Archives are being arranged and described by Archives graduate assistants, under the supervision of the student life and culture archivist, at ATO headquarters in Champaign. The records will be transferred when processing is complete. The chapter files are the largest record series in the collection and will likely exceed 150 cubic feet when processed.

24. University of Illinois Archives Annual Report, 1993-94, 1994-95.

How School Supervisors Responded to the Human Relations Movement

Janis Fine
Loyola University

School supervision in America has gone through many transformations. Supervisory philosophies, policies, and practices have been influenced by several major bodies of administrative thought originating outside of education. Often these ideologies have been products of industrial and social science research. With the advent of the Human Relations Era and the influence of industrial administrators, and socio-political influences, democratic approaches to supervision replaced scientific management in the schools. The belief that improvement of instruction would be achieved through a democratic form of leadership resulted in the human relations management of schools.

The purpose of this paper will be to examine the development of the human relations model of supervision in American schools from 1930-1960. More specifically, this model will be discussed as it developed in response to industrial, socio-political, and educational forces of this era. Discussion will focus on emerging views of human relations in management as they directly influenced supervisory change for education during this period.

From 1910-1930, Frederick Taylor's Scientific Management was widely adopted by American schools in response to the swelling school populations, the expanding educational services and curriculum, the educating of diverse student populations, and a growing need for accountability. Taylor's system of management, developed during his involvement in industrial unrest at Midvale Steel in the late 1800s, was based on the assumption that people will come to realize what is best for them economically and act accordingly to maximize their economic benefits.

Taylor's ideas about efficiency and reorganization were published in his famous work *The Principles of Scientific Management* in 1911. His new system of management was scientific in nature and included scientific design of each task, scientific selection of workers, rewards for productivity, and division of labor and responsibility.

The principles of scientific management had a profound effect on the supervision of schools from 1910-1930. Schools were not simply viewed as educational institutions, but as industrial plants where pupils represented the raw products to be processed, teachers were the workers, and school administrators served as the industrial managers who monitored the flow of the educational assembly line.

Beginning in the 1930s, industrial practice again shaped educational administrative thought. Following the suggestions of social scientists, industrial administrators and engineers recognized the human element in production. The problems of business were not merely scientific, but also human.

As represented by F.W. Taylor and his followers in the scientific management movement, managerial thinking began with one of the basic assumptions of orthodox economic theory: man is a rational animal concerned with maximizing his economic gains. If the assumption were that man's goal in the factory was to make money, then it naturally followed that he could be motivated to earn more if he were paid in accordance with the amount he produced.

Yet, as early as 1921, D.H. Roberston, noted British economist, stated his case against the economic motivational assumptions of scientific management when he stated that a "high wage will not elicit effective work from those who feel themselves outcasts and slaves, nor a low wage preclude it from those who feel themselves an integral part of a community of free men" (Robertson 1921).

Mary Parker Follett, a lecturer on management in the United States and England, wrote many theoretical studies that contributed to industrial administrative thought both here and abroad. In a final lecture in a series delivered at the London School of Economics in 1932, she advocated for workers and managers sharing in joint control on the grounds that all elements of the factory had to be considered.

Empirical endorsement for the idea that organizational effectiveness impacted on the social and psychological climate in industry was presented by Elton Mayo and Fritz Roethlisberger, members of the Harvard Graduate School of Business, in their publication of the famous Hawthorne studies in 1930 (Mayo 1930). While the original intent of the studies was to explore the effects of illumination, temperature, and other physical variables on worker productivity at the Western Electric Plant in Chicago, the interplay between economic and social functions of industrial groups became the central subject of the Western Electric research. It became evident to the researchers that while the test group of workers was performing its economic, or technological, function, the activities of the group were also being modified by the group so as to heighten the social solidarity of the group within itself, and also to stabilize its relations with other groups. Mayo and Roethlisberger examined social relations of the workers with variations of working speed. Their findings, published in the *Journal of Industrial Hygiene and Toxicology* in an article entitled, "The Effects of Social Environment", reported that it was the organization of human relations, rather than the organization of technics, which accompanied spurts of productivity in these cases. They argued that this illustrates the futility of attending exclusively to the economic motivation of workers or to their physical conditions of work. No group of workers, they contended, can be expected to remain satisfied, or to cooperate effectively unless their social organization and sentiments are also protected (Henderson et al. 1936).

Kurt Lewin, internationally known researcher in experimental psychology, along with his associates at the University of Iowa's Child Welfare Research Station, conducted a series of experiments in 1938 to examine how leadership skills shaped group behavior. The researchers considered how three types of leadership styles enacted by adults (autocratic, laissez-faire, and democratic) would affect the behavior of children in an after-school program. The results indicated that while the children in the autocratic and laissez-faire environments were discontent, aggressive, and lacking initiative, the children in the democratic environments were independent, less hostile, and more original in thought. Publication of these findings gave impetus to social psychology's interest in democracy in administration (Lewin et al. 1939).

While the human relations approach originated in industrial and social science research, democratic administration in the schools was first championed by educational reformers who stressed democratic rights and individual welfare. One of the earliest of these reformers was John Dewey, who argued in *Democracy and Education* against the rise of Scientific Management's preoccupation with efficiency. Dewey disputed Taylor's efficiency in the schools, saying that under no circumstances should the school become "an instrument of perpetuating unchanged the existing industrial order of society, instead of operating as a means of transformation" (Dewey 1916, 316). Scientific Management's preoccupation with efficiency did little to advance what he identified as a "well-balanced social interest" and was thus in conflict with the proper purposes of education.

In addition to Dewey, there were numerous other advocates for democratic leadership among the educational professoriate from 1930-1960, among them William Russell and Jesse Newlon of Teachers College, as well as University of Chicago's William Burton and Stanford's Jesse Sears. Democratic values were also greatly advanced by social reconstructionists such as William Kilpatrick, Harold Rugg, and George S. Counts as well as Archibald Anderson and William O. Stanley at the University of Illinois. In 1934 George S. Counts, in *Social Foundations of Education*, called the ideal of democracy "the highest and most characteristic ethical expression of the genius of the American people."

In 1929, the Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction was created by the directors of the National Education Association. Originally organized in 1921 under the name National Conference on Educational Method, this new department already had behind it eight years of achievement: its magazine, *The Journal of Educational Method*; two yearbooks; and an active membership of about one thousand, with members in every state belonging to state, county, and city educational offices.

The Department of Supervisors and Directors saw as their first task the need to address the functions and techniques of school supervisors. In an address at the first meeting of this newly formed department, James F. Hosic, Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University, called for the members to "exemplify the modern conception of cooperation." He suggested that direction and leadership, being the two aspects of supervision, must be kept in balance. Hosic remarked that school supervision had for a long time been "purely individual." He maintained that now, with the growth of interest in social psychology and its application to education, the concept of group development had taken root. As a result, Hosic eschewed the reliance on only Scientific Management tenets for supervision in the schools.

Beginning in 1930 leaders in school supervision began a movement away from supervisor as scientist to supervisor as educational leader (Brim 1930). In contrast with the authoritative type of supervision, supervision through educational leadership attempted to improve conditions by enlisting the teachers in some large constructive program of school improvement. Problems were presented to teachers in a constructive, rather than corrective way. This program of study supported the spirit of cooperation that industry was seeing as vital for effective progress. It removed supervisor and teacher from the relation of superior and inferior, master and novice, or director and worker. As reported in *The*

Educational Method, it assumed that "the teacher has intelligence and that she is able to think constructively." It also presumed that "supervisor and teacher will as equals think together constructively upon problems of basic importance to the schools" (Brim 1930, 133).

The supervisor, as professional leader, now had the duty to help his teachers grow professionally. Again, rejecting the dogma of scientific management, and in support of democratic and cooperative supervision and individual growth, the duty of the principal was to surround the teacher with such an atmosphere as will encourage her to think her own thoughts and to express them frankly (McMurry 1930).

Democratic and cooperative supervision had become common terms with a fairly consistent meaning. They signified a spirit of equality, friendly attitude, mutual respect and confidence, working together, and growing together through shared responsibility. This model of school supervision held that since growth came through activity and responsibility, the teacher had a right to share in the direction of the educational program. Since she was a member of the staff, she had a right to share in deliberation on aims and policies. Since she had knowledge and understanding from her contacts with children that others did not possess, she must be partly involved in the decision making for the program to be effective,.

As early as 1923, in *The Principal and His School,* Elwood P. Cubberly had relented somewhat from the autocratic model of administration, yet only in the area of supervision of instruction. He posited that though the supervisor was to formulate the program, organize the work, direct the activity, and make the decisions, "in supervisor-teacher relations in the classroom, the principal should allow great freedom and independence of judgment" (Cubberly 1923, 434). He allowed that though the principal must still be the controlling factor in the school, in matters of supervision of instruction, he must change from an inspector to an education leader.

The function of the supervisor as one who improves instruction through the recognition of effective content and methods and elimination of ineffective material and practice had been discussed at the Twelfth Annual Meeting of the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) in February of 1928. Further agreed upon at that meeting was that principals generally do not recognize good or poor teaching when they see it (Helble 1929, 38). It was clear that the supervisor of instruction needed assistance in effective supervision. Recognizing that teachers resent supervision, one member of NASSP warned members that autocracy on the part of the supervisor is in itself an obstacle to supervision (Helble 1929, 39). A conference devoted to "Appraisal of Supervision" was held at the American Education Research Association Meeting in Cleveland, February, 1929. Discussed were the two extreme philosophies of supervision: the philosophy of efficiency and the philosophy of growth. The philosophy of growth was hailed as appropriate for education. The educational process should be thought of as a cooperative enterprise, with no domination of one agent by another (Courtis 1929). Finding agreement with the beliefs of democratic administration and the human relations movement, democratic supervision was heralded as "the attainment of a state of integration which would make of the school system as a whole a social personality. . . . An appraisal of supervision which does not appraise the behavior of the supervised agent in terms of his interests, satisfactions, and efforts for the good of the whole omits an essential detail" (Courtis 1929, 274).

In 1932, Frank Pierrepont Graves prefaced his book *Administration of American Education* with the thought that new works on educational administration were desperately needed due to the feverish pace of changes in the field (Graves 1932, vii). In addressing the changed attitude away from that of scientific management, he proposed that the supervisor's attitude toward the teacher should be that of an adviser and friend, rather than a dictator and autocrat. Qualities for the job of supervisor should include a vital need for energy, enthusiasm, and optimism. Graves stated that in order to produce the necessary cooperation among groups, supervisors should be imbued with friendliness, kindness, and sympathy (Graves 1932, 365).

This concept of changed ideology in supervision was advocated in 1935 by Will French, Superintendent of Schools in Long Beach, California. He offered that those who are to lead in planning, administering, and supervising in teaching must be saturated with a social philosophy which sees in democracy the means for providing a proportional opportunity for everyone in all aspects of living. According to French, "Leadership in education will mean not only exceptional skill in the processes of educating but real insight into the social program underlying that effort" (French 1935, 5).

Support for the theory and practice of school supervision based on human relations and democratic ideology continued to flood the educational literature throughout the 1930s and 1940s. "Snoopervision or Supervision" discussed the continuum of supervision practices ranging from the snooper and ignoramus to the cheer dispenser and grapevine counter (Friedman 1946). "Changing Concepts of School Supervision" deliberated the various types of supervision with emphasis upon the cooperative-democratic style. The cooperative-democratic form of supervision was advocated in three mid-1940's publications of The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Department of the National Education Association: "Group Planning in Education" (1945), "Leadership Through Supervision" (1946), and "Group Processes in Supervision" (1948) (Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development).

How did school supervisors apply the tenets of human relations and democratic administration to their supervisory practices? Policy and practices were designed to model the underlying assumptions of these ideologies. In addition, methods for examining the job performance of administrators and supervisors were developed which analyzed skills and behaviors characteristic of human relations beliefs. A number of studies were conducted to determine traits and qualities which would be prerequisite to success based on these beliefs. Summarizing 124 studies, Ralph Stodgill concluded that leadership was a product of cooperation with other members of a group (1948, 66).

The next year, 1949, articles on social engineering for educational change appeared in *Progressive Education*. David Jenkins outlined a method for educators to apply to the problems in education. Because teachers and principals were working cooperatively in groups, Jenkins held that as they attempted to do something constructive about a problem, they were, in effect, social engineers (Jenkins 1949). He advocated Kurt Lewin's 1947 Force Field Analysis Theory for analysis of the changes to take place. The cooperation of the "social engineers" in the schools would, through this process, effect efficient change through the controlled planning and arranging of events and procedures.

In the same issue of *Progressive Education*, Kenneth Benne raised the ethical problems that existed if school administrators were to see themselves as social engineers. He considered whether deliberately planned social change, or social engineering, which proscribed the manipulation of persons by other persons, could be reconciled with democratic values. He concluded that there was no inherent contradiction between a democratic ideology and the training of persons and groups committed to and skilled in the stimulation and development of planned change in social patterns and in human relationships. He warned, however, that, "Educators or other change agents must be trained in ways of stimulating and guiding change which incorporate the democratic norms as basic elements of their operating methodology" (Benne 1949, 204).

Based upon research and feedback from the field, administrators developed approaches for school supervisors to effect successful cooperative and democratic leadership. Katz used studies to formulate a three-skill approach to administration. The three skills were technical, human, and conceptual. Human skill was defined as "the executive's ability as a group member to build cooperative effort within the team he leads" (Katz 1955, 34). Conceptual skill was seen as the ability to see the enterprise as a whole, recognizing how changes in any one part affect all the others. Recognizing these relationships, the administrator would be able to act in a way which advanced the overall welfare of the total organization. The supervisor who would develop these skills would be one who was skillful in understanding others' words and behaviors because he accepted viewpoints, perceptions, and beliefs which differed from his own. In addition, he would create an atmosphere of approval and security for all in his organization (Katz 1955).

A variety of studies validated the emerging practices of school administrators as being more concerned with human relations than the mere technical aspects of administration. Ovsview, for example, found that of 97 practices deemed "most promising" by superintendents, only 9 were connected with technical classification, the other 88 being concerned with relations with the staff, the public, and the board of education (Ovsview 1953).

The emerging concept of the human relations approach to education was further developed largely through the leadership of Daniel Davies, coordinator of the Cooperative Program in Educational Administration (CPEA). This was a nationwide effort to improve the quality of school administration, enacted under a grant from the Kellogg foundation and administered through eight universities. Promoted by Davies, this concept had three elements: the administrator's job, the man he is, and the local setting in which he functions. Davies described the job as the tasks and responsibilities. The man brings certain capacities of body, mind, emotion, and spirit. The social setting encompasses the pressures and compulsions of society (Rice 1950). In summarizing several case studies of school administrators using human relations, Wynn wrote, " The foregoing accounts illustrate the simple truth that good human relations are applied good will. The humanistic spirit, lucidly expressed in the Golden Rule, thus becomes the basic test of human relations in school administration as in life itself" (Wynn 1954).

Throughout the 1950s, school administrators believed that in order to achieve the skills necessary for successful human relations and democratic leadership, they must understand the content of human relations as it related to the job. Desired areas to be developed were motivation, communication, morale building, group decision-making, and leadership. Participatory techniques such as role play, buzz sessions, the Quaker Meeting with no chairman, unanimous decision making, and no recognition of status were employed in school supervision.

Burton and Brueckner's text for school administrators, *Supervision: A Social Process*, originally published in 1938, with reprints in 1947 and 1955, advanced the notion of participatory supervision. The first edition advocated replacing the traditional supervision practice of imposition of training and guidance on teachers with the view that supervision was a cooperative enterprise in which all persons concerned with child growth and development work together to improve the setting for learning. The 1947 edition elaborated the principles further. The 1955 edition contained a summary discussion of social process in general and a more detailed discussion of the process as carried on in small groups. Using extensive and detailed consultation with practitioners in the field, Burton and Brueckner gathered information from dozens of superintendents, supervisors, and principals from around the country about the social processes they employed in school supervision over the previous decade. In response to their findings, Burton and Brueckner declared that all people in school supervision should embrace the human relations approach (Burton and Brueckner 1955, vi).

The period 1930-1960 witnessed a turning away from the tenets of Scientific Management in school supervision to thought influenced by industrial human relations and social ideals of democratic administration. However, it was only one more in a series of eras in educational administration influenced by administrative thought originating outside of education.

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Schools Behind Barbed Wire

Karen L. Riley
The University of Texas at Austin

Sunday, December 7, 1941, for most Americans, began like any other--breakfast with family, religious services, and perhaps an afternoon of visiting friends and relatives. The events of that fateful day still register a vivid imprint in the minds of those who heard the profound words of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt the next day, as his message before a joint session of Congress filled the radio airwaves. With gravity, he said: "yesterday, December 7, 1941–a date which will live in infamy--the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan." He concluded his remarks by saying, "as Commander and Chief of the Army and Navy I have directed that all measures be taken for our defense" (*House Documents* 1941, No. 453). These dark words not only laid the groundwork for constitutional challenges over the evacuation and relocation of Japanese families from the west coast, but also set in motion a series of events which eventually resulted in the loss of freedom for scores of American school-aged children (German, Italian, and Japanese), as they followed their parents into internment (Fukei 1976, 113).

The fires at Pearl Harbor were still burning when Roosevelt issued a chain of proclamations--2525, 2526, and 2527--aimed at the immediate apprehension and arrest of German, Italian, and Japanese foreign nationals (*House Documents*, 1941). All three proclamations noted that after a formal declaration of war, "all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of the hostile nation or government, being of the age of fourteen years and upward, who shall be within the United States and not actually naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed as alien enemies" (*Code of Federal Regulations* 1943, 273-279).

From coast to coast, FBI agents were poised to immediately apprehend hundreds of German, Italian, and Japanese nationals who, up until then, had been working and raising families in towns and cities all across the nation. Despite the natural affinity many of these foreign nationals felt for their mother country, a great number of those arrested were the parents of American citizens and believed that while they as foreign nationals might be affected because of the bombing, their children who were American citizens would remain unmolested.

The story of internment camps in the United States during World War II has received little notice. To date, most of the attention has been focused on America's evacuation and relocation program which involved some 120,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans on the west coast. Moreover, even the term "internment" is often confused with "relocation" in popular and scholarly works so that the reading public has come to believe that they are one in the same. However, the internment program practiced in the United States was not at all connected to the relocation program; it is the former which provides the backdrop for the subject of this paper, which is an overview of Crystal City's internment camp and its three school systems during World War II--American, German, and Japanese.

The subject of interned American and Latin American school children, however, must be examined within the context of America's social and political climate in the late 1930s, and how this milieu influenced our Latin American neighbors. In addition, pre-wartime schooling in America , which emphasized patriotism, is worthy of a penetrating study. After all, many students participated in scores of victory drives in school and at home--from victory gardens to victory bonds. More than one public school student rolled tin foil in order to help the war effort. Like their "middle America" cousins, German and Japanese American students joined in with salutes and songs to the United States in their classrooms. Hence, their schooling and home experiences enrich our understanding of the perplexing government program of internment that involved entire families. Crystal City's interned children sang patriotic songs and learned about American liberties, all within view of watchtowers and armed guards.

America's internment program, developed prior to the bombing of Pearl Harbor, was formulaic: first, surveillance and arrest; second, jail or other detention facility; third, hearing before a civilian hearing board; fourth, internment, if ordered, then shipped under guard to one of ten main internment camps (Jacobs, Kamasato, Lunz, Strassburger, 1995). The internment camps were operated by the Immigration and Naturalization Service or INS, under the Department of Justice. The Relocation program, however, belonged to the Department of the Interior and was administered by the War Relocation Authority. Its primary responsibility was to remove more than 100,000 Japanese and Japanese Americans, as a result of

Presidential proclamation 9066, from "sensitive military zones," and to relocate them in areas which were not considered to be of military value (James 1987, 3).

Unlike relocation, internment involved the surveillance and arrest of not only Japanese nationals, but also German and Italian nationals who were charged as subversives by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Since 1939, a number of German nationals had been under surveillance by the FBI, which was successful in breaking up several well-oiled spy rings here and in South America (Weyl 1951, 153). German espionage and sabotage were great concerns of Justice Department officials charged with the protection of sensitive information and war production plants (Hoover 1943, 397). Japanese nationals, too, were watched, more for pro-Japanese propaganda than for actual sabotage. In addition, Latin American governments, especially Peru, deported German and Japanese nationals to the United States as security threats and subversives who might allow the Axis powers to gain a foothold in the western hemisphere (Gardiner nd, 142). Once here, the United States interned them for the duration of the war and beyond. Both Latin American Germans and Japanese, along with their American counterparts, were divided up among various internment camps in the United States. Families of internees faced extreme hardship and were therefore permitted to apply for voluntary internment. They eventually ended up in one of two Department of Justice family camps where they were reunited with the arrested family member. Both family internment camps were located in Texas--Crystal City in the south central region, and Seagoville on the outskirts of Dallas.

The voluntary internment program involved whole families. However, it was not instituted simply because government officials felt responsible for the internees' families who faced difficulties at home. Rather, it developed as an effort to secure the safety and well-being of American families interned in hostile foreign lands. The Department of State urged the Justice Department to establish a model program of family internment in order to insure against the separation of American families overseas. According to one State Department official, "the Special Division operated on the theory that the Japanese government kept a score card of sorts and meted out reprisals for deemed injustices to Japanese nationals" (Corbett 1987, 32). Hence, a family internment camp in Crystal City, Texas, was established, complete with schools for the citizen children of interned German, Italian, and Japanese enemy aliens, and, later on, German and Japanese children from Latin America.

The small dusty town of Crystal City, Texas, lies approximately one hundred and twenty miles southwest of San Antonio and was named for the clear cold underground springs which gave rise to the growth there of wintertime farming. The pristine waters which surround the town belie both its appearance and its history. Crystal City, not unlike many south central Texas towns, retains a certain timeless frontier quality. For all of its "remoteness," the town was the site of two important historical events, both of which have made an impact upon the "politics" of American civil liberties. The enemy alien interment program of World War II was one such event.

Crystal City's internment camp was a paradox. On one hand, students enrolled in the American school system--either Federal Grammar or High School--studied democracy and the American way of life, while students registered in either the German or Japanese school learned the standard curriculum taught in Germany and Japan. In addition, both Federal Grammar and High Schools followed recommendations issued by the "Evaluative Criteria" Committee from the State of Texas, which studied over a seven-year period the elements of an effective school (*Standards and Activities Bulletin*). On the other hand, their lessons on democracy were taught within the barbed-wire, watchtower-ringed compound of Crystal City's internment camp, which seemed to present the ultimate irony. Not only did internment camp students in the Federal schools learn about democracy in their classrooms, their parents were required to "vote" for representatives from their respective compounds (*Instruction No. 58*). Thus, the so-called enemies of the State, and their children, practiced elements of democracy in what was a most un-democratic place.

Justice Department officials adopted a "democracy program," which required camp administrators to organize elections for self-government from internee ranks. In the Crystal City internment camp, both the German and Japanese sections voted for council members and a spokesperson, all of whom represented the interests of their respective sections. These exercises in democracy were not missed on the children who no doubt observed their parents' participation in such endeavors. Moreover, for those children who attended either the Texas accredited Federal Elementary or High School, communal democratic politics probably reinforced their lessons on American government and democracy which were elements of the Texas Education Commission's accredited curriculum.

The camp received its first families on December 12, 1942. Crystal City's first internees were 115 Germans which, after the arrival three days later of an additional 15 family members, made up a total of 35 families (Historical Narrative of Crystal City, 6). The internment camp at Crystal City was originally designed to only detain Japanese nationals and their families. However, by the time it opened, that idea had been abandoned in favor of a mixed nationality group (Ibid). When Crystal City's internment camp received its first internee families, plans for schooling were already in place. The earliest document which discusses the proposed personnel strength for the camp was dated January 6, 1942, less than one month after the bombing of Pearl Harbor. It lists some 79 authorized employees--including a German/Spanish interpreter--and its assessed needs as 144 total (U.S. INS to Officer in Charge, Crystal City 6 January 1942). Out of that total, the education department required 19 positions, including a superintendent, 2 principals, and 16 teachers. Robert Clyde (Cy) Tate was hired in April of 1942, as the superintendent of schools and reported directly to J.L. O'Rourke, Officer in Charge.

The first objective of both the Supervisor of Education and the Officer in Charge was to establish school policy. The general belief of Immigration and Naturalization Service officials was that a good many of the enemy aliens interned in this camp would either voluntarily return to their homeland or perhaps be deported. Therefore, a "native language school system was approved for each group. Internees served as teachers, and pedagogical procedures and organization were vested in them, subject to the Administration's approval and sanction of subject matter" (Historical Narrative nd, 25). In order to construct the history of both the German and Japanese schools, the author interviewed dozens of former students. Their oral histories are the source of rich classroom stories such as the Japanese custom of bowing to one's teacher, or the gruff sounding German language which penetrated the air and caused more than one American boy to sit up straight.

Otto Strassburger was 13 years old when his father was arrested by the FBI in 1943. Otto recalled that after months of separation, he and his family traveled to Crystal City to be reunited with his father. At his father's insistence, Otto enrolled immediately in the German school. However, he was unhappy over the prospect because he did not speak German. When asked why his father insisted that he attend German school, Otto replied, "I think he felt that since everyone else was, practically all the Germans I believe at that time went there whether they were planning to stay in the United States or had plans to go to back to Germany." Otto went on to say about his experience in German school that he "hated it in the beginning because I was a pretty big guy for an eighth grader and I was stuck first in the normal class I should have been in, I couldn't hack it and they put me in the seventh, the sixth all the way down to the fifth. . . but I was a big hulk, this big guy in a class with little children" (Strassburger, 1995).

Art Jacobs, like Otto, enrolled in German school. Art recalled that the decision to attend the German school was probably his father's because in his words, his father "had decided that we were going back to Germany and figured his boys better learn the language if they were going over there." Art's first impression of his first few days in school were negative. "My teacher was, I hate to say this, but I would classify him as a Nazi. He may not have been," Art said, as though contemplating what he had just stated. His German teacher may very well have seemed to this eleven year old the epitome of what an impressionable young boy would deduce to be a Nazi. After all, Art had attended large public schools in Ridgewood, New York, prior to his father's internment, and was, therefore, used to an American style of education complete with the mannerisms and customs of American teachers and classrooms. This was to say, teachers who spoke English and conducted class with a certain familiarity. These were the practices Art Jacobs found lacking in the more austere, rigid classrooms in Crystal City's internment camp's German school (Jacobs, 1995).

Cheiko Kamisato, a Japanese Peruvian, did not remember with clarity her schooling in the Japanese language school in Crystal City. Cheiko was raised in Lima, Peru and attended Japanese language school there. When Japanese nationals in Lima were rounded up, the language schools were closed--many of those arrested first were Japanese language school teachers--therefore, some students enrolled in neighborhood Spanish speaking schools, while others, including Cheiko, stayed home and took their lessons from private tutors. When her family was reunited in Crystal City, Texas, Cheiko enrolled in the Japanese language school along with other children from Peru and some from the west coast of California (Kamisato, 1995). One of the greatest problems faced by teachers in the Japanese school was to provide services for children who primarily spoke either Spanish or English, not Japanese. Unfortunately for language school administrators, an overwhelming number of Japanese children spoke the language of their country of birth, not that of their parents' homeland.

Although Cheiko does not remember specific instances relating to her education in the internment camp, others recall the ritual of bowing to the teacher when entering or exiting a room and the many stories imbedded with ethical or moral values, a common trait of the Japanese style of language education. One incident remains, however, in the memory of almost all Japanese students, whether they were citizens from Latin America or from the United States--the issue over the Junior/Senior prom for students of Federal High School.

The internment camp's Officer in Charge, Mr. O'Rourke, sanctioned the end-of-the-year prom for Juniors and Seniors at Federal High School, along with school Superintendent Cy Tate. The Japanese section of the camp contained a number of vocal political factions, one of them, pro-Japanese. This faction, led by several Buddhist priests and other language school teachers, denounced the dance as un-Japanese and immoral. Their spokesperson, Ryuchi Fujii, sent letters to Tate, O'Rourke, and the Spanish legate--the protecting power for Japan--and warned the parents of language school students that the teachers would resign if the dance proceeded. Mr. Tate offered to withdraw the dance, but Mr. O'Rourke said that the dance would go on because Federal High School was an American high school and the pro-Japanese faction should not be allowed to have influence over the decisions made regarding American students. The dance went on, the teachers resigned, and to this day all of the students, regardless of which school they attended, remember the Junior/Senior prom well (Fujii to O'Rourke 1944, Fjuii to Harrison 27, O'Rourke to Kelly 1944).

School newspapers which survived speak for the "Americaness" of both the Federal Grammar and High school. One issue of Federal high school's *Campus Quill*, (1945) contained the names of honor-roll students as well as news about the upcoming play "The Night Owl," directed by Miss Katherine Goldsmith, a teacher who enjoyed the love and admiration of every former student interviewed. The grammar school's *Yehudi Express*, June 2, 1945, recounted the elementary school's history noting that when Federal Elementary School began only seven pupils of the present graduating class lived in various relocation centers.

Mrs. Lee Lunz, a former grammar school teacher in the internment camp, still lives in Crystal City. She was recruited by Superintendent of internment camp schools, Cy Tate, with whom she worked prior to the outbreak of the war. Mrs. Lunz taught seventh and eighth grades and recalled that her time spent teaching Japanese American children was the most rewarding in her teaching career. However, she also stated that she experienced times of mixed emotions because she had relatives who were fighting in the Pacific (Lunz, 1995). Her former students, though, remember her with equal fondness. Toni Tomita remarked in her interview that Mrs. Lunz was the reason that she herself became a teacher (Tomita, 1995).

Each former student brought a new insight into the internment camp story and what it was like to be schooled not only during wartime, but inside a compound which was the size of a small homogenous city. The internment camp housed some 4,000 residents, divided by nationality groups. The family internment camp in Crystal City was monitored, its mail censored, and the internees' visitors restricted. At the same time, internees were expected to organize through a democratic process and vote on councilmen and spokespersons, which would then decide upon rules for communal living. The children of internees attended either native language schools--German or Japanese--or the American schools, where they took their lessons in English and studied the history of both Texas and the United States as well as other regular accredited subjects.

Almost none of the Japanese Americans involved in this study recalled negative impressions of their days in Crystal City. Most said that it was a happy time, a time of friendships. As for the political situation, nearly all former students agreed that they were politically unaware as their parents made most family decisions; therefore, war and internment really did not concern them. Many failed to see the great irony of their situation until adulthood, when they began to realize that until the outbreak of World War II, they believed that they were regular American kids living an average American life. Not until their parents' arrest and internment did they understand that to the outside world they were the enemy.

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School Bands During World War II

H. Stanton Tuttle
The University of Texas at Austin

It is Saturday, December 19, 1942. Austin's House Park is packed with more than 700 excited fans, anticipating great things from their football team. Today's contest is against the Breckenridge Buckaroos, and a lot is at stake: the winner moves on to the final game for the state championship, the loser goes home to contemplate what might have been. As usual, the marching band is present to instill pride and provide encouragement to all. The fans, the announcers, and the team are all ready for the big game. A big halftime performance by the Maroon Band is planned, which will surely encourage the fans and spur the team on to victory. Before the game, the crowd rises to its feet as the band, under the direction of Mr. Weldon Covington, prepares to play the school song, written by Mr. Covington, "Loyal Forever." The players, standing like soldiers on the forty yard line, prepare for the school song as well. All sing the words as the band plays. On this cool December day, the Maroons go on to an inspired 28-7 victory over Breckenridge.

This description sounds like a rather routine event that could take place in any Texas town during any football season. However, in December 1942 these events took place in the context of World War II. The fans and band were actually listening via radio, broadcast over the loudspeakers, in front of an empty football field in Austin. The football team itself was in Breckenridge, some 250 miles to the northwest. Wartime travel restrictions and rationing of gasoline and rubber precluded the band and most fans from travelling to away games, and this state semifinal game was no exception. Since this game was significant to the state football championship, all possible game day conditions at Breckenridge were replicated at House Park. On cue, Mr. Covington struck up the band. The football team and the few fans at Breckenridge sang as the band played and fans sang at House Park. The band performed its halftime show for the fans crammed into the stands. Austin High not only won this game, but also went on to its first and only state football championship one week later by defeating Dallas Sunset High School at the University of Texas' Memorial Stadium in Austin, in what, for all intents and purposes, was a home game for the Maroon faithful.[1]

Just as the preceding story demonstrates how one high school band was a very important part of life for its school and community during World War II, this paper will discuss the importance of bands to both schools and communities during the war. The Austin High School Maroon Band's story, not atypical, will show the ways high school bands could and did contribute to the war effort.

Bands had been an important part of many high school curricula for at least twenty years when the United States entered World War II. Bands had found their way not only into the school curriculum, but also into the very way of life for many American communities. As the number of bands grew rapidly, citizens generally came to believe that bands "proved to be an indispensable part of the school and community activity." Academic credit for band as a school subject had slowly become the norm. Communities came to expect the school band to be a part of its activities as well, even if there was little if any "educational value" for the band members. The demand for the band to perform at community functions "has in itself brought about many of the band problems that have caused much concern on the part of band directors and school administrators."[2]

In Texas, during the 1939-40 school year, 241 schools participated in the University Interscholastic League band contest. During 1940-41, 357 bands, with more than 20,000 students, participated in UIL-sponsored band competitions. Across the nation, school bands showed similar popularity. Both state and national competitions were held yearly, demanding more and more of the bands' time and money. In 1941, the Texas Association of School Administrators decided that the schools of Texas would no longer participate in national contests, "due to enormous expense, scholastic difficulty, and community confusion."[3] It is safe to say that had the administrators not made this decision prior to America's entry into World War II, participation by Texas bands in national competitions would have ceased anyway, at least for the duration of the war.

As the nation mobilized for war, many routine expectations of the American lifestyle changed dramatically. Gasoline and rubber rationing prevented many from travelling by automobile. Travel restrictions kept nonessential and non-military travellers from using trains and buses. Food was also rationed, and many commodities taken for granted, such as fresh meat, milk, and sugar, became scarce.

The school curriculum was not exempt from wartime influence. An increased emphasis on science, mathematics, history, and physical education caused changes in the day to day experiences of most high school students.[4] School assemblies, an almost weekly occurrence in many schools, became more and more patriotic in their themes. War bond drives, patriotic send-offs for new recruits, and memorial tributes to those who had given their lives in service to their country became commonplace across America. The bands helped solidify patriotic feelings in both schools and communities.

Teachers were not exempt from being conscripted into military service. As male teachers went off to serve their country, many positions were filled by women who had been laid off during the hard times of the Depression, and other new teachers were taken from college campuses, prior to graduation.[5] Talented men from all academic disciplines went off to war, leaving gaping holes in expertise and experience behind in the schools. Music teachers and programs were no exception.

It is one thing for an inexperienced teacher to teach a subject such as history, of which she can improve her knowledge rather quickly through reading. It is quite another thing altogether for an inexperienced teacher to be thrust into one of the most visible positions, that of music teacher and band leader, requiring instant acquisition of many skills, from the logistics of moving a band and its equipment from place to place to the technical expertise required to synchronize the sounds of the many different instruments and marching techniques of the band.

Fortunately, the music educators' professional journals of the era gave these "emergency teachers of music" advice on how to organize, equip, practice, and perform. Helpful hints, tips, and bibliographies of resources helped point the way for quality program planning. One article, "Aiding the Emergency Teacher Of Music," stated "that the emergency teacher still wants to do a good job and is therefore anxious to be re-oriented to present day teaching technics [sic]. With help. . . plus a little display of energy the good job can be done."[6] Another article encouragingly stated, ". . . and all you have left to do now is to read the article, try the ideas, then send a note of thanks to [the author]."[7]

Other professional literature of the era indicated that music and band programs were very important in both schools and communities. Authors emphasized the importance of music and bands, the necessity of quality teachers and programs, and how the bands could make a very positive impact on both the school and community. Although cautioning against overuse, one author stated, "The band is really one of the best forms of advertisement to the public of the results of a sound educational program in the school."[8]

High school music and band proponents were using every means at their disposal in order to maintain quality, quantity, and funding for their bands. The words of President Franklin D. Roosevelt rang out from the cover of *The Etude Music Magazine* in July, 1943 that "music builds morale. Music inspires our fighting men. Music spurs soldiers on the production front to new goals. Music refreshes all of us. . . ."[9] Further, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, as Assistant Director, Office of Civilian Defense, also endorsed music, especially school music, as a way to improve morale.[10]

Other authors of the era wrote about such topics as "Music's Part in Winning the War,"[11] "Wartime and Music Education,"[12] "School and Community Music in Time of War,"[13] "Music and the Present Crisis,"[14] "School Bands in Wartime,"[15] and "Aspects of Change in the Wartime Music Program."[16] The themes that ran throughout these articles included an emphasis on the patriotic nature of music and bands, the shortage of students and teachers for music, and how the difficulties being encountered could provide innovative teachers opportunities to excel. Program suggestions and techniques were also provided.

Other articles, apparently published to encourage administrators, teachers, and students, highlighted the importance of school music and band programs to the nation's military effort. "Music--A Military Necessity"[17] and "Public School Music Finds Its Niche in the War Effort"[18] both provided the reader with examples of how the military was using bandsmen to stimulate the forces to victory. These articles also pointed out that the pool of bandsmen being drafted were of very high quality, and the average GI was smarter musically than his doughboy father who fought in World War I.[19]

Several high school band programs were described in contemporaneous literature. "A Year in the Life of the Hobart [Indiana] Band" listed and described the band's academic year of practices, contests, and parades. Over 200 appearances were listed, which "represent[ed] a minimum of appearances since many solo and ensemble performances were never reported."[20] Baltimore's vocational-professional music curriculum, adopted in 1942 and implemented in the midst of the war, was designed to prepare students for a professional career in music. Students could take part in this course of study by attending either a boys' or girls' high school, with up to ten hours of music courses each week. The curriculum "reflected current thought and practice."[21]

Music thrived during the war. Bands were in constant demand. When the band played, morale improved. More war bonds were sold. Disabled veterans, recovering from wounds, felt better. GIs on Saturday nights got to shake a leg as a dance band played. In Austin, Texas, the Austin High Maroon Band contributed greatly to the war effort. As the only white high school band in the segregated capital city of Texas at that time, the Maroon band thrived in a time when people needed to get their minds off the war.[22]

When the city of Austin first opened its schools to students in September 1881, the high school, with grades eight through eleven, had two teachers and two departments: mathematics and classics. After several years of transient homes including the Temporary Capitol Building, Austin High found its permanent home in 1925 on Rio Grande Street. The school moved to a new campus on Austin's Town Lake in 1976. In 1952, as the city prepared to open two new high schools, "the name was officially changed from 'Austin High School' to 'Stephen F. Austin High School' to honor the father of the state."[23] The oldest high school in Texas and Austin's only white high school until 1953, Austin High is rich in history and tradition. Significant in this history is the Maroon Band.

The History of Stephen F. Austin High School explains the beginnings of the band program:

> Instrumental music began about 1924. John Philip Sousa conducted the band during a performance in 1928. Weldon Covington took over the band and orchestra in 1931. When he first directed the band at a football game in the 1930s, he said he played a horn with one hand and beat a drum with the other. Conditions improved, though, for under his direction the band donned uniforms and both the band and orchestra acquired instruments, music, and awards.[24]

From rather inauspicious beginnings, Mr. Covington built the band from almost nothing to national prominence during the 1930s. The Maroon Band won national championships in 1938, 1939, 1940, and 1941. It won state UIL band championships each year a competition was held from 1935 until Mr. Covington left as director in the early 1950s. During World War II, the Maroon Band, with over 100 members, was a truly outstanding organization.

As elsewhere in America, World War II changed the way of life for the Maroon Band. State competitions were suspended for the duration as travel restrictions and rationing took effect. Travel to away games of sporting events was nonexistent. Purchases of new equipment and uniforms were suspended. Little was available to be purchased anyway. Repairs and taking care of what equipment was available became the order of the day. Although travel was restricted and times were tough, the band nevertheless became a prominent part of the Central Texas scene.[25]

The band played at weekly school assemblies. The music performed was more patriotic and martial, almost all marches, than before the war. A typical assembly would generally include honors for those students who were joining the armed forces and memorials for those alumni who had given their lives in service to their country. Winners of school war bond and stamp competitions would also be honored. For example, in 1943, some students were honored for selling over $100,000 in war bonds during a bond drive. Another group collected over 4200 books for a Red Cross book collection drive.[26]

The band also had the opportunity to perform in the community at war bond rallies, parades, and other patriotic gatherings. Mr. Covington stated that the band played at almost "all of them."[27] Celebrities, such as Jack Dempsey and Lyndon Johnson, were often guest conductors of the band during such events. Mr. Covington and his band especially enjoyed travelling to nearby military posts, such as Camp Swift in Bastrop, Texas.

The Army provided buses to transport the band. When the band finished its performance, the members would be treated to a meal and other refreshments, which meant the students would get such things as real milk shakes, meat, sweet pastries, and other items which were rationed in the civilian community. The Army was happy to feed the band members, since the band helped improve the morale of those they entertained.[28]

Since most men of draft age were serving in the armed forces, Austin's local dance bands disappeared during the war. Mr. Covington organized a group of about a dozen Maroon Band members into a dance band which played regularly on weekends at such places as the Stephen F. Austin Hotel. Mr. Covington related that the parents would let their high school age children play in the dance band as long as he was with them. As chaperon and sponsor, Mr Covington saw to it that the bandsmen didn't drink at the dances. (He said that he was almost always successful with that task).[29] Servicemen from all around Central Texas would come to Austin on Friday and Saturday nights to dance and relax to the tunes provided by this professional dance band. Since the band was not an official part of Austin High, they were paid for their work. And, since they played together regularly, they "got pretty good."[30]

The winter concert, given December 14, 1944, featured two guest conductors. Both were Maroon Band alumni who were in military bands. Irving Berlin's "White Christmas" was included in this holiday concert, while most songs remained patriotic. Sousa's "Stars and Stripes Forever" was the finale.[31] The school newspaper, *The Austin Maroon*, reported that "Proceeds from the [December 21st] concert will be used to buy band equipment. Servicemen were admitted free."[32] In October, 1944, a feature article in *The Austin Maroon* listed the large number of band alumni serving in the armed forces. The article added that the school band had helped them in their work in armed services.[33]

Even though the Maroon Band's pre-war routine was changed dramatically, the band thrived during World War II. With all that the band did in the way of performances at assemblies, parades, rallies, and nearby military bases, it's probably just as well that state competitions and travel to away games were suspended. The Maroon Band made a very positive contribution to the war effort, both in Austin and for the armed forces.

When the war ended, the nation started to return to normalcy. Austin High was no exception. But lives had been changed forever, and this generation of high school students probably felt more appreciative of many of the things of life that they and their families had taken for granted just a few years earlier. Additionally, Maroon Band members and their fellow bandsmen across America could take great pride and satisfaction in the very significant, positive impact they had on the war effort.

Endnotes

1. Information for this vignette has been collected from the following sources:
   Wilbur Martin, "Maroons Rise to Blast Breckenridge," *The Sunday American Statesman* 29, 204 (December 20, 1942): 13; Weldon and Verna Covington, oral history interview. (Oral History Program Collection, the University of Texas at Austin), July 16, 1994. (Referred to in subsequent notes as "Covington Interview, 1994").
2. F.C. McConnell, "Administrators Study Band Situation," *The Texas Outlook* 26, (February 1942): 6-8.
3. McConnell, 7-8.
4. See the following for a more in-depth look at curricula during World War II:
   O.L. Davis, Jr., "The American School Curriculum Goes to War 1941-1945: Oversight, Neglect, and Discovery," *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, 8 (Winter 1993): 112-127;
   Alan W. Garrett, " 'One of the Few Minor Blessings of the War': Wartime Planning for Postwar Secondary Mathematics," *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 9 (Fall 1993): 53-76; Alan W. Garrett, "School Leaders on the Brink of War: *The American School Board Journal's* Journey from Neutrality to Preparedness, October 1939-December 1941," *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* 18 (1990): 85-103; Emily Jones, "The Impact of World War II on the Social Studies: The Rhetoric of Crisis, *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* 18 (1990): 187-202; Nancy Rainwater, "Winning the War and Winning the Peace: The English Curriculum in American Schools During World War II," *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* 18 (1990): 203-223.
5. Covington Interview, 1994.
6. Irving Cheyette, "Aiding the Emergency Teacher of Music," *Educational Music Magazine* 23 (January-February 1944): 212, 48-49.
7. Ronald J. Neil, "Music Assembly Programs," *Educational Music Magazine* 22 (March-April 1943): 31, 46.
8. George E. Bushong, "How Can the Band Function as a Part of the Total Music Program," *The Texas Outlook* 26 (August 1942): 22-24.
9. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "A Message From the White House," *The Etude Music Magazine* 61 (July 1943): Cover.
10. Eleanor Roosevelt, "Untitled Memo to *Educational Music Magazine*," *Educational Music Magazine* 21 (March - April 1942): 7.
11. Louis Woodson Curtis, "Music's Part in Winning the War," *Educational Music Magazine* 21 (March - April 1942): 6-7, 38.
12. Ernest G. Hesser, "Wartime and Music Education," *Educational Music Magazine* 22 (March - April 1943): 20, 63.
13. Charles B. Righter, "School and Community Music—in Time of War," *Educational Music Magazine* 21 (March - April 1942): 13, 43.
14. George B. Williston, "Music and the Present Crisis," *Educational Music Magazine* 22 (September - October 1942): 39-42.
15. William D. Rivelli, "School Bands in Wartime," *The Etude Music Magazine* 61 (December 1943): 791-792.
16. George E. Waln, "Aspects of Change in the Wartime Music Program," *Educational Music Magazine* 23 (September - October 1943): 24, 52-53.
17. (Private) Frank S. Hoerger, "Music - A Military Necessity," *Educational Music Magazine* 23 (January - February 1944): 30-33.
18. Miriam Righter, "Public School Music Finds Its Niche in the War Effort, *Educational Music Magazine* 22 (January - February 1943): 22, 50.

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19. M. Righter, 50.
20. Frederick C. Ebbs, "A Year in the Life of the Hobart Band," *Educational Music Magazine* 23 (November - December 1943): 34-35, 50.
21. Ernest G. Hesser, "Vocational - Professional Music: Baltimore's Four - Year High School Music Plan," *Educational Music Magazine* 23 (September - October 1943): 32-33.
22. According to *Directory of Austin Public Schools, 1942-43*, Austin's segregated school system during the 1942-43 school year had one white high school, four white junior high schools, and seventeen white elementary schools. There was one so-called "colored" high school, one "colored" junior high schools, and six "colored" elementary schools. The stories of the "colored" schools still need to be told.
23. Elizabeth Whitlow, *The History of Stephen F. Austin High School*, (Austin, 1962): 14.
24. Whitlow, 7.
25. Covington Interview, 1994.
26. Austin High School, *Comet '43*, ed. Elizabeth Mayer (Austin, 1943): 166-167.
27. Covington Interview, 1994.
28. Covington Interview, 1994.
29. Covington Interview, 1994.
30. Covington Interview, 1994.
31. Austin High Band, program from Concert, December 14, 1944. From the Stephen F. Austin archives.
32. No author named, "Band Features Both New and Old," *The Austin Maroon* 16 (December 21, 1944): 1.
33. No author named, "75 % of Band Exes Now in Service; All Praise Ranks High," *The Austin Maroon* 16 (October 16, 1944): 3.

The Feminization of Teaching from 1850 to1900

Jackie M. Blount
Iowa State University

Early in the 1800s, schoolmasters accounted for most of the teachers in the country. As common schooling spread through the states and territories, however, the relatively low numbers of qualified schoolmasters could not fulfill the rapidly expanding demand. At the same time, Horace Mann, Catherine Beecher, Henry Barnard and others who championed the cause of women teachers helped inspire a movement where women not only assumed these positions, but eventually dominated the field. As women's participation in teaching increased, men found the work decreasingly gratifying for a number of interconnected reasons, and many left the field. Those who remained sometimes found their masculinity challenged in what many regarded as a newly feminized profession. However, a few men managed to create niches, such as school administration, where their masculinity could not be impugned.

Historical accounts of the development of school administration tend to detail the events and lives of early school administrators, tracing a steady evolution of bureaucratic educational structures and practices. Often missing from these accounts are the stories of teachers. As a result, these analyses tell little of how school administrators interacted *with* teachers, reacted *to* teachers, and shaped and defined themselves in the context of "feminized" work. The stories of teachers and school administrators, however, are integrally linked. To tell something of how male superintendents created and structured the superintendency, then, I must first offer a brief overview of the process by which teaching became women's work.

The Feminization of Teaching

The burgeoning popularity of common schooling in the early decades of the nineteenth century required ever greater numbers of qualified teachers. The burdens of campaigning for local school taxes, overseeing the construction of school buildings and working in sometimes chaotic and overcrowded classrooms often overwhelmed many young men who found that a wide variety of other pursuits offered easier labor, higher wages and faster promotions. If sufficient numbers of teachers were to be found for these schools, new groups of persons would have to be identified, recruited and trained.[1]

Horace Mann anticipated the impending difficulty in attracting and training a large cadre of teachers. He reported to the Massachusetts Board of Education that women made excellent teachers for young children because "their minds are less withdrawn from their employment, by the active scenes of life; and they are less intent on scheming for future honors or emoluments. As a class, they never look forward, as young men almost invariably do, to a period of legal emancipation from parental control, when they are to break away from the domestic circle and go abroad into the world, to build up a fortune for themselves."[2]

Others who championed the cause of women teachers argued that women's essential maternal instincts suited them better for instructional work than men. Catharine Beecher advocated that "our Creator designed woman to be the chief educator of our race and the prime minister of our family state. . . ." Her sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, added, "If men have more knowledge they have less talent at communicating it, nor have they the patience, the long-suffering and gentleness necessary to superintend the formation of character." [3]

Debates may have raged about the natural superiority of women as teachers. However, there was no disagreement over their cheaper cost since women tended to work for one half to one third the wages of men in equivalent positions. Women accepted lower pay because fewer employment opportunities awaited them. Parents needed their daughters' domestic services less as production moved out of the home. Besides teaching, the two other jobs most available for women, domestic labor in other homes and factory work, entailed a loss of social standing. Through teaching women not only maintained their social standing, but in many cases improved it since female teachers often received significant community respect.[4]

The increasing availability of normal schools and other types of formal education also contributed to a rise in the percentage of women teachers. Many school administrators eventually required teachers to formalize their credentials by attending summer institutes as well. Such institutes provided instruction to nearly a quarter million teachers by the turn of the century. Interestingly, they also exacerbated the drop in the number of male teachers. Some men who taught during the winter and worked the fields during the summer found that the extra training cost more than it returned. In some regions of the country, many male teachers also worked in other professions, but with the increased year-round demands of the classroom, the feasibility of pursuing both professions proved unworkable. Eventually these men left teaching, and the overall percentages of male school teachers plummeted.[5]

Numerous scholars have documented this steep decline in the numbers of schoolmasters in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although surveys differ in their estimations, men probably accounted for around 40% of school teachers in 1870, but only around 15% by 1920. Strober and Langford have attributed much of this change to urbanization and the "formalization of schooling." Rury contends, however, that urbanization may not have been as important a factor as school enrollment rates. Schools with large enrollments tended to have proportionately greater numbers of female teachers than small ones, whether or not the schools were urban.[6]

Regardless of why teaching became 'women's work,' many scholars have noted the feminization of teaching in conjunction with the simultaneous development of school administrative structures. Some historians have argued that the large increase in the number of female teachers may have provoked some school systems to construct bureaucracies for managing their behavior. It is also possible that teaching became feminized because bureaucratic structures started to emerge. The determination of ultimate causality may prove to be a futile exercise, though, since the two phenomena undoubtedly interacted in complex and mutually dependent ways. What is clear is that the bureaucracy of school administration rapidly became a male enclave within the feminized teaching profession.[7]

The Rise of School Administration

Common schools grew, changed and adapted in an industrial era. Not surprisingly, educators spoke of schools in industrial terms; politicians and experts sought to build schools based on industrial models; and personnel structures in schools eventually came to resemble those in manufacturing sites. Ellwood Cubberley reflected on the connection between schooling and industrialism when he explained that "our schools are, in a sense, factories in which the raw materials (children) are to be shaped and fashioned into products to meet the various demands of life."[8]

Factories not only shaped raw materials, but a supervisory class of men ran them. This administrative feature seemed desirable and provided a ready model for those seeking to build schools. Josiah L. Pickard, superintendent of Chicago schools from 1864 to 1877, described the need for a school superintendent whose functions and roles resembled those of the industrial supervisor: "In every branch of human labor the importance of supervision has grown with the specialization of labor. The more minute the division of labor, the greater the need of supervision. . . . [The worker] might acquire the knowledge, but at the expense of his efficiency in the special work he is to perform. Over him . . . stands one whose special work is to adjust the parts, make himself familiar with each, but freed from active work in any part. He is the overseer, the superintendent."[9]

The addition of supervisory classes of personnel in schools paralleled the emergence of managers and superintendents in industry. Also, to insure the "more minute division of labor," schooling advocates soon lobbied for the construction of schools larger than single classroom buildings. School boards then usually selected a well-respected teacher to serve as the teaching principal, essentially the overseer, who provided curricular leadership, managed the logistics of acquiring instructional materials, and directed building cleaning and maintenance. As school enrollments and building sizes grew, formal school organization also changed. A strictly administrative principalship eventually replaced the teaching principalship, a change with which the principal received increased powers and responsibilities.

When men taught in schools, they usually became the leaders or principals, positions for which a man's strength was supposedly needed. One educator explained, "One man could be placed in charge of an entire graded school of 500 students," a large school at the time. "Under his direction could be placed a number of female assistants. Females are not only adapted, but carefully trained, to fill such positions as well as or better than men, excepting the master's place, which sometimes requires a man's force." The nature of a man's force is not clear here. Women might be carefully trained, but that training did not necessarily point to school leadership positions. With their manly force, men directed the activities of women who in turn were expected to be well trained, yet compliant.[10]

In some respects, early women teachers broke with traditional expectations when they left their homes and domestic duties. When they arrived in classrooms of graded schools, however, they discovered that they were still expected to assume their diminutive positions in relationship to males who served as administrators. Said Aaron Gove, Denver Superintendent of Schools, "If teachers have advice to give their superior, it is to be given as the good daughter talks with the father. . . .

The dictation must come from the other end." If women behaved in a noncompliant manner, administrators accused them of behaving unprofessionally. Such accusations effectively stripped women teachers of one of the few public rewards conferred by their position, middle class status.[11]

Male teachers, however, faced a different problem. With the increased polarization of school roles by gender, men found that they either had to fulfill their gender expectations by aspiring to administrative positions, or they had to accept a compliant role, one usually reserved for women. A group of New York schoolmasters in 1904 complained that "the profession has become so feminized that men have felt a loss of social standing while engaged as teachers." Some men lashed out at the profession of teaching, complaining about the disrespect it received and criticizing the increases in the number of women teachers. In 1853 at a schoolmaster's convention, Susan B. Anthony responded to some of these men who first debated whether or not to break with tradition and let a woman speak: "It seems to me, gentlemen, that none of you quite comprehend the cause of the disrespect of which you complain. Do you not see that so long as society says a woman is incompetent to be a lawyer, minister, or doctor, but has ample ability to be a teacher, that every man of you who chooses that profession tacitly acknowledges that he has no more brains than a woman? And this, too, is the reason that teaching is a less lucrative profession, as here men must compete with the cheap labor of woman. Would you exalt your profession, exalt those who labor with you."[12]

Rather than attacking the increasingly feminized nature of the teaching profession, other men who valued their independence in making classroom decisions attacked the authoritarian control exerted by the men serving in the newly created administrative layers. Said one male teacher in Oregon, "By degrees there is being built in our state a machine among the 'aristocratic element of our profession that . . . will make teachers serfs."[13]

This top-down, gender defined school organizational system did not meet with universal acceptance among women teachers, either. Mary Abigail Dodge Hamilton, teacher, philanthropist, and educational leader, wrote in 1880 that "the thing which a school ought not to be, the thing which our system of supervision is strenuously trying to make the school into, is a factory, with the superintendents for overseers and the teachers for workmen . . . teachers ought to run the schools exactly as doctors run a hospital. The superintendent is a mere modern invention for receiving a salary, whose beneficence seldom rises above harmlessness, whose activity is usually mischievous."[14]

Advocates and critics alike noticed the parallels between the emerging shape of educational administration and industrial management schemes. Even though Mary Hamilton noted that alternative organizational strategies might be adopted for schools, school administrators consistently spoke of the value of adopting hierarchical management systems. With such systems, their power would clearly be based in their positions, unmuddied by the complications of teachers' ideas or desires. Administrators would have dominion in the schools, just as many believed men should have dominion over their wives and children. The organizational structures adopted by many school systems, then, came to resemble those of traditional families with gender-bound power relationships just as much as they paralleled hierarchical industrial management schemes of the time.

The Woman Peril in School Administration

Where administrative classes appeared in schools and systems around the country, men ascended into them. In schools, men would automatically receive promotion to teaching principal or principal over women since they were not expected to serve under women. If no men were available, though, a woman would be promoted. Likewise, in city and county school systems, men were appointed to superintendencies unless there were no men available, in which case women might receive promotions.

Many midwestern and western states, however, elected their county superintendents rather than having appointive positions. In some cases local women campaigned for and won these positions even before they could vote. Eventually a number of these states granted women school suffrage so they could vote in elections pertaining to local education. Some viewed this limited suffrage as a test for women's worthiness for general suffrage. Since many women actively participated in these campaigns, a number of these states granted women full suffrage in the late decades of the nineteenth century.

By the turn of the century, midwestern and western states employed numerous women county superintendents, and in some states they accounted for the majority of superintendents. Overall, 288 women county superintendents served in 1900, a number that increased to 876 by 1930. The *State Report* of Kansas in 1873 explained that "as county superintendents, the verdict is that those elected in this State 'have done their work faithfully and well, as well as the best and far better than many of the men.' The superintendent hopes that this new field, as well as professional chairs in high schools and colleges, will remain open to all, male and female, in fair and honorable competition."[15]

The work of county superintendents demanded a great deal of traveling, paperwork, and supervision. Some rural county districts covered so much land and contained so many schools that even the most hardworking superintendent completed her work with difficulty. William Chancellor, political science professor, explained that "the average county superintendent has something like six to ten times as much to do as the average city school superintendent." To make matters worse, county superintendents tended to make significantly less money than city superintendents, a matter that further discouraged men from vying for the position. Some contended that the men attracted to this kind of work were more interested in maintaining their political stature than in supervising schools effectively. Chancellor argued that perhaps the salaries of county superintendents should be reduced further to increase the number of women superintendents, since they tended to invest themselves fully in their work.[16]

Rather than be deterred by the demands of difficult work, many women aggressively sought superintendencies, regarding these positions as signifiers of women's increasing power and influence during the suffrage campaigns. As a group, however, male school superintendents around the country soon rallied together to reshape the superintendency into a position for which few women would be able to qualify a few decades later.

Masculine Structuring of the Superintendency

It is difficult to find explicit evidence that superintendents spoke of keeping women out, since, as Louise Connolly complained in 1919, "You may search the educational literature of the past two decades for this tendency and you will search in vain! The journals which they edit, the conventions which they run, the associations which they form, say nothing about it." However, the structural and practical changes instituted by organizations of male superintendents consistently reduced the numbers of women in school leadership positions around the country. While superintendents justified these actions as making the field more professional, it is no coincidence that women eventually found themselves closed out of this work.[17]

There were a number of strategies by which male superintendents established this securely separate position. First, they sought to form associations of male school administrators. Second, they aggressively labored to increase the credibility of their work by pushing for a national bureau of education through which members could collaborate for professional causes. Third, they worked to enhance the scholarly quality of their work, to establish journals and other publications to chronicle and legitimize their efforts, and to create administrative preparation programs in universities and colleges that would screen future administrative candidates.

Around the country a number of cities with growing school systems established superintendencies in the nineteenth century; for instance, thirty were established from 1837 to 1888. By August 1865, a group of male superintendents of urban school systems banded together to create the National Association of School Superintendents, an organization devoted to increasing the professional prestige of education in general and the superintendency in particular. In 1870, these superintendents joined with allied education organizations to form the National Educational Association. NASS then became the Department of School Superintendence of the NEA.[18]

The annual meetings of the Department of Superintendence took on several different functions. For one thing, they produced lively debate about the identity and role of the superintendent, as well as discussions about emerging national schooling issues. However, another important function of the annual meetings was for superintendents to meet, compare notes and offer each other support. Superintendents faced many humbling problems in their daily work. Newspapers criticized school officials routinely, and many local politicians scored points with voters by decrying the management of tax funded school systems. In one response to these attacks, the newly formed Department defended itself by passing a resolution that read, "Members of this Department . . . welcome and encourage all fair and candid investigation thru commissions or other agencies into the soundness and effectiveness of the policies and methods used and the results obtained, but . . . we condemn and resent all such investigations whose obvious purposes are to debase the systems or exalt the investigators."[19]

Besides defending themselves against public attack, many superintendents found that through their organization they could work together to gain professional clout, expertise, funding, information, and to build networks of influence. Some members of the Department of Superintendence controlled the NEA as a whole, forming a group that David Tyack has called the "educational trust." This superintendent-heavy ruling body usually selected presidents of the NEA.

Not coincidentally, the Department of Superintendence had few female members. The "education trust" had none and further did not allow women to speak at its meetings held during NEA conventions. An early challenge to this closed system came during the 1901 convention. William Torrey Harris (U.S. Commissioner of Education from 1889-1906) commented on the advisability of asking the wealthy to give money to schools. Margaret Haley, the organizer of the Chicago Federation of Teachers, stood up and furiously charged that the first consideration for the meeting should be given to improving woefully inadequate teacher salaries rather than to asking the rich for charity. Harris responded, "Pay no attention to what that teacher down there has said, for I take it she is a grade teacher, just out of her school room at the end of the year, worn out, tired, and hysterical. . . . It was a mistake to hold NEA meetings at this time of year. . . and if there are any more hysterical outbursts, after this I shall insist that these meetings be held at some other time of the year." When Harris accused Haley of a hysterical outburst, he employed a powerful rhetorical weapon that usually silenced women -- he implied that women were not capable of rational thought but instead could only create emotional outbursts.[20]

By establishing organizations for superintendents that excluded or discouraged women's participation, women were effectively closed out of many discussions in which members determined future policies and practices. Since the Department of Superintendence eventually became one of the most powerful lobbying and policy-writing educational organizations of its day, women's exclusion from influence was virtually guaranteed.

After the establishment of the Department of Superintendence, members worked to broaden their influence by forging strong links with the federal government. One of the first actions of the Department was to send a contingent of lobbyists to Washington, D.C. to work for the creation of a federal office of education. Not only were these efforts rewarded, but the Department also succeeded in getting the favorable attention of a future national president. The Department also made efforts to court relations with universities and colleges, as well as with foundations, businesses and other brokers of power.[21]

Finally, organized school superintendents sought to sharpen the intellectual quality of their work by increasing scholarship, publishing works related to their profession, and helping in the establishment of administrative preparation programs in elite universities around the country. An important route to attaining this intellectual status was for superintendents to portray themselves as philosopher-leaders with valuable intellectual skills. For the most part, superintendents in the late 1800s were not particularly well educated or trained. Those superintendents who had received liberal arts education tended to view themselves as "scholars or statesmen rather than business managers." These scholarly leaders included William T. Harris, William Maxwell (later the New York State Commissioner of Education), John Philbrick, and William Payne (later the president of Peabody Normal School).[22]

William Payne, for example, wrote *Chapters on School Supervision* (1875), the first published book about the school superintendency, while serving as a superintendent in Michigan. In this work he described the natural development of the superintendency as the process of separating the thinking person from the person who executes, the general from the troops, the superintendent-philosopher from the teacher. He wrote, "The hand and the brain both toil. Each has its appointed office to fulfill. . . . The commanding general, who, at one glance, takes in the whole military situation, and wields his forces so as to meet the exigencies of the situation, is the natural superior of the thousands who, with powers of mind less comprehensive, merely execute the plans prescribed by their leader. . . . Superintendence is therefore not only a necessity, but is the highest and most productive form of labor." Payne's ideal superintendent, then, produced the highest form of labor, that of thinking about and directing the actions of large numbers of subordinates. The growing complexities of large schools and systems, he argued, necessitated such an intellectual, responsible leader. He concluded that the superintendent had to be well educated and thoughtful and that this background and ability would separate him from his minions.[23]

Payne was not alone in arguing for a philosophical orientation for superintendents. Charles Francis Adams, a prominent businessman, challenged superintendents at the 1880 meeting of the NEA to move to a new level of sophistication. "We want supervision badly enough, but not that supervision [which is mechanical.] It is certainly not the province of the Normal Schools to supply it." Normal schools provided instruction mainly for women. "They educate teachers, it is tru [sic], but the work in hand is something more than direct teaching;--it is the *filosofy* [sic] of teaching. It is a distinctly-higher walk of the profession. It accordingly implies in those who devote themselves to it a preceding groundwork of general education not required in pupils of our Normal Schools." He did not discuss why normal schools could not provide this type of education. "It is in fact a legitimate portion of University training, which always supposes the groundwork of an undergraduate course." Few women at the time had access to universities or this type of education.[24]

Adams went on to explain that the tradition of education at the Eastern colleges "singles out teaching . . . as an unworthy thing, as a mere calling, which can lay no claim to being an honorable profession. . . ." At the time, teaching provided honorable employment for women, even though it may not have been considered as such for men. Also, men were honored for pursuing the call of the ministry. The fact that teaching was considered a calling did not provide sufficient explanation for why it was considered "an unworthy thing." He continued, "Any 'prentice hand is equal to it. And holding this tradition in regard to elementary teaching, the Universities hav faild [sic] to draw the line between the superintendent from the usher." He went on to suggest that universities, which at the time limited or excluded women's admission, find it within their dignity to offer programs to prepare superintendents. These programs should be academically rigorous so as to legitimize the study. Adams challenged the superintendents to make themselves more respectable as a group. This should be done through the creation of professional programs at the university, programs that not only prepared superintendents for their distinctly higher philosophical walk, but also made education into a science. He also dared universities to take the needs of common schools seriously and to contribute to the development of such programs. Within three decades of Adams' speech, several of the prominent universities in the country had taken up his challenge and developed special programs for persons aspiring to school superintendencies.[25]

Stanford, for example, hired Ellwood Cubberley in 1898 to build the school's education program with leadership components. In time, programs such as Cubberley's provided the pathway for aspiring school administrators not only to receive professional training, but also to gain access to desirable positions. Graduates of such programs often maintained their ties with their professors and formed networks of mutual support. Professors enhanced the prestige of superintendents and, as Ella Flagg Young complained in 1913, the Department of Superintendence was being co-opted by the university professors who hoped to place their graduates. The *Chicago Tribune* reported her description of a meeting of the NEA: "It was perfectly evident that the departments of education in the universities of Columbia, Harvard, Chicago, Yale, Michigan, Illinois, and Wisconsin were more in evidence than ever before in any meeting of the National Education Association. Those departments in the universities seem to be trying to gain control not only of the department of superintendence but of the National Education Association generally, so they might place graduates in desirable positions throughout the country, regardless of the fact that they have had a very limited experience."[26]

Increasingly, the process of attaining superintendencies required candidates to obtain the proper credentials without necessarily first rising through the teaching ranks. Such a change effectively limited the number of women who could pursue superintendencies. Not only was it difficult for women to gain admission to such programs, but often professors made it difficult for women to finish or to receive their necessary "blessing" in a job search. Robert Morrison in 1926 described the type of person he believed should *not* enter such programs in the first place:

> The writer was particularly impressed with the disappointment of one graduate who majored in the field of educational administration. . . . She applied for positions as teacher of history and social science. None of the superintendents to whom she applied offered her a position. In the fall of 1924 she enrolled in the graduate school and spent an entire year in preparing herself for a position as a school administrator. During the spring and summer of 1925 she continually sought a position as a principal or a superintendent. When schools opened in September she had not secured employment. Other students trained in the same classes under the instruction of the same professors secured very attractive positions in which they are succeeding. *This indicates that students lacking qualities making for success in supervision and administration should be advised against entering classes training them for such positions.*[27] (emphasis added)

When early superintendents sought to make themselves more respectable, they attempted to associate themselves with higher mental functions, philosophical and scientific. Teachers could have been offered the opportunities to develop intellectually as well, but superintendents sought educational advantages as a means of distancing themselves from teachers. Eventually the perceived needs for philosophical/scientific preparation were translated into courses of study at predominantly men's colleges and universities, a strategy that tended to remove administrative access from women.

William Payne went even further in his text, *Chapters on School Supervision*, where he made an *explicit* appeal for the division of educational labor between men and women. He described the necessity of making teaching a woman's job and the superintendency a man's job.

However, by relegating men's and women's respective roles to nature, Payne side-stepped the necessity of explaining the qualities needed for leadership and how those could be nurtured. Instead, he argued simply that women should not be school leaders while men should be sought.

Conclusion

In an era where men teachers found themselves part of a profession newly identified as "femininized," school administrative positions emerged and were quickly filled with men anxious to distinguish themselves as an authoritative class rather than as compliant workers at the level of women teachers. When women began to assume school leadership positions, prompting Ella Flagg Young to declare in 1913 that "in the near future we will have more women than men in executive charge of the vast educational system," some feared that women would eventually feminize education. Male superintendents, then, organized to enact changes in their professional structures that would essentially assure that women's chances of attaining superintendencies would diminish. Although organizational alternatives existed to the rigidly hierarchical industrial models of the time, organized male superintendents effectively created a domain within the teaching realm that neatly paralleled the place of men within the family, thereby justifying women's exclusion from decision-making positions. Through such efforts, women not only failed to dominate school administration numerically, but they also barely ever secured a foothold of power.

Endnotes

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15. *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1900-1901*, Vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902),1228-29. Intermediate district superintendent data for 1930 can be found in Jackie Blount, "Women and the Superintendent, 1900-1990: Destined to Rule the Schools of Every City," doctoral dissertation completed at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1993. The *Kansas State* Report is cited in Woody, *A History of Women's Education*, vol. 1, 517.

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Women and "Democracy's High School"

Karen L. Graves
Denison University

The implementation of the differentiated curriculum in the public high school in the United States transformed that institution profoundly in the early years of the twentieth century. Quite simply, the differentiated curriculum allowed for different education for different students. Although schooling for many students was altered as a result of this transition, the argument can be made that, as a group, girls' high school experiences changed most drastically. It is well known among historians of education that girls constituted the majority of public high school students and graduates in the nineteenth century, and that the curriculum at that time consisted of academic subjects. With the advent of the differentiated curriculum, the percentage of girls taking chemistry, geology, algebra, trigonometry, and physics dropped.[1] That this information is not known by the general public today attests to the potency of the system which followed.

Educators introduced the differentiated curriculum at a time when American society was infatuated with the notion of social efficiency. The modern, industrial order depended on role differentiation and specialization of skills; schools took on the task of preparing workers and citizens with a heightened commitment. In contrast to the nineteenth century high school, which articulated its mission as intellectual and moral development, schooling in the twentieth century became a means for fitting each individual student into the "appropriate" social niche.[2]

While the belief that girls' schooling should be directed toward preparing women as wives and mothers is an old one, its proponents in the Progressive Era packaged their argument in a manner which reflected modern liberal thought; for the first time public high schools began to accept such training as part of their curricula. Jane Powers has made the argument that, although success in vocational courses of study for women did not materialize as school reformers had hoped (with the exception of commercial education), reform rhetoric was strong enough in and of itself to effect a powerful change in the way girls experienced secondary schooling.[3] Thus far, research on women's secondary schooling has targeted school and other governmental reports, articles published in educational journals, professional papers presented at such organizations as the National Education Association, school surveys, and other statistical data. Educational historians have connected modern liberalism to the transformation of the high school curriculum and, more recently, others have analyzed how these changes in the curriculum have affected the education of girls.[4] Yet, in order to move beyond an analysis of reform rhetoric and institutional change in secondary schools, it is important to consider the degree to which teachers were influenced by modern liberal thought in the classroom. Since teachers' recorded responses on this issue are scarce, perhaps it will be enlightening to consider the texts written for teachers in this period. The purpose of this paper is to examine the impact of modern liberal ideology on the transformation of girls' secondary schooling, as represented in education texts published in the early decades of the twentieth century.

I have analyzed twenty-two texts written for teachers and published in the years from 1906 to 1934. The list of authors (all male except for, possibly, two writers) includes professors of education whose works were widely read: Bagley, Counts, Cubberley, and Thorndike, to name a few. The textbooks provide some clue as to what teachers were being taught across the nation; the contents represent the thought of leading voices in colleges of education at Brown University, Colgate University, Colorado State Teachers College, Columbia Teachers College, Cornell College (Iowa), Harvard University, Stanford University, State University of Iowa, University of Illinois, University of Kansas, and University of Wisconsin. The books treat issues in history, philosophy, and sociology of education, educational psychology, and pedagogy. In each of them, the ideological structure is that of modern liberalism. A content analysis reveals themes centered on schooling for social efficiency via role differentiation and an emphasis on "practical" study. The notion that the predominant purpose of schooling was to benefit the state emerges as well.

The Texts on Modern Liberalism

I am using the term "modern liberalism" to denote the dominant ideology in the United States, which began to break away from classical liberalism in the latter part of the nineteenth century, as characterized by Clarence Karier, Paul Violas, and Joel Spring.[5] Sparked by Charles Darwin's publication of *Origin of Species*, and in the face of tremendous change in the U.S. political economy, many in the intellectual community began to perceive society as a social organism, growing and evolving. Sociologists Charles H. Cooley and Edward A. Ross suggested that the self found definition only in relationship to society.[6] A popular metaphor emerged, that of the individual as a single cell in the social body. Each "cell" was to perform specific functions to insure the health of the body; at the same time, an interdependence among the cells would develop. For modern liberals, the complexity of U.S. society demanded role specialization. For progress to occur, individuals had to be trained to perform distinct functions. In contrast to the nineteenth century conception of schooling for full human development, the differentiated curriculum became the means by which schools prepared students for *varied* tasks in society. An emphasis was placed on subjects with "practical" applications, to better prepare for the transfer of training from school to life roles. The progress of society became the key concern, rather than the complete development of individual students.

These tenets of modern liberal thought formed the core of the educational philosophy advanced in the textbooks analyzed in this study. Paul H. Hanus of Harvard University identified the discovery and development of each pupil's dominant interests as the special aim of secondary education and, therefore, the teacher's greatest responsibility.[7] David Snedden went further in his 1913 text in a defense of the differentiated curriculum. Rather than speak of adapting curriculum to each student's interests, Snedden argued for group classification: "A uniform program of education is no longer possible. To an indefinite extent programs must be adapted to varying groups."[8] The choice of program was not to be made by the student; decisions were to be reached according to "expert" evaluation of which students might profit from various educational opportunities. Snedden continued, "Prescription and forced classification there must of necessity be; but only as determined by the incapacity of the individual to profit from a given type of opportunity."[9]

Edward Thorndike, arguably the most influential force in teacher education in the early twentieth century, also upheld the practice of choosing a special line of action for an individual.[10] His rationale for such action was based on the benefit to society. He wrote, "When education becomes able to select the work best fitted to each individual as well as to fit the individual to his work, it will not only increase economic productivity, but also the health, morality, and culture of society."[11] Thorndike illuminated the alteration in school philosophy brought to bear by the implementation of the differentiated curriculum. The purpose of schooling was now to create a specialist, not one equipped with an education which reflected the breadth of the liberal arts. "Education beyond certain fundamentals should narrow itself to fit every man for a certain probable course of life, not for all life's possibilities."[12] This specialization, which highlighted preparation for the world of work, also included specific preparation in social, civic, and recreational arenas.[13] In short, teachers were advised to train students for specialized roles in their complex society. It was suggested that this required an increased emphasis on "practical" studies.

Unmistakably, twentieth century educators argued that social efficiency required schooling which emphasized citizenship, job preparation, and the effective use of leisure time. Every discipline came to be evaluated by this standard. Professor Alexander Inglis of Harvard University articulated the position in his 1918 text, *Principles of Secondary Education*: that "the value of any subject of study is to be measured according to the degree in which it may contribute directly or indirectly to the attainment of [socio-civic, economic-vocational, and individualistic-avocational aims], and the aims or purposes of any accepted subject of study in the secondary school are to be determined accordingly."[14] Inglis went on to declare that all of the subjects included in the secondary school curriculum could not and should not be studied by all students.[15] In reconfiguring the secondary school curriculum, a line was drawn between the "practical" subjects and those which, traditionally, had been championed in the cause of mental discipline. Perhaps George H. Betts, Professor of Psychology at Cornell College, Iowa, captured this precept best: "Such values as knowledge, culture, power, no longer satisfy the educational ideal; these must in some way combine to spell efficiency."[16] It was widely held that the classics as well as the modern languages, mathematics, and history did not factor into the efficiency equation for most students. In his lectures on the theme "Education for a Changing Civilization," William Heard Kilpatrick prescribed that "for most pupils, Latin can and should follow Greek into the discard. Likewise with most of mathematics for most pupils. Much of present history study should give way to study of social problems. . . . Modern foreign languages can hardly be defended for most who now study them."[17] University of Illinois professor William C. Bagley also wrote that the study of higher mathematics was appropriate only for future engineers. Teachers who read his text met with the opinion that the average high school student had little need for algebra, geometry, and trigonometry.[18] In 1912, Betts traced the school response to public demand for practical subjects, noting the proportional reduction of academic subjects. He concluded that social efficiency was soon to become the "ruling concept throughout the whole range of the curriculum."[19]

As the twentieth century high school turned its attention to training students for differentiated roles in society, "practical" courses came to occupy a larger portion of the curriculum. Throughout this transformation, individualism was held subordinate to the perceived good of society. Scholars such as George Counts and William H. Kilpatrick reminded teachers that "interdependence has replaced individualism" in the U.S. political economy.[20] Thorndike was bolder with his assertion that each "child should have as much high-school work as the common good requires."[21] For modern liberal educators, a primary objective of schooling was social stability, as Inglis indicated with his definition of the school as a social institution. The school was to be "maintained by society for the purpose of assisting in the maintenance of its own stability and in the direction of its own progress."[22]

Thus, modern liberal ideology supported the notions that the function of schooling was to train students for specific roles in society, that a "practical" curriculum was best suited for this purpose, and that the good of society would take precedence over individualism. What impact did such thinking have on girls' secondary schooling? Some clues in answer to this question can be found in the textbooks for teachers of the period.

The Texts on Sex Differences

The clear message was that traditional secondary education, in which girls and boys studied the same curriculum, did not serve girls or society well. During the transformation of the high school curriculum, educators ferreted out perceived differences between girls and boys. Thorndike stated that the sexes differed in mental qualities, though not so much as public opinion might suggest. The important distinction, he wrote, was that males deviated more from type than females. That is, in any specific quality the highest males were more gifted than any females, and the lowest males were inferior to all females. Thorndike concluded that although "girls in general rank as high or higher than boys in high school and college, they less often lead the class; thus there are far more eminent intellects among men than among women and also twice as many idiots."[23] Although Thorndike wrote that sex differences were slight, he presented a substantial list of qualities which appeared to him to be stronger in one sex or the other. For instance, he described women as more subjective, emotional, and passive than men.[24] Thorndike's colleague, Lewis M. Terman, also noted that few women attained eminence. He found this puzzling, given that the average measured intelligence of women was as high as that for men. Terman suggested that the emotional traits of women favored the development of the sentiments at the expense of innate intellectual endowment.[25] This was the sort of scientific reasoning which, no doubt, led to some of the beliefs expressed in *An Introduction to High School Teaching*, such as, "The giggling girl, one of the most disturbing factors in the high school classroom, is not merely silly; she lacks control of both body and mind."[26]

Of course, this image contradicted the fact that girls did better academically in high school than boys, grouped by sex. In 1914 Irving King, a professor of education at the State University of Iowa, explained that girls exceeded boys in high school work because they matured earlier than boys.[27] He pointed out that the nineteenth century arguments against coeducation, such as girls were not capable of academic work or they lacked the necessary physical strength for such work, were not supported by the evidence. He went on, however, to discuss new arguments against coeducation. His key point was that girls' greater maturity was "sufficient to warrant a reconstruction of our whole system of education for the middle teens."[28] While King favored the type of gender segregation piloted at Englewood High School in Chicago, he recognized that such a system of complete segregation by sex was not practical for most schools. Therefore, he suggested that in smaller schools "the difference in the reactions of the sexes must be met by more skillful and sympathetic teaching. In every such school the supervising officers must be on the alert to see that the methods of instruction do not develop altogether in favor of the girl."[29]

Thorndike's position that mental ability did not vary significantly between girls and boys did not preclude specialized education. He taught that "even if the mental make-up of the sexes were identical it might still be wisest to educate them differently."[30] Harvard professor Inglis agreed that differences in interests and abilities between girls and boys were greater than any difference in mental abilities. Inglis argued that students' interests and abilities were influenced by the character of the lives they would lead after secondary school. "That those interests are in part quite different for boys and girls is too obvious to require comment," he wrote.[31] This theme was picked up by George A. Mirick in his 1923 text on *Progressive Education*. Mirick reported that "vocational purposes are determining the kind of education boys and girls shall receive rather than sex differences."[32] Yet, given the sex-segregated division of labor in the United States during the 1920s, schooling characterized by vocational differences was, in effect, schooling characterized by sex differences.

The Texts on Girls' Schooling

Role specialization, a cornerstone in modern liberal educational policy, factored greatly in the transformation of girls' secondary schooling. Educators were clear in their belief that whether or not girls and boys would be taught differently would depend on the degree to which they were to perform similar societal functions.[33] Professor Betts established this point in his 1912 text *Social Principles of Education*. The issue was reinforced again in 1918 in Inglis' *Principles of Secondary Education*. Drawing upon some of the purported differences between the sexes, Inglis declared that the aim of certain phases of secondary education was to "recognize differences between boys and girls in interests and attitudes by dealing with them in different ways with the intention of preserving such differences and fostering them."[34] He specified that this was especially true with vocational interests.[35]

David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot make the claim in their book *Learning Together: A History of Coeducation in American Public Schools* that since many of the changes in the high school curriculum did, indeed, target vocational education, girls' secondary schooling was altered only on the periphery.[36] Evidence collected from texts for teachers, however, indicates that the concern for schooling girls and boys for different vocations seeped out of the formally identified vocational track and into academic areas as well. We should not be surprised with the decline in the percentage of girls taking mathematics courses in the twentieth century, given the repeated message that mathematics would prove of little use to the average woman. University of Wisconsin professor M.V. O'Shea argued that algebra was to be studied only by those who would utilize it as a tool for engineering or mechanics. O'Shea suspected that this would be a necessity for the majority of boys but ventured that fewer than one of a hundred thousand girls in the public schools would find the study of algebra valuable.[37] O'Shea did not deny that a "very rare woman" might become a mechanic and would, thus, require a study of algebra. Rather, educational policy was to be designed for the majority of girls who would come to "live the typical woman's life, and who must continue to do so in order that society may prosper."[38] Betts also recommended the discontinuation of educational policy which prescribed mathematics and language study for girls. He reasoned that such subjects prepared students for processes that women would never employ. Similarly, he posited that mathematics and languages did little to prepare girls for the life experiences they were expected to encounter, those in the home.[39]

Consistently, intellectuals criticized the traditional academic curriculum which had characterized the nineteenth century high school. It simply did not prepare girls for their prescribed twentieth century social roles. In this context, educators raised the concern that the traditional academic curriculum had tended to guide females away from activities connected to the home. Often, the next step was to suggest that some amount of domestic education constitute a part of the secondary education of all girls. Inglis advocated this, adding that since boys would balk at domestic training, they should be trained in science, economics, civics, and vocational arts.[40]

Social efficiency educators even went so far as to assault girls' access to a profession traditionally held by women, teaching, and with it, the validity of an academic education for girls. Betts capped a discussion of wastes in education by saying that "for women, their career ultimately lies in the home, and there most of them are to be found after a year or two in the schoolroom."[41] He went on to question whether teaching could even be labeled as a profession, given the large proportion of women in the vocation.[42] On a related note, David Snedden recommended that, as the work in high schools became increasingly differentiated, "a certain amount of it should be placed in charge of men teachers only."[43] It is difficult to believe that, in this climate, girls' secondary school experiences were altered on the margins only.

The social efficiency forces which transformed the high school curriculum through the inclusion of practical studies "at once" raised the question of whether girls and boys should follow the same course of study.[44] O'Shea praised the Stout Institute in Menomonie, Wisconsin as a "concrete expression of the prevailing dissatisfaction with the influence of the traditional subjects of study upon the girl's interest and capabilities in the home."[45] In its quest to prepare girls for the actual problems of home life, the homemaker's course at the Stout Institute concentrated on practical applications. It was devoid of foreign language study and offered no instruction in mathematics or science, except as these disciplines were applied to concrete problems of domestic life.[46] In dismissing the study of mathematics and languages, O'Shea, representative of others in the educational community, relied upon the argument that discipline of mental faculties did not prepare girls for real problems in life. When met with the critique that the study of algebra might train a girl's judgment, O'Shea resorted to a wide-sweeping rejection of faculty psychology, noting "when a person holds a view of this kind, it is almost impossible to convince him of the fallacy of his psychological thinking."[47] For social efficiency educators, the notion that academic work could offer students training in accurate reasoning, judgment, perception, and memory was an anachronistic application of educational philosophy.[48]

O'Shea's treatment of girl's schooling in *Everyday Problems in Teaching* centered upon the belief in the practical value of schooling. O'Shea argued that educators must be aligned with "the actual problems which women must meet and solve in order to get the most out of life for themselves and for those who are dependent upon them."[49] This statement reflects the modern liberal principle that schooling's primary objective was to prepare individuals to contribute to the progress of society. Never mind that one might enjoy studying trigonometry or Latin for the joy of learning; schooling was designed to prepare each student as a functioning member of society, for the good of those "dependent upon them." Betts reminded teachers that each girl would "function as a member of a family, a community, a church, as a citizen of a state, and in other social capacities. All must, through their education, be fitted into these social activities. . . ."[50] For many, it was a tight fit.

Thus, modern liberal ideology exerted a strong influence on the content of textbooks written for teachers in the first decades of this century. In the age of social efficiency, it was incumbent upon teachers to train students for differentiated roles, concentrate on practical subjects, and, in so doing, insure the stability of society. Key educators stressed the differences between girls and boys which, they believed, required differentiated schooling. It followed that the authors of these texts prescribed different educational experiences for girls and boys.

What evidence is there that teachers conducted their classrooms in the manner designated in these texts? As yet, there is no direct evidence, but the following warrants careful consideration. The percentage of girls in U.S. public high schools taking courses in chemistry dropped from 55 percent in 1900 to 42 percent in 1928, in physics from 57 percent to 34 percent, in algebra from 58 percent to 47 percent, and in trigonometry from 47 percent to 22 percent.[51] In addition, I believe the overwhelming amount of commentary on girls' secondary schooling aimed at teachers through texts and other college course work did have an effect on the perceptions held by classroom teachers.

To be sure, teachers do possess a degree of autonomy in their classrooms. It is naive to suggest that all that is taught in college education courses has been implemented in the public school classroom. Yet, it is also a mistake to dismiss the teaching and scholarship of professors of education. Hegemonic theory recognizes schooling as a powerful force in shaping the way people think, including those enrolled in teacher education programs. The dominant ideology of the period under examination accentuated the expertise of educational sociologists and psychologists whose work included "scientific proof" of significant sex differences in education. Also, we would do well to factor in the observations of the textbook writers themselves. In 1916, Terman noted that the training given to girls, and the general atmosphere in which they grew up were "unfavorable to the inculcation of the professional point of view, and as a result women are not spurred on by deep-seated motives to constant and strenuous intellectual endeavor as men are."[52]

The information I have gleaned from these texts provides one picture of what professors of education were teaching in their colleges from 1900 to 1930. Did modern liberal rhetoric filter through teachers to affect the educational experiences of high school girls? It is apparent that the professors, themselves, were hoping for just that possibility.

Endnotes

1. Jane Bernard Powers, *The "Girl Question" in Education: Vocational Education for Young Women in the Progressive Era* (London: The Falmer Press, 1992), 128-129.
2. See Clarence J. Karier, *The Individual, Society, and Education: A History of American Educational Ideas*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986); Edward Krug, *The Shaping of the American High School*, 2 vols. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1972); David F. Labaree, *The Making of an American High School: The Credentials Market & the Central High School of Philadelphia, 1838-1939* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988); Powers, *The "Girl Question,"* 1992; John L. Rury, *Education and Women's Work: Female Schooling and the Division of Labor in Urban America, 1870-1930* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991); Millicent A. Rutherford, "Feminism and the Secondary School Curriculum, 1890-1920," Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1977; David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Learning Together: A History of Coeducation in American Public Schools* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); Paul Violas, *The Training of the Urban Working Class: A History of Twentieth Century American Education* (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1978).
3. Powers, *The "Girl Question,"* 129-132.
4. See Karier, *The Individual, Society, and Education*; Clarence J. Karier, Paul Violas, and Joel Spring, *Roots of Crisis: American Education in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1973); and Violas, *Training of the Urban Working Class* on the influence of Modern Liberal ideology on twentieth-century school reform and Powers, *The "Girl Question"*; Rury, *Education and*

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Women's Work, and Tyack and Hansot, *Learning Together* on secondary schooling for girls in the Progressive Era.

5. For a concise understanding of this work see Karier, Violas, and Spring, *Roots of Crisis*. In this paper I will treat only three aspects of Modern Liberal thought: role differentiation, practical application, and dominance of the state.
6. For a complete discussion of Cooley's and Ross's social theories see Paul Violas, "Progressive Social Philosophy: Charles Horton Cooley and Edward Alsworth Ross," in *Roots of Crisis*, 40-65.
7. Paul H. Hanus, *Educational Aims and Educational Values* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1908), 19.
8. David Snedden, *Problems of Educational Readjustment* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913), 19.
9. Ibid., 21.
10. Edward L. Thorndike and Arthur I. Gates, *Elementary Principles of Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), 26. See Clarence J. Karier's assessment of Thorndike's influence in *Scientists of the Mind: Intellectual Founders of Modern Psychology* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 91.
11. Thorndike and Gates, *Elementary Principles*, 36.
12. Ibid., 26.
13. Ibid., 305-306.
14. Alexander Inglis, *Principles of Secondary Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), 387.
15. Ibid., 417.
16. George Herbert Betts, *Social Principles of Education* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), vii.
17. William Heard Kilpatrick, *Education for a Changing Civilization: Three Lectures Delivered on the Luther Laflin Kellogg Foundation at Rutgers University, 1926* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931), 111-112.
18. William Chandler Bagley, *Educational Values* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1912), 146-147.
19. Betts, *Social Principles*, 267-268, 275.
20. George S. Counts, *The Social Foundations of Education* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), 538; Kilpatrick, *Education for a Changing Civilization*, 21.
21. Thorndike and Gates, *Elementary Principles*, 320.
22. Inglis, *Principles of Secondary Education*, 3.
23. Edward L. Thorndike, *The Principles of Teaching: Based on Psychology* (New York: A.G. Seiler, 1906), 96-97.
24. Ibid., 97; Edward L. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology: Briefer Course* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1914), 346-351.
25. Lewis M. Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligence: An Exploration of and a Complete Guide for the Use of the Stanford Revision and Extension of The Binet-Simon Intelligence Scale* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916), 72.
26. Stephen Sheldon Colvin, *An Introduction to High School Teaching* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), 24.
27. Irving King, *The High-School Age* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company Publishers, 1914), 44-46.
28. Ibid., 220-221.
29. Ibid., 222-223. Emphasis added.
30. Thorndike, *Educational Psychology*, 340.
31. Inglis, *Principles of Secondary Education*, 113-114.
32. George A. Mirick, *Progressive Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923), 109.
33. Inglis, *Principles of Secondary Education*, 114.
34. Inglis, *Principles of Secondary Education*, 115.
35. Ibid.
36. Tyack and Hansot, *Learning Together*, 201-242.
37. M.V. O'Shea, *Everyday Problems in Teaching* (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company Publishers, 1912), 326-327.
38. Ibid., 329.
39. Betts, *Social Principles of Education*, 277.
40. Inglis, *Principles of Secondary Education*, 612-615.
41. Betts, *Social Principles of Education*, 89.
42. Ibid., 111.
43. Snedden, *Problems of Educational Readjustment*, 150-151.
44. Betts, *Social Principles of Education*, 275.
45. O'Shea, *Everyday Problems in Teaching*, 314-315.
46. Ibid., 309-313.
47. Ibid., 315-328.
48. Ibid., 323-324.
49. Ibid., 316.
50. Betts, *Social Principles of Education*, 271-272.
51. Powers, *The "Girl Question,"* 129.
52. Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligence*, 72.

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Community Institutions and African American Women in Chicago from 1900 to 1920

Anne Meis Knupfer
Purdue University

In a speech before the National Negro Business League of Chicago in 1901, Alberta Moore-Smith reported that for every "five avenues of employment" available to white women, only two were open to African American women.[1] This was true, as most African American women in Chicago were employed predominantly in domestic and laundry work. Although domestic work was considered "dignified," as women sought to provide for their families, the associated problems of long hours, substandard pay, and lack of child care provisions compromised many women's roles as mothers.[2] Recognizing the dilemmas faced by poorer women, African American club women took a proactive stand as they webbed child care issues to increased employment opportunities for women and, ultimately, to economic self-reliance in the communities. More specifically, they helped to establish settlements, institutes, and colleges which taught various female trades so that women could earn a "respectable" living; they created employment referral services to assist women in procuring suitable work; and they founded nurseries and kindergartens for young children while their mothers worked. This paper examines these efforts of the Chicago club women, as well as the ideologies, purposes, and curricula of the community institutions they helped to found.

African American women have historically been the primary wage-earners in their families, not only because of plentiful domestic work, but because suitable employment was often denied to their husbands. As of 1900, 42.5% of African American women in Chicago were breadwinners, slightly under the national rate of 43.2%. As a point of comparison, only 20.6% of white women, .04% of whom were married, worked outside the home.[3] As of 1910, this pattern remained essentially unchanged, as over 80% of African American working women were employed as domestic workers.[4] During World War I, non-union industry jobs became available to African American women in Chicago who worked on segregated factory lines in embroidery, needlework, and garment work.[5] Although the pay was higher, women still spent long hours away from their children.

Department stores, business firms, public schools, and juvenile courts also were discriminatory in their hiring practices. Even when not denied employment, African American women were often given menial jobs. In department stores, for example, many African American women were employed not as saleswomen but as maids. In cases where women were employed in better positions, they were often segregated or placed in non-public assignments. Such was the case with Montgomery Wards, which was the largest employer of African American clerks in the early 1920s. However, most of their African American female clerks worked not in the store but in isolated offices. Furthermore, the Chicago branch built its own cafeteria in response to complaints from local restauranteurs who were concerned that they would loose white patronage if African Americans lunched at their counters.[6]

The African American club women were well aware of such practices, as they had been denied similar employment opportunities. In turn, they protested through boycotts, walkouts, and letter-writing campaigns. At a Paul Lawrence Dunbar celebration in 1915, the audience passed a resolution protesting Marshall Field & Company's refusal to hire African American women.[7] The following year, the Negro Fellowship League sponsored a conference on the company's discriminatory practices, encouraging every women's club and organization to send delegates, as "something must be done, and that something must be done in union."[8] Marshall Field & Company, however, was not alone in discriminatory hiring practices. A motion was also forwarded by the Negro Fellowship League to send a letter to Libby, McNeil & Company, which likewise refused to hire African American women.[9]

Discrimination in employment, which paralleled that in housing, education, and public institutions in Chicago, increased with the African American southern migration. From 1910 to 1920, the African American population in Chicago grew from 44,103 to 109,594, by 148.5%.[10] From 1917 to 1918 alone, more than 50,000 African Americans migrated to Chicago.[11] Most migrants were directed to the Black Belt upon their arrival to Chicago. As a result, the neighborhood became increasingly segregated and overcrowded.[12] The African American club women were alarmed not only at the poverty of the Black Belt but the "unwholesome" businesses of pool rooms, saloons, cabarets, movie theatres, and dance halls which proliferated there. They were especially concerned about the plight of young women who were often placed by employment agents as maids in prostitute houses in the Black Belt's vice areas and then arrested on prostitution charges.[13] The club women's vision for these women, as well as for poorer women, was two-fold: to assist them in securing not only gainful but respectable employment.

Respectability assumed various forms during the Progressive Era, but was most tied to women's roles as mothers and home-makers. Long denied the opportunity of expressing their motherhood and home-making in culturally specific ways, African American women relished these roles and responsibilities. In the spirit of Republic motherhood, many prominent club women argued that mothers, as first teachers, were critical in their young children's moral and intellectual development.[14] It was in the home, they further argued, that race progress originated. Such views, according to Claudia Tate, espoused a "domestic rhetoric of racial affirmation."[15] The ideologies of respectability and the Republic motherhood dovetailed with the Christian motifs of womanhood, as well as the tenets of Washingtonian industrial education and the home economics movement. Such ideological lessons were folded into the domestic classes for young women and girls.

It was within such a framework that Nannie Burroughs and Elizabeth Ross Haynes sought to professionalize domestic work.[16] Fannie Barrier Williams in Chicago was in agreement, pointing out that whereas the apron had been a symbol of "servility" and the kitchen not a place for "ladies," there was now "a new dignity [that] has been added to the occupations that concern[ed] our health, our homes and our happiness."[17] Accordingly, cooking, nursing, and dressmaking were considered legitimate professions, made "dignified" through industrial education. Although the ironies and contradictions are apparent to historians today, such concepts attempted to reconcile the prescriptive ideologies of respectability, true womanhood, and Christian ideals with the harsh realities of discriminatory hiring, adjustments to urban conditions, and lack of educational opportunity for women.

Five African American settlements in Chicago provided some form of domestic training or employment referral services for young women. These included the Emanuel Settlement, the Frederick Douglass Center, the Wendell Phillips Settlement, the Negro Fellowship league, and the Clotee Scott Settlement (formerly the Hyde Park Settlement.[18] With the exception of the Negro Fellowship League, whose clientele were primarily African American men and boys, all of the settlements offered domestic classes for young girls and women. The Clotee Scott Settlement was particularly known for its sewing classes, which were taught by teachers from the Tuskegee Institute and the Frederick Douglass Center. One teacher, Mrs. C. L. Wilson, was considered an excellent seamstress, especially since she made clothes for the "richest class of white women."[19]

The settlement encouraged young women to improve their employment opportunities, rather than relying on laundry or domestic work. Clotee Scott, founder of the settlement, especially encouraged young girls to enroll in sewing classes as "we desire our young women to take up this trade."[20] Classes in Irish crochet and cooking were also taught and "guarantee[d] work."[21] Such work not only provided a livable income but was touted for those "looking for higher things in life and not for those who are looking for big crowds and excitement."[22] Clearly, respectability and domestic feminism were implicit in such occupations.

Following completion of the sewing class at the settlement, a diploma was given to girls aged fourteen and older. It is not entirely clear to what degree the diploma functioned as a credible credential or to what extent the settlement procured employment for its graduates. At one point, the Clotee Scott Settlement acknowledged that it was unable to procure employment for several dressmakers, owing to "many securing white help."[23] As many immigrant and native-born white women also opened dressmaking shops, the competition was fierce. To offset such competition, many African American dressmakers catered to African American clientele.

The Wendell Phillips Settlement, like the Clotee Scott Settlement, taught cooking, sewing and millinery skills through its night school. Courses in shorthand, Spanish, French, history, and stenography were also taught, although they were most often attended by "prominent women."[24] Social class differences were likewise reflected in the classes offered at another settlement, the Frederick Douglass Center. There, sewing, cooking, gardening, and dressmaking classes were mostly attended by poorer women. Conversely, the more academic courses of sociology, English literature, and English grammar were frequented by middle-class club women. Nonetheless, middle-class women engaged in sewing and handiwork, although most often for the purpose of charity.[25]

Settlements were not the only institutions to offer domestic classes. The Chicago School of Domestic Science and Arts provided a domestic course of study to young African American women. Not only did the college hope to professionalize domestic work but to "reliev[e] this type of employment of its subtle embarrassments."[26] Endowed through an anonymous white female, plus scholarships from the Chicago Urban League, the school was committed to a "standardization" of wages and hours for African American domestic workers. In describing itself as "exclusive," the school sought to further elevate the status of its students and their study. The Enterprise Institute taught the handicrafts of china painting, needlework, dressmaking, and domestic service. Although one of its principals pointed out that such trades led to economic independence, it is questionable whether one could have earned a living from china painting. Rather, such art classes, which were also taught through the African American YMCA, were praised for their "recreative" value.[27]

Three of the settlements organized employment referral bureaus. These included the Emanuel Settlement, the Negro Fellowship League, and the Frederick Douglass Center. However, none of the settlements reflected the commitment to domestic service training and employment, such as that of the Flanner House of Indianapolis with its schools for laundry workers and for maids.[28] Furthermore, with the exception of the Frederick Douglass Center, most of these employment services were directed toward male employment. Although the Emanuel Settlement and the Frederick Douglass Center organized employment bureaus, exact records pertaining to their services were not located.

In the case of the Negro Fellowship League, employment referrals were not usually enumerated but reported collectively. For example, one 1915 report documented that over "10,000 men, women and children received some type of benefit, be it a job, lodging, or charity."[29] Occasionally, anecdotal reports of the league's intervention were given, as was the case of a female domestic servant who had worked for a white family for fifteen years for a salary of only one dollar a week. The president and founder of the league, Ida B. Wells, swiftly took action: "The president of the league got her clothes and money from the white people to whom she had been in slavery all that time and saw that she had a good home with an excellent Colored family, who will pay her good wages."[30]

Several women's clubs provided employment referral services as well. The 20th Century Penny Club, a rotating credit association, functioned as an employment agency or "exchange" which provided the "housewife a chance to dispose of any kind of work" which she performed at home.[31] The Phyllis Wheatley Club, through its Phyllis Wheatley Home for young working girls, not only offered a "safe and Christian home" for girls new to the city but assisted them in procuring domestic work.[32]

Given the lack of public records, questions arise about the relationship between the domestic classes and actual employment, as well as the perceived worth of certificates and diplomas. Did certificates advantage women in domestic work? How many women were actually employed through referral agencies? Did the agencies also assist in negotiating working conditions or pay? And did trade work provide any kind of social or economic mobility? There may well have been the perception that sewing classes provided upward mobility economically. Indeed, a number of African American middle-class women were successful as seamstresses and milliners. Hattie Arrant, for one, took up millinery work when she moved to Chicago in 1901. By 1910, she became so well known that she created hats for the leading women "of both races."[33] Maude Seay, another milliner in demand, was known for her French-styled hats which many women wore to the charity and New Year balls.[34] Her protege, Mayme Clinkscale, opened her own shop of "imported French patterns" on fashionable State Street.[35]

The Clotee Scott Settlement encouraged thoughts of social and economic mobility: "The young Negro girl will not always be compelled to hunt for work as laundress if she will only grasp the opportunity to make an honest living by becoming a competent dressmaker."[36] Although the settlements did not organize domestic schools, the handing out of certificates and diplomas certainly paralleled a credentialling process reflected in the female work of chiropody, manicuring, and beauty culture.

Many of the women's businesses were service-oriented ones which required low capital investment and little training or education. Of these, the most plentiful were beauty shops, dressmaking and millinery shops, and manicuring parlors. Located within the Black Belt, these businesses served a largely segregated clientele, although some beauty businesses were located along State Street, reputed for its wealthy patrons. Although businesses in the Black Belt reportedly promoted and advanced the African American community economically, some historians and sociologists have concluded that individual

African American businessmen and women had more to gain through a segregated business community.[37]

What is missing from such an analysis is the extent of discrimination in mainstream businesses, as well as the ways in which economic and social relations in the African American community were intricately linked. To illustrate, many of the African American charity balls and benefits in Chicago were attended by the city's African American "Elite 400."[38] These social occasions relied upon the services of dressmakers, milliners, manicurists, beauty culturists, and hairdressers. In addition to providing customers, such charity events served as forms of advertisements, especially as the African American newspapers reported in great detail the evening gowns of the prominent club women. In effect then, three economic strata were layered in these events: philanthropy for the less fortunate; social and economic exclusivity for leading African Americans, as invitees were selected for their ability to support philanthropy, as well as their social prominence; and those in service-oriented trades, whose businesses relied, in part, upon such occasions.

Such trades assured customers, as African American women preferred to patronize their own, especially if their work was considered "first class." "First class" work entailed technical knowledge, as well as aesthetic sensibility. A good milliner, according to Katherine Tillman, studied the facial features and complexion of her customers, as well as matched the hat's style to the gown. Hairdressers not only considered the clients' features and attire; they drew from their knowledge of herbal and chemical treatments for the scalp and hair.[39] A beauty culturist's skill and experience were measured by the results obtained through facials, toilet waters, beauty creams, mole banishers, as well as the ubiquitous facial bleaches. A chiropodist's reputation was built from his or her original creations of balms, powders, and soaking solutions. Katherine Dunham's account of her uncle's admixtures, derived from African American and Choctaw herbal remedies, pointed to the skillfulness and art of chiropody, as well as the high demand for such services by leading society women.[40]

Many of the Chicago women, even some of the club women, were successfully employed in chiropody, hairdressing, and manicuring businesses. The Burnham Beauty College graduated its first African American student, Grace Garnett-Abney, in 1896. Although most known for her "hair tongs" which stimulated the hair growth of African American women, Garnett-Abney also opened two beauty shops for white women.[41] Carrier Warner, a Vice President of the Phyllis Wheatley Club, learned manicuring and facial treatments through the Moler College of Chicago. She opened her own chiropodist and manicure parlors, which were acclaimed as frequented by "the best and wealthiest white ladies of this city."[42] Others were reputed for their special treatments and cures, such as Minnie Sinclair who treated facial blemishes, or Alice Bemby, whose tonsorial parlor, the Palace of Art, specialized in manicures.[43] Women, though, were not the only clients of beauty services. Irene Goins' husband, known as the "Father of Manicurists" on Chicago's South Side, owned many shops where men could get hair cuts, singes, shampoos, shaves, massages, witch hazel steams, and manicures. Female manicurists were employed in his shops to curb the male clienteles' "profane language, loud talking, lounging and sleeping."[44]

Most of the beauty culturists-entrepreneurs were educated at proprietary colleges and institutes which cropped up in Chicago at the turn of the century. Some institutes wedded technical skills to traditional female roles. Poro College, for example, included the study of chemistry while also emphasizing the female attributes of "dignity, grace, and beauty."[45] The Clio School for Mental Science and Character Analysis not only taught character analysis and vocational guidance but "poise, individuality, and wide-awakeness."[46] Other institutes stressed the scientific basis of their studies. Estelle Kenton, principal of the Enterprise Institute's Beauty Culture Department, insisted that beauty culture was not mere "vanity" but promoted "health and comfort." Accordingly, the institute offered courses not only in hairdressing and maniculturing but chiropody, electrolysis, facial massage, and scalp treatments.[47] The Provident School of Beauty Culture emphasized the healthful effects of its treatments, which were prepared in its own laboratory. Under the directorship of Mme. E. M. Scott, a certified chiropodist, the school's courses were purported to be "as thorough and complete as the schools of the opposite race."[48] The recruitment strategies of the Universal College of Beauty Culture revealed more pecuniary purposes. Students who enrolled in their home study courses of "hair culture, scalp treatment, facial massage, and maniculture" were supplied with the college's products: "1 hair straightening comb, 6 boxes Universal Hair Grower, 1 Manicuring Set and a Diploma."[49]

The proliferation of beauty culturist work was not unique to African American women. As Lois Banner has documented, the growth in beauty businesses from 1890 through 1920 was phenomenal. In 1890, there were 9,000 female hairdressers in the United States; by 1900, that number had doubled. By 1907, there were over 36,000 hairdressers, 25,000 manicurists, and 30,000 specialists in skin and face care. Such professions were relatively lucrative, as beauty culturists were often paid more than nurses.[50] Denied employment in mainstream department and drug stores, a number of African American women were also hired as door-to-door agents for beauty products. In Chicago, Marjorie Stewart Joyner recruited and trained African American women as "Walker Agents" who sold Walkers' products from their homes.[51]

Obscured within most studies of beauty culture employment is an historical understanding of ethnic women's beauty aesthetic. Most references have assumed that African American women's concepts of beauty were derived from white women's standards. However, as Peiss has pointed out, native-born white and immigrant women used hair tongs, skin bleaches, and facial products.[52] Such inclusiveness illustrated the ideal of middle-class domesticity, as the use of beauty products was tied to respectability and class positioning. For African American women, lighter skin and the coiffures of French rolls and buns not only reflected domesticity and respectability but a distancing from the painful images of field and plantation work. Indeed, most club women referred to slavery as a point of departure from which their progress was measured.

Perhaps more importantly, African American women, in purchasing products through saleswomen, knew well that they were contributing to another African American woman's livelihood. As one agent wrote to Madame Walker: "You have opened up a trade for hundreds of colored women to make an honest and profitable living where they make as much in one week as a month's salary would bring from any other position that a colored woman can secure."[53] Not only did beauty culture provide employment for women, but it also contributed to race progress. Annie Turnbo Malone, for one, claimed to have founded Poro College in the "spirit of true Christianity and dedicated to the advancement of the race."[54] Individual beauty culturists' accomplishments were praised in the newspapers as evidence of race progress. Provident School of Beauty Culture was noted as the only such school operated and owned by an African American woman.[55] Marjorie Stewart Joyner was celebrated as the first African American woman to receive a patent for her invention of a permanent wave machine.[56] Even Ida B. Wells, although initially skeptical of Madame Walker's fame, said of the hair culture inventor, "To see her phenomenal rise made me take pride anew in Negro Womanhood."[57]

When faced with discriminating hiring practices in mainstream society, African American women created viable alternatives for employment. Through the establishment of settlements, "Ys," colleges, and institutes, African American women were able to enroll in classes in sewing, embroidery, millinery, beauty culture, and domestic work. Such course work prepared many women to open their own trade businesses or to engage in employment other than laundry or domestic work. In the case of domestic employment, further training was encouraged to "professionalize" and "standardize" the work. Lastly, employment referral services were created by the settlements and women's clubs to assist women in procuring work. Although there were social and economic distinctions within the African American communities, middle-class club women were acutely aware of the discrimination which all African American women faced when seeking employment. As such, they "lifted" those less fortunate while they "climbed."[58]

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African American Teachers During the Civil Right's Movement

Anna Victoria Wilson — The University of Texas at Austin
William E. Segall — Oklahoma State University

Americans expected that 1963 would be a banner year. John F. Kennedy was ready to announce his candidacy for a second term, the United States continued to dominate world politics resulting in the American empire coming of age, and Negroes envisioned an end of segregation, especially in the South. On New Year's Eve (December 31, 1962), the descendants of slavery celebrated one hundred years of freedom. The leaders of the civil rights movement hoped President Kennedy would issue a proclamation commemorating the centennial of Lincoln's historic Emancipation Proclamation. Their hopes were dashed: President Kennedy did not issue the proclamation. Despite the U. S. Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), eight years earlier, that the segregation doctrine of 'separate but equal' was unconstitutional, most Negro children continued to attend segregated schools. Segregation in education was just a part of the larger pattern of segregation throughout American society. This paper focuses on the examination one aspect of the contradictory position between the concept of equal educational opportunity in a democracy and the maintenance of racial segregation in education.

Segregation was a system of racial etiquette that kept an oppressed group, in this case African Americans, separate from the oppressor, white Americans, when both were doing equal tasks such as studying history, civics, reading, and mathematics. At the same time, segregation allowed for intimate closeness when the tasks were hierarchical, like cooking or cleaning for white employers. The rationale of segregation implied that the oppressed were an 'unclean' people, a pariah.[1] Segregation has been referred to as the American caste system, where 'unclean' was the caste message of every 'colored' water fountain, waiting room , and courtroom Bible. Segregation was a way of behaving with specific rules for mingling between the separated peoples. The rules were numerous with but one purpose, to maintain the superiority of the white and the inferiority of the African American. Certainly, 'inferior' was the implication of every school that excluded Blacks (or other minorities).[2] Clara Luper remembered:

> Growing up in a segregated society meant that I had to go to a substandard school, where the books that we received were passed on from the white school. I remember reading on page 10 and the next page would be eighteen. I never saw an amoeba until I went to Langston University. At our school, we finally got a microscope but because of the ways schools were financed based upon population, we did not have enough money to buy a lens. Seeing an amoeba was a big thing for me. Most of the time I had to walk 5 miles to the Black high school until we were finally able to get enough money for a bus. My father became the bus driver. But once again we had the same problem, our buses were handed down from the white school so we had a lot of bus trouble.[3]

The ideology of segregation was born and nurtured during slavery, and continued to rationalize the second-class citizenship imposed on African Americans after Reconstruction. The policy of segregation resulted in unusually severe restraints for African Americans, taking the form of multiple legal exclusions, limited and highly unequal economic well-being; minimal political power; many forms of legal and illegal coercion; little social respect; restricted social mobility; customarily accepted invidious social discrimination; and in particular submission to the authority of whites in most important spheres of life, such as occupation, residence, politics, and schooling.

The 'separate but equal' doctrine as practiced by the dominant group was strong on equality in theory and equally strong on separateness in practice. This doctrine satisfied both the American commitment to democratic education as an ideal and its demonstrated reluctance to see the ideal put into practice. America's insistence on separate education made equal education impossible.[4] How then did African American teachers, especially those who taught civics, deal with the cognitive dissonance engendered by the 'separate but equal' doctrine? This question is especially pertinent for those teachers during the civil rights movement in the early 1960s.

This historical inquiry concentrates on the multiple perspectives of African American teachers during the civil rights era. In particular, this narrative focus on the contradictory position of teaching civics to students whose civil rights were actively denied solely on the basis of their color. Historical inquiry enables readers to experience historical events through the description of the narrator, thus providing a structure which offers meaningful understandings such that

> . . . individuals and their actions are known in company with their perceptions and motivations and the times and the world in which they lived.[5]

Historical inquiry provides a rich and robust source of the particularities of events which create powerful narratives.

Over the years, multiple stories have been told about the enslavement of African Americans. For example, the most popular novel, in each of the last two centuries, was set in the South: *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe and *Gone With the Wind* by Margaret Mitchell. The two books tell very different stories. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* presents slavery as an evil to be opposed; while *Gone With the Wind* presents slavery as an ideal structure whose passing was to be mourned. The multiple stories were not confined to popular novels. They invaded every part of American culture.

In the 1920s, Pierce noted that Southern states passed laws requiring textbooks to "Secure[ing] a Correct History of the U. S., Including a True and Correct History of the Confederacy."[6] Textbook publishers were compelled to call the Civil War the "War Between the States," implicitly denying the existence of a nation torn asunder.

Furthermore, textbooks written between 1890 and the 1960s portrayed an unappealing representation of oppressive Republican rule of the South in the post civil war period, a picture Loewen calls "the Confederate Myth of Reconstruction." In the 1930s, aging freed slaves, whose stories were recorded by WPA workers, maintained their pride in the roles of African Americans during Reconstruction, and kept the truth alive about that era.[7] In fact, Escott found some still remembered the names of African Americans elected to office some sixty years previous. However, an eighty year old former slave said, "I know folks think the [text]books tell the truth, but they shore don't."[8] Not surprisingly, when the people who experienced Reconstruction died, the myth perpetuated through textbooks took over, even in the African American communities. The vast majority of Americans who finished high school prior to the 1970s encountered the Confederate Myth of Reconstruction in their American history and U. S. Government textbooks.

Until the Civil Rights movement, American textbooks, especially history and government textbooks, presented a picture of the South similar to Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind*. A 1950 textbook *The Growth of the American Republic* written by Morison and Commager clearly stated that," As for Sambo, whose wrongs moved the abolitionists to wrath and tears, there is some reason to believe that he suffered less than any other class in the South from its 'peculiar institution.'"[9]

The peculiar institution referred to here by Morison and Commager was that of slavery straight out of Mitchell's book. In 1959 a high school history textbook presented slavery as not a bad thing:

> If bondage was a burden for African Americans, well, slaves were a burden on Ole Massa and Ole Miss, too. Besides, slaves were reasonably happy and well fed. Such arguments constitute the "magnolia myth," according to which slavery was a social structure of harmony and grace that did no real harm to anyone, white or black.[10]

As a consequence, the textbook discourse prior to the civil rights movement denied the reality of slavery, the Civil War, and segregation for African Americans and America itself. Ideological contradiction is very important in history. Ideas have power. Yet American history and government textbooks gave students, especially African American students, no way to understand the role of ideas in America's past.

African American teachers, particularly those who taught history and government, were in a special and difficult position. Textbooks used in many Negro schools were discarded texts from the white schools. They were seriously outdated, marked up by former students, and often had missing pages. Odessa Woolfolk[11] remembered what it was like for her teaching in a segregated school:

> African American schools received less money, less support, less everything during this time period. We knew that white students had a wider array of courses from which to choose and they had better equipped labs. In fact, in response to the 1954 Supreme Court decision, the Birmingham Board of Education decided to build three more Black high schools. But the Black schools were not equal. The white students continued to have a wider array of choices and better materials.

The information contained in the textbooks misrepresented our nation's history. In fact, most textbooks completely ignored the contributions of African Americans and other minorities. Ms. Woolfolk, a U. S. Government teacher at Ullman High School[12] in Birmingham in the 1960s, remembered:

> American History was not correct. Historians have taken history and rewritten it. We know African Americans did more than just come over here as slaves. Many inventions which Blacks contributed to America, whites were given credit for. White society did not want Blacks to read or write or be educated. How then could we go back and correct our history for our students?

Clara Luper, an African American teacher in Oklahoma, had a slightly different perspective. She recalled:

> You can't separate Black history from white history. Many of my students who have been white have been unable to understand it. For example, let's just take a course in black history. The Revolutionary Period. The first person to die for this country was a young black by the name of Crispus Attucks. You can't study about Crispus Attucks unless you study about all the white solders who were there with him. Therefore it has been an experience in both. If you study slavery, you have got to study the abolitionists. You study the civil rights period, you have got to study the blacks and whites, especially you have got to know about Lyndon Johnson.[13]

In fact, African American teachers were very creative in finding ways to inform their students of the inaccuracy of the history as presented in their textbooks. Mrs. Luper remembered:

> Not only did I study history at Langston I also studied it in high school and our parents taught us about black people who had made contributions such as black writers, I was extremely interested in black history, in high school we would study black history for a week around Lincoln's birthday. I was extremely interested in black history and white history. I was never able to separate one from the other. For example, I could not study the history of slavery without studying the slave owners and abolitionists and the people who were in government who applied political pressure to perpetuate the system. I was always interested and at Langston University I came under the guidance of some outstanding teachers who taught in a segregated society but they believed some day that things would be better because of the documents that we had.[14]

African American teachers and students did not need textbooks to present ideological contradictions, however. They continually experienced cognitive dissonance each day of their lives. A basic tenet of the African American culture was a deep and abiding faith in the power of education. The public school was a symbol of American democracy and equal opportunity. However, many African American teachers questioned how

> . . . if democratic behavior is one goal of our educational program . . . in the public school our youth must be indoctrinated with democratic ideals . . . Can this be done in a segregated system? Does the segregation of the Negro present a situation inconsistent with democratic tenets we profess?[15]

The obvious answer to this question, from a thirty year perspective, is a resounding "yes." Segregation is inconsistent with democratic ideals. Ms. Woolfolk described how she approached this ideological contradiction with her class.

> It's really ironic, here we are studying about the Constitution. The Constitution is so beautiful. We know the meaning of our U. S. Constitution. Birmingham is not that and we have to do all we can to make the things happen in our town to be consistent with our documents (the Constitution and Bill of rights).' I believed in education. We had to prepare ourselves to be better than whites in occupations. To go to the job market and show that you could do it, even though you had been oppressed and held back. 'Give me a chance and I won't blow it.' That was the message we gave our students. I was aware we were studying about a system and living in something that was just the opposite which denied what we were studying. It was up to us to do something about it.[16]

Younger African American teachers seem more likely to confront openly their cognitive dissonance proscribed by segregation than many of the older teachers. Connie Pegues, a teacher at Ullman High School in Birmingham, reveals her feelings during the 1960s civil rights movement.

> The marches and demonstrations were really troubling to me. I was raised not to cause trouble. I believed that, over time, everything would work out. Integration would happen. I really didn't talk with my students about desegregation. I was worried about what would happen to all of us.[17]

Doddy and Edwards' study of Negro teachers in 1955 supports the differences between younger and older Black teachers. Of those Negro teachers younger than forty-five, seventy-three percent talked with their students about the possibility of desegregation. But only fifty-six percent of those teacher than older forty-five did so.[18] Mrs. Woolfolk described her thoughts during this time:

> I thought my talent was working with youth, and saying to them, 'we don't have to put up with this, but we have to be very good.' The system was based on saying 'we [Blacks] are ignorant and we have to disprove that.' My commitment was to go out and help us get what was promised to us as Americans.

> I believed in the documents: The Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence. I believed in the system of government but I also believed we could change it.[19]

During the early 1960s, many African Americans were optimistic. As Ms. Woolfolk recalled:

> In the early 60s there was an optimism, we had Kennedy and those folks and a lot of young people began to believe we had support at the national level. Young people had a lot of faith in the Kennedy and King association. What happened in the South was that we were fighting concrete barriers, not subtle barriers. We could not go to the public library, there were things we could not do -- it was visible in the south. Progress was the removal of these barriers. Once the barriers were removed, we began to realize that it was more complex than just sitting at the lunch counters or getting a college degree. There were still barriers and those barriers were harder. People became bitter about that but in the 60s we were optimistic about progress occurring.

Ms. Luper held a similar view. She said, "I remember one of my professors who constantly reminded us that this country had to change if it was to remain a leader in the free world. His words really became true."

The contradictory positions of African American teachers, as presented in this narrative, provide an opportunity to examine the realities of segregated schooling in the South before and after the *Brown* decision. Each teacher operated within the constraints imposed by the segregated systems of their communities.

The public school is a product of time, place and circumstances. Patterns of education are determined by the particular conditions existing at that moment in time. Prior to integration, African American teachers were forced to confront the stereotypes about their race perpetuated in the educational materials they were required to use. Textbooks and other literature, films, and television all depicted an all-white society. Educational materials often sustained negative ideas about African Americans specific to physical features, dress, mannerisms, living conditions, occupations, and abilities.

Each teacher, in this narrative, attempted to foster integration. Each voiced a commitment to help their students discard incorrect assumptions and beliefs about themselves and others. Each tried to provide opportunities for their students to see and think more honestly and realistically about all people. In resolving the contradictory positions each person, in this narrative, tried to provide an enriching and empowering experience for their students. Each teacher opened the closet of segregation and kept it open. Each teacher moved their students from the shadow of segregation into the full sunlight.

Endnotes

1. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, (p. 155).
2. A. D. Beittel, "Some Effects of the Separate But Equal Doctrine of Education," *Journal of Negro Education*: 20 (1951) 140-147.
3. Clara Luper,Interview, October 15, 1995.
4. Beittel, "Some Effects of the 'Separate But Equal' Doctrine of Education," (pp. 141-144).
5. O. L. Davis, Jr., "Historical Inquiry," in *Forms of Curriculum Inquiry*, ed. Edmund C. Short, (Albany ,1991) 77-88.
6. Bessie L. Pierce, *Public Opinion and the Teaching of History in the United States*, Alfred A. Knopf (1926, p. 66-70).
7. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me*, (p. 149).
8. Paul D. Escott, *Slavery Remembered*, University of North Carolina Press, (1979, p. 153).
9. Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*, Oxford Press (1950, p. 258).
10. James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*, The New Press, (1995, p. 133).
11. Odessa Woolfolk. Interview, November 24, 1994.
12. Ullman High School was the Negro High School in Birmingham, Alabama. It was ultimately closed in 1973 after a long battle to desegregate Birmingham's schools. See Anna V. Wilson, "Stranger in a Strange Land," for additional information.
13. Oral History Interview with Clara Luper, October 15, 1995.
14. Ibid
15. Ward I. Miller, "Some Anticipated Problems Incident to Racial Integration in the Public Schools and Some Suggested Approaches to the Problems," *Journal of Negro Education*: 21 (1955, pp. 285-292).
16. Interview with Odessa Woolfolk, Birmingham, Alabama, November 24, 1994.
17. Interview with Connie Pegues, Birmingham, Alabama, November 24, 1994.
18. Hurley H. Doddy and G. Franklin Edwards, "Apprehension of Negro Teachers Concerning Desegregation in South Carolina," *Journal of Negro Education*: 24 (1955, pp. 23-43).
19. Interview with Odessa Woolfolk, Birmingham, Alabama, November 24, 1995.

The National School Service and American Schools During World War I

O. L. Davis, Jr.
The University of Texas at Austin

The *National School Service* greeted American teachers when they returned to classrooms in late August and early September, 1918. Unlike other journals and magazines for teachers, this new 16-page "paper" arrived free of charge to recipients. It was a substantial publication from the beginning, even though the Committee on Public Information, also called the Creel committee, was both the nation's wartime propaganda agency and the journal's publisher. Planned for many months, the *National School Service* enjoyed only five issues before the Armistice ended the war in Europe. Nevertheless, those issues and the twelve that followed throughout the remainder of the 1918-19 school year fulfilled the singular purpose of the publication.[1]

Stripped of its easy justification as a resource for the nation's teachers, this twice monthly periodical lauded national war aims and programs. After the war ended, it publicized the nation's official efforts for recovery in Europe, including the fragile peace and domestic post-war programs. These two goals promoted patriotism among school pupils and teachers and increased their support of U. S. contributions to the Allied war effort. The *National School Service* accorded minor attention to other Allied powers, their people, leaders, and activities. However, the Creel committee marginalized these contributions in order to indoctrinate Americans. Never overtly stated, but apparent in every issue, was a breached federalism, a conviction that asserted national government influence during wartime substituted for state purposes for schools. Specifically to that end, the *National School Service* fostered national patriotism and promoted the study of the war in American schools.[2]

Earlier efforts of the Committee on Public Information (CPI) to mobilize the nation's schools for national purpose were much less effective than was the *National School Service*. By September 1917, the beginning of the first year of wartime schooling in the United States, Creel's CPI sought to influence elements of the school curriculum. In league with state and local Councils of Defense, the CPI distributed many thousands of copies of its first propaganda booklets. Many of these materials actually reached local schools, but the route from the Washington bureaucracy to local classrooms was indirect and uncertain, certainly cumbersome. The procedure largely depended, for example, on advertisements, bulk mailings by congressmen, and requests for copies by local Councils of Defense. With the *National School Service*, the CPI discovered a direct and efficient means of getting its and other federal agencies' information into the hands of the nation's 600,000 teachers. In this process, the CPI ignored the federal Bureau of Education and the states' departments of education. More importantly, it largely bypassed school superintendents and principals. It mailed enough copies of the *National School Service* for each teacher directly to every American rural and city school building.[3]

The *National School Service* (*NSS*) was staffed ably for its task. Guy Stanton Ford, an historian and publicist, served as its initial Director. William Chandler Bagley, a national leader in secondary education at Teachers College, Columbia University, edited the *NSS* throughout its year of publication. Historian Samuel B. Harding edited its Historical Section. Included as members of its Advisory Editorial Board were the following individuals: Colorado's state superintendent of public instruction and Nebraska's assistant state superintendent; the superintendents of schools in Richmond, Virginia, Cincinnati, Ohio, and Oakland, California; the dean of the University of Minnesota's College of Education; the Boston diocesan school supervisor; the president of the Michigan state normal school at Kalamazoo; and the president of the National Education Association. In January 1919, the Committee on Public Information relinquished publication to the Division of Educational Extension of the federal Department of the Interior. Still, the bureaucratic changes were few; J. J. Pettijohn replaced Guy Stanton Ford as Director and Alberta Walker replaced Fannie W. Dunn as editor for intermediate grades. Editorial philosophy and the nature of contents continued without noticeable effect.

Ordinarily, anonymous staff writers prepared all articles. Only a very few articles attributed authorship, although most issues included short messages from prominent Americans including President Woodrow Wilson, Commissioner of Education P. P. Claxton, and food czar Herbert Hoover.

Many *NSS* articles ostensibly reported news, even though much of it must have been stale to most readers. Other articles contained analyses of war related issues and elaborated announcements of special federal government programs (e.g., victory loan drives, food conservation drives, special Red Cross programs). Each issue included reproductions of photographs, charts, line drawings, and posters, including those prepared by school children. The National Geographic Society prepared the maps published in the *NSS*. Major articles provided background information to teachers, and, perhaps, heightened motivation to use the ideas in lessons. At least six pages of each issue carried specific teaching suggestions often related directly to information contained in that issue.

Regular Features of the National School Service

Until the November cessation of hostilities, the *National School Service* carried major analyses of battles on the war front and overviews of periods of the war. For example, the initial issue featured an account of the U. S. Marines at Chateau Thierry in the previous June and a recapitulation of the war during 1918. Other September features included a narrative of an American sailor whose ship was sunk by a German submarine and an account of the Allies' victory month of August. "American Aviators Bomb Hun Airdromes," "Topography and Strategy on the Western Front," and "American Offensive at St. Mihiel" were major October treatments as were "Poison Gas A German Weapon," "German Empire Reverses," and "Controlling Spanish Influenza."[4]

Although an inconspicuous editorial note warned against "peace rumors," the November 1 issue carried two major features. "The United War Work Campaign" focused on the army's morale. The second, "The German Schools as Nurseries of Autocracy," compared German and American educational systems; Editor William Chandler Bagley signed the article. In his article, Bagley observed that "our schools have faults, and some severe grave faults . . . (but) they have developed consistently with the democratic ideals - they have kept the children of all classes together during a most impressionable period of their lives, and they have kept the doors of opportunity open."[5]

The November 11 Armistice was soft pedaled in the November 15 issue. In fact, had teachers not read carefully, they could have missed the announcement in "Central Powers Sue for Armistice." Editors clearly may have believed that the Armistice was only a temporary cessation of hostilities. This issue, highlighting the work of the American Red Cross, featured articles on "Helping the Disabled Help Themselves" and "Feeding French Children." By the December 1 issue, however, the reality of the Armistice became transformed into Allied victory. "A Peace with Honor" and "Hoover Outlines World Food Policy" were its page 1 features. "Germany in Revolution" and "A League of Nations" were the major stories in the December 15 issue, the last published by the Committee on Public Information.[6]

During the final three months of war, the *NSS* additionally called attention to reasons that Americans must support the war. It also emphasized reasons that American school children should study about the war. For example, one article claimed that the war was "the biggest and most important happening in history" and that the war "already plays a large part in his (the child's) school life." Thus, the *NSS* echoed the CPI theme- the war should receive systematic treatment in the schools. Furthermore, study of the war would enhance the regular work in "practically every other subject in the curriculum." In the initial issue, Director Ford observed that the *National School Service* did not bring the war into the schools. He claimed that the periodical did not intend to make American teachers "the intellectual drill sergeants of national prejudices and vainglories of international suspicion and envy." Still, he held that "if the war were not in the thought and program of the schools it should be brought there." He chillingly noted that "the stern demand (that) is made in every school teacher to know the causes of this war, the efforts of America, the dangers she confronts, and the aims she has set for attainment." "No one else in the community," Ford concluded, "is so singled out as a leader and center of information in these things."[7]

The *National School Service*'s vigorous and unreflected support of federal initiatives continued consistently throughout the school year. Both its indoctrination for patriotism and its slight of Allied nations' contributions served its purpose to mobilize American opinion to support the war. For the *NSS*, the messages targeted teachers and pupils, but, also important, they likely intended to reach parents through their children.

Suggestions to teachers for lesson material constituted the heart, if not the soul, of each issue of the *National School Service*. Only seldom were suggestions restricted to a single theme. Routinely, they simply fostered the study of the war. Some teaching suggestions related to information contained in the issue's major articles and announcements; other advice was independent of any issue theme. Also, division of the suggestions into the four departments (rural schools, primary, intermediate, and upper grades and high school) seemed practical and convenient rather than arbitrary. The suggestions for high school studies of the war appeared to be appropriate for that level; these ideas commonly called for expanded reading and advanced discussion and writing.

Especially within a wartime climate that required public displays of patriotism, many teachers probably found the *NSS* advice to be usable. Almost all suggestions required no more than commonplace or easily available supplies and other resources. Some suggestions even included texts of stories that teachers could read to pupils as well as complete scripts for pageants, plays, and other dramatic activities. The *NSS* also published lists of pamphlets and posters available free or at low cost from a number of federal agencies including the Committee on Public Information. In the poor schools of the period, teachers could read these suggestions and immediately improvise lessons.

Throughout its existence, the *National School Service* offered a great variety of lesson material. Many issues focused attention on fuel and food consumption. Not only did articles explain the serious need for conservation, teaching suggestions drove home its necessity. For example, articles urged rural and intermediate teachers to establish "Circles of the Black Watch" complete with "officers" (e.g., monitors of the lights, the thermometer, the kitchen, the woodpile) assigned specific duties to conserve coal in schools. Subsequently, an article urged that a "Captain Sugar" maintain watch over efforts to reduce use of sugar in schools.[8]

Each issue of the *NSS* suggested geography and history lessons keyed to the war. Lessons encouraged construction of posters, purchase of savings stamps, and salvage of tin-foil and rubber. A number of lessons supported map work and, for young children, the use of sand tables. One article, for example, called for teachers to have their pupils make sand table trenches positioned with model houses, soldiers, and airplanes. Suggestions to teachers even included teaching about pigeons, heroic conveyers of messages from front lines to headquarters. Articles encouraged teachers to post newspaper clippings about the war, even if a cloth were to hang over the classroom's blackboard to serve as a background for the clippings. Suggested often were arithmetic problems that emphasized war and home front elements: distances, tonnage of war supplies, measures of sugar, and amounts of savings stamps purchased. Some articles suggested topics for pupil compositions. Each issue published patriotic poems and short essays with the implicit advice that they be used in classrooms. The *NSS* also provided suggestions for such disparate subjects as handwork (manual training) and French. Advocacy of school study of the war took many forms.[9]

From January 1, 1919, nine issues completed the life of the *National School Service*. The transition from war to peace was the overarching theme of these issues, four of which emphasized special concerns (e.g., gardening, thrift). Continuingly featured were food production and availability, at home and in Europe. Hospitalization, work, and schools for returning soldiers received frequent mention. Of course, school children could not do anything about these problems; however, they could know about them. In addition, Allied army and navy commanders and statesmen were featured. Consistent with the *NSS*' original intentions, U. S. General John J. Pershing outshone Marshals Ferdinand Foch and Sir Douglas Haig. Britain's Admiral Sir David Beatty and the Royal Navy's brilliant record received pride of position, but U. S. Admiral W. S. Sims and the U. S. battle fleet's mainly insignificant roles were also highlighted. It accorded kind words for Britain's David Lloyd-George, France's Georges Clemanceau, and Italy's Vittorio Orlando, but it lavished unreserved praise on U. S. President Woodrow Wilson, "Spokesman of Democracy." After all, the *National School Service* was a federal government periodical and its purpose was served by acknowledgment of foreigners only as they contributed to American war aims.[10]

The *NSS*' path into peacetime was filled with information accompanied by exhortation. The *NSS* applauded the League of Nations and other U. S. proposals for a peace settlement. Throughout the winter and spring of 1919, the periodical emphasized that the study of war, particularly the just completed war, leads to peace. For example, an editorial claimed, "The persistent war problem of the schools will be to insure that the lessons of the great war are not forgotten." As long as the *National School Service* appeared, that war was not only not forgotten, it was replayed and restudied. The *NSS*, in this vein, also supported the announced initiative of the National Education Association to collect local sources for the study of the war's history, particularly of the roles played by schools. This idea for a national archives of school war work apparently never developed beyond the stage of proposal.[11]

In the Spring of 1919, issues also placed frequent and insistent calls and suggestions for the Americanization of immigrants. This theme dominated every issue, even special numbers on thrift and school gardening. Additionally, the

NSS regularly referred to the "rural school problem" and underlined solutions by consolidation and centralization. It featured concern for the control of influenza and the cure of its victims during the devastating, nationwide epidemic. It also campaigned for thrift, the Red Cross, school gardening, Boy and Girl Scouts, and the work of boys' and girls' clubs, forerunners of the 4-H movement. Also, it encouraged school plays, pantomimes, and pageants under titles like "Union Forever," "King Good Health Wins," "Making an American," "A Victory Pantomime," and "Portraits of Peace." It offered Alfred Noyes' copyrighted "At the Altar of Freedom" for use in all the nation's schools. As well, the *NSS* continued to offer teaching suggestions. Some of these lessons treated special war problems, others the new circumstances of peace. Some translated war programs into peacetime initiatives. Articles advanced teaching suggestions in almost every curriculum area. An apparent anomaly among these features and suggestions was the attention accorded in the *NSS* about the new mental tests developed during the war. Robert M. Yerkes, the army's chief psychologist, signed a long article about the potential advantages of school use of these tests and an editorial enthusiastically recommended them. Of all the suggestions included in the *NSS*, this one undoubtedly became the most widely implemented during the next decade.[12]

Demise of the National Service: No Need for Propaganda in Peacetime

The May 1, 1919, issue of the *National School Service* was its last. An editorial pronounced its "wartime work done." During the Spring, many teachers apparently requested the journal's continuance, but peacetime could not sustain it. The war was over. Federal government agencies, consequently, no longer had special war emergency programs to promote. Also, a peacetime United States would support neither a propaganda agency nor federal intrusion into American schools.[13]

Only one hesitant but insistent question accompanied the wake of the *National School Service*. Still obscure across almost eighty years is any fulsome sense of the extent of its use by teachers. Indeed, only fragmentary evidence exists on this point. Its editors claimed that teachers and administrators urged its continuance after CPI sponsorship ceased. Several superintendents reported its use in classrooms of their schools. Notably, the Seattle, Washington Board of Education ordered the city's schools not to use the three volume *Outlines of European History* co-authored by James Breasted, James Harvey Robinson, and Charles Beard. The Board observed that the war pamphlets issued by U. S. government agencies were more than adequate substitutes. Tacitly, at least, the Board included the *National School Service* among its preferred federal government publications. Rather than ape the Seattle experience, however, teachers in most American schools probably used the *National School Service* in predictably practical ways. Many must have read what interested them. They likely took none or a few suggestions. In the end, they probably laid most of each issue to rest.[14]

The *National School Service*'s editors, still true believers in an overriding federal presence and intrusion in the nation's schools, closed the journal's pages by reminding their readers of an unfinished agenda of national needs. They topped their list with an emphasis on Americanism, a newly robust patriotism, and the obligation of national service. Also, they claimed that American teachers and schools must attend specifically to widespread illiteracy, poor health, the need for thrift, and problems of citizenship. Only a few elements of this agenda were addressed during subsequent years, but federal bureaucrats and funds did not direct them until the Depression era. Not until the new world war exploded a decade later did schools and teachers become other than bit-players in renewed federal efforts to impact significantly the nature of American life. By that time, American teachers did not remember the *National School Service*.[15]

Endnotes

1. Earlier attention to the *National School Service* may be found in Lewis Paul Todd, *Wartime Relations of the Federal Government and the Public Schools 1917-1918* (New York, 1945) and Stephen Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines: Democracy, Nationalism and the Committee on Public Information* (Chapel Hill, 1980). Two previous articles noted the war's impact on the nascent social studies curriculum; see, George L. Mehaffy, "Social Studies in World War One: A Period of Transition," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 15 (Winter, 1987): 23-32, and S. Samuel Shermis, "World War I - Catalyst for the Creation of the Social Studies," *The Social Studies* 80 (January-February, 1989): 11-15. Only Vaughn's work, however, seriously considered the nature of the *National School Service*, especially its suggestions to teachers. For a particularly cogent legitimization of the periodical, see George Creel, "A New Educational Agency," *National School Service* 1 (September 1, 1918): 8. Hereafter, *NSS* references the name of this journal.
2. See, particularly, O. L. Davis, Jr., "Schooling in the Service of the State: Great War Contributions to Changed American Educational Purpose," paper presented at the International Standing Conference on the History of Education, Amsterdam, August 1994; O. L. Davis, Jr., "School Gardens and National Purpose During World War I," *Journal*

of the Midwest History of Education Society 22 (1995): 115-126; also, Ronald Schaffer, *America in the Great War; the Rise of the War Welfare State* (New York, 1991).

3. Stephen Vaughn, *Holding Fast the Inner Lines*, 98-115; also, O. L. Davis, Jr., '"No Slackers in the Schools': Citizenship Education in the Lincoln, Nebraska, Schools During World War I," paper presented at the History of Education Society, Chicago, October 1993; editorial note, *NSS* 1(September 15, 1918): 8; Guy Stanton Ford, "The Future of National School Service," *NSS* 1(December 15, 1918): 8.
4. *NSS*1(September 1, 1918:1-4, 4-5; *NSS* 1(September 15, 1918):1-3,3-4; *NSS* 1(October 1, 1918): 1-2, 1, 3-5, 5-6; *NSS* 1(October 15, 1918):1-2, 1-3.
5. *NSS* 1(November 1, 1918): 8, 1-2, 1, 5-6.
6. *NSS* 1(November 15, 1918): 4-5, 1-2, 1, 3; *NSS* 1(December 1, 1918): 1-2, 1, 4-5; *NSS* 1 (December 15, 1918): 1, 3-4.
7. "Why the War Should Be Studied in Schools," *NSS* 1(September 1, 1918): 5-6; Guy Stanton Ford, "National School Service," *NSS* 1(September 1, 1918): 8-9.
8. "The Black Watch in Rural Schools," *NSS* 1(October 15, 1918): 10, 12-13; "The Friends of Captain Sugar," *NSS* 1(November 1, 1918): 13-14.
9. "Sand Table Trenches," *NSS* 1(November 15, 1918): 11; "Pigeons in War Service," *NSS* 1(October 1, 1918): 12-13; "Posting the News," *NSS* 1(November 1, 1918): 13; "The French Class and the War," *NSS* 1(November 15, 1918): 15.
10. Guy Stanton Ford, "The Future of National School Service," 8; J. J. Pettijohn, "Problems of Reconstruction," *NSS* 1(January 1, 1919): 8. The March 1 issue was a "Special Thrift and War Savings Number" and the March 15 number featured the "United States School Garden Army"; the April 1 issue highlighted "Americanization and Good Citizenship" and the April 15 issue focused attention on the "Boys' and Girls' Industrial Clubs". See, "Commanders of Our Allied Armies," *NSS* 1(January 1, 1919): 1-2; "Commanders of Allied Fleets," *NSS* 1(January 15, 1919): 1-3; "The Leading Statesmen of the War," *NSS* 1 (February 1, 1919): 1-3.
11. Editorial comment, *NSS* 1(January 15, 1919): 8, also (May 1, 1919): 8; "Schools Help Collect Sources of War History," *NSS* 1 (December 15, 1918): 9, also, "War History of Our School," 11; "War Work in Schools," *NSS* 1(February 15, 1919): 9.
12. Alfred Noyes, "At the Altar of Freedom," *NSS* 1(January 15, 1919): 4-7; Robert M. Yerkes, "The Mental Rating of School Children," *NSS* 1(February 15, 1919): 6-7; editorial comment, *NSS* 1(March 1, 1919): 8; "The Army Mental Tests," *NSS* 1(May 1, 1919): 1, 6-7. See, also,
13. "Wartime Work Done," *NSS* 1(May 1, 1919): 8.
14. Guy Stanton Ford, "The Future of National School Service," 8. See accounts of reports from school superintendents published in "The War and the Schools," a wartime feature of the *American School Board Journal* 57(September, 1918) - 58(June, 1919); also, Bryce E. Nelson, *Good Schools: The Seattle Public School System, 1901-1930* (Seattle, 1988): 124-126.
15. "The New Problem," *NSS* 1(May 1, 1919): 8; also, in the same issue, "War Lessons the Schools Should Continue to Teach," 9; "The National Thrift Program," 9; "The Patriotism of Peace," 10; "Daily Practice in Citizenship," 11; "Peace-Time Courage," 13; "Study the Peace Treaty," 14; and "Schools Profit by War Lessons," 15.

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Educators Confront the Red Scare from 1945 to 1955

Stuart Foster
The University of Texas at Austin

In the decade immediately following the end of World War II, public schools throughout the United States became enmeshed in a suffocating frenzy. The period continues to be known as the red scare or the McCarthy era. Seeds of this red scare, however, were sown long before Senator Joseph McCarthy officially entered his foray into Communist witch-hunting in February of 1950. Indeed, attacks on public education from the end of World War II to the late 1950s used the potent arsenal of red scare and assumed a prominent feature of American life. These attacks on public education often had a deeply disturbing and severely damaging impact in many school districts throughout the United States. Essentially, they wrought havoc to individual educational systems and disturbed the civic harmony of local communities. In major cities such as Houston, Denver, Los Angeles, St. Louis, and Chicago, public schools and their personnel were subjected to intense and zealous criticism. From Pasadena and Seattle on the West Coast to New York and Miami in the East, superintendents, teachers, and other school officials were dismissed abruptly by boards of education for un-American activities. Textbooks identified and criticized as subversive were withdrawn from use, campaigns for school bonds were frustrated, and curriculum materials and teaching practices were subjected to vigorous and often debilitating scrutiny.

As the representative of half a million educators and the world's largest organization, the National Education Association (NEA) recognized these damaging attacks on public education and public school personnel, many but not all of them NEA members, as deeply troubling. As an institutional response, the NEA assigned responsibility to protect the interests of teachers and to respond to the red scare attacks to its National Commission for the Defense of Democracy through Education.

Originally formed in 1941, this Commission's charter charged its members to protect and defend the professional rights of teachers in individual cases and selected school districts. By the beginning of the postwar period, the Commission swiftly became the organized teaching profession's primary means to blunt concerted red scare attacks on education in towns and cities throughout the nation. From the late 1940s to the mid-1950s, the Defense Commission, as it was known, concentrated the attention of its staff on efforts to defend teaching from critics who used red scare tactics and rhetoric to discredit public education and to serve the interests of reactionary forces in American society.

In this postwar period, the Defense Commission worked relentlessly to track, suppress, investigate, and challenge individuals and organizations that employed red scare tactics to undermine public education. For example, it organized conferences to elevate the status of education in the public arena; produced a plethora of materials which lauded the achievements of the public schools; urged local, state, and national politicians to support educators; and conducted 16 full-scale investigations in education in cities such as Houston, Pasadena, and Miami.[1] The Defense Commission also used a network of NEA local and state affiliates to conduct national surveys, research projects, and opinion polls on educational issues. By mid-century, the NEA's Defense Commission had become the teaching profession's major defender of public schools from acerbic and damaging attacks.

A key component in the Defense Commission's drive to protect teachers from vitriolic attack was the regular publication of its *Defense Bulletin*, a newsletter for NEA members. Early issues of the *Defense Bulletin*, mimeographed on letter sized paper, were confidential in general content and were distributed to no more than 300 select individuals. By mid-century, however, the *Bulletin* boasted a national circulation of more than 20,000 educators, and it quickly became an important and valuable mouthpiece for the Defense Commission.

The *Defense Bulletin* reported on a wide range of topics, including issues such as intercultural education, UNESCO, federal aid to education, universal military training, and education for American citizenship. From the mid 1940s to the mid 1950s, however, the *Defense Bulletin* most notably reflected the Defense Commission's mounting concern over the impact of the red scare on public school education in the United States. Significantly, in all of the issues of the *Bulletin* between December 1941 and May 1945, only two notes refer to red scare attacks. By the late 1940s and early 1950s, the trickle of criticism developed into a raging torrent of vicious assault. Indeed, from 1945 to 1955, scarcely an issue of the *Defense Bulletin* appeared without direct and often dramatic and prolonged reference to red scare propaganda. Accordingly, as a window on the socio-political climate of the age and as a barometer to the rising intensity of red scare criticism of the schools, the contents of the *Defense Bulletin* offer a rich and fascinating insight into American education in the postwar era.

Origins of Red Scare Attacks

The period immediately following the end of World War II was a time of transition for American society. It was distinguished by a curious dichotomy. On the one hand, the United States emerged from the global conflict as the strongest and most prosperous nation in the world. To most Americans, the nation's and their personal futures appeared bright. On the other hand, the postwar era was characterized by widespread anxiety and frustration. New domestic and foreign problems challenged a troubled generation. These anxieties and frustrations became manifest in a people who attempted to cope with an unfamiliar military action in Korea, tensions with the Soviet Union and Soviet bloc nations, rapid urbanization, intense struggles over issues of race, and the advancement of a society consumed with increased commercialism and modernization. In addition, through its policy to contain Communism, the United States undertook the role of the world's police officer. Thus, the nation and its people became aware of its continuing and awesome burden of responsibility in world affairs and the harrowing and persistent threat of nuclear war.

To explain the causes of national and personal uncertainty and anxiety, many Americans sought to blame their fears and frustrations on the internal and external influences of Soviet Communist ideology and the military forces of the Soviet Union. Conditions in American culture were ripe for the reemergence of a red scare. This postwar red scare, however, was more than a simple clash of competing ideologies. As a political weapon, the red scare effectively suppressed political dialogue, limited free speech and free inquiry, and tainted the agenda of Americans who supported liberal or social democratic politics. Innuendo, allegation, and accusation replaced rational political debate and critical deliberation. The propagation of anti-Communist sentiment, therefore, became a powerful tool of ideologues from the political right.[2] By stirring up emotive and often paranoiac anti-Communist sentiment, powerful individuals and interest groups sought to create a socio-political climate in which their own politically conservative or reactionary agendas might be served.

The mood of the age induced public disaffection and uncertainty. This anxiety was manifested by the emergence of a "sudden proliferation of societies, leagues, committees, councils, and crusades which sought to stop the clock of social change."[3] The nation's public schools became one of the principal targets of these anti-Communist leagues. During the postwar red scare era, schools throughout the United States encountered savage and venomous attacks unprecedented in American educational history. For example, right wing groups and individuals used the convenience of the red scare to oppose federal aid to education, to deride campaigns for racially integrated schools, to ridicule progressive education, and perhaps most important of all, to undermine calls for tax increases to support public education.

To serve their own political ends and to blunt those espousing more liberal and progressive approaches to education, right wing critics repeatedly used the emotive and damaging rhetoric of the red scare. Many public school teachers were accused of subversion, advancing the work of the Kremlin, promoting Communism, and being disloyal or un-American. Critics poured their invective on educators who supported the philosophy of progressive education. Additionally, these critics claimed that public schools did not teach the fundamentals, failed to teach appropriate morals, and subverted the traditions and values of American society.

Not wishing to appear overly sensitive to the arguments of all critics of education, writers for the *Defense Bulletin* repeatedly asserted that they welcomed and valued reasoned and sensible criticism of public education. *The Defense Bulletin*, however, precisely pointed out the difference between those who used acceptable methods to criticize public education and those who adopted a more aggressive, unprincipled, and dishonest approach.[4]

Critics who used the rhetoric and tactics of the red scare encompassed a curious assortment of individuals and groups. The pages of the *Defense Bulletin* are replete with references to this vast and influential array of red scare critics, and on many occasions, entire issues were devoted specifically to call attention to their practices.[5] The attackers of America's schools during the postwar period may be separated into three major categories: first, groups that specifically focused on education and which had emerged amid the frenzy of the cold war or red scare era (e.g., Friends of the Public Schools, National Council for American Education); second, pre-war business, religious, and patriotic groups which fervently adopted red scare tactics and propaganda to attack public schools (e.g., Sons of the American Revolution, the Minute Women); third, politicians who used their influential positions publicly to accuse the teaching profession of subversion and who introduced legislation to undermine the academic freedoms of American educators (e.g., Senator Patrick McCarran, Nevada; Congressman George A. Dondero, Michigan).

Responding to the threat of the newly created education organizations, the *Defense Bulletin* accorded them repeated and exhaustive attention. It identified their personnel and their tactics and commented about their negative influence on American education. Issue after issue testified to the plethora of right wing groups attacking public education during this period. However, one organization, the National Council for American Education, led by A. Allen Zoll, received extensive scrutiny. Zoll's group typified the nature and rhetoric of many other red scare groups.

As several issues of the *Bulletin* reveal, Zoll's personal rhetoric and publications sought to convince the American public that public schools throughout the United States were infiltrated by subversive teachers and Communist sympathizers and that they fervently promoted the cause of socialism. In widely distributed pamphlets such as "How Red Are the Schools?" and "Progressive Education Increases Delinquency," Zoll attacked John Dewey and other prominent educators, described U. S. history textbooks as instruments of Marxist propaganda, and claimed that the philosophy and methods of progressive education were contrary to the ideals of American society. For example, in "They Want Your Child," Zoll contended that infiltrating American education is Communists' prime objective.[6]

Although the *Defense Bulletin* treated critics such as National Council for American Education contemptuously, the Defense Commission and its staff understood the damaging, widespread and negative impact that these organizations could have on public education. For example, the *Defense Bulletin* of November 1950 noted with some alarm that a fervent right wing organization and a frequent critic of education, the Committee for Constitutional Government, had spent almost $2,000,000 for lobbying purposes and distributed 82 million booklets and pamphlets over a seven year period.[7] In the eyes of the Defense Commission, such organizations were a direct and acute threat to the stability and continuance of American public education. Repeated reference to this organization in the *Defense Bulletin* attests to the perceived seriousness and possible destructiveness of their attacks.

The second category of critics included those organizations whose formation had preceded the red scare era. Many of these organizations were business groups and taxpayers' organizations opposed to federal involvement in and tax support for public education. Accordingly, the *Defense Bulletin* noted attacks from diverse organizations such as the National Hardware Manufacturers' Association, the Conference of State Taxpayers' Organizations, The Employers Association of Chicago, and the American Bottlers of Carbonated Beverages. Typically, these and other groups contended that educators routinely advanced the cause of Communism through their subversive classroom practices. For example, Les Allman, Vice-President of the Fruehauf Trailer Company told the Michigan Trucking Association that textbooks in modern high schools in the Midwest were definitely and poisonously colored with communistic thinking.[8]

Other organizations exhibited similar concerns. For example, many issues of the *Defense Bulletin* reveal that both the Daughters and the Sons of the American Revolution were highly critical of several textbooks used in public schools. Indeed, *Defense Bulletin* 26, September 1948, noted that the president of the DAR described the authors of an eighth grade history book as being New Deal Democrats, pinks, or socialists. Further, the Defense Commission held that an article entitled "Your Child is Their Target," in the *American Legion Magazine,* June 1952 accused public school teachers of a conspiracy to commit American public schools to the services of Communism.[9] The contents of the *Defense Bulletin* portrayed the nature, scope, and intensity of red scare attacks by many established groups in American society.

The third group which received serious attention in a substantial number of *Defense Bulletin* issues included individual politicians who actively sought to suppress what they perceived to be subversive activity in the schools. Significantly, many references to red scare attacks by politicians were voiced long before Senator Joseph McCarthy made his renowned and widely publicized accusations in Wheeling, West Virginia in February 1950. For example, in September 1946, the *Defense Bulletin* revealed a sweeping indictment of education articulated by Republican Congressman George A. Dondero of Michigan, who asserted that this country was being systematically communized through its educational institutions.

On many other occasions the *Defense Bulletin* portrayed the accusatorial rhetoric of state representatives such as Ealum E. Bruffet and Erastic Davis of Missouri and Hamer McKenzie of Mississippi. National politicians such as Sam Hobbs of Alabama, Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, and Harold H. Velde of Illinois were also featured prominently. The majority of these vocal politicians were identified as Republicans. Indeed, a 1946 *Defense Bulletin* specifically noted that, at the annual convention for the National Federation of Republican Clubs, charges were made that "subversive literature is being distributed in the nation's public schools and that certain faculty members are deliberately misrepresenting American ideals."[10] However, passionate anti-Communist sentiment was not solely the preserve of the Republican Party. Senator Patrick McCarran, a Nevada Democrat, charged in September 1952 that "nests of Communists" existed in many colleges and secondary schools.[11] In addition, as early as March 1947, the aggressive rhetoric of Representative John E. Rankin, a Mississippi Democrat, was brought to the attention of readers of the *Defense Bulletin* because of his demands that Congress investigate pink teachers and the subversive influences of some of the leading educational institutions.[12] Many issues of the *Defense Bulletin* testify to the consistently damaging rhetoric of local, state, and national politicians who alleged subversive and un-American activities in schools throughout the United States.

Deeply troubled by the proliferation of organizations that attacked public schools, *Defense Bulletin* writers regularly warned educators of their dangerous influence. In particular, the *Bulletin of the Friends of the Public School*, written by General Amos A. Fries, boasted regular distribution to 33,000 individuals by 1942. According to an issue of the *Defense Bulletin*, Fries attempted to send copies of his *Bulletin* "free to as many city school boards as possible, to county superintendents, and to members of Congress and other government officials."[13] His charges were familiar ones: teachers were advancing Communism, instilling un-American values in children and youth, and generally advocating acts of subversion.

The *Defense Bulletin* monitored the growing number of attacks on school textbooks. It repeatedly scrutinized, for example, calls from right wing organizations for the withdrawal from school use of the popular *Building America* series and the widely adopted *Magruder* text on American Government. The *Defense Bulletin* informed readers about such issues as the Texas' textbook adoption committee vote to remove any materials from Texas' schools that contained references to the United Nations. It contained a story about a Congressional Committee's anger over a photograph of Stalin that appeared in a World History textbook. It published an Indiana state textbook commission member's attempt to ban *Robin Hood* because she believed that it was a Communist directive in education to stress that he robbed from the rich to give to the poor.

The Defense Commission intended to keep educators abreast of local, state, and national political actions which impacted their professional lives and careers. Accordingly, the *Bulletin* informed readers of the progress of "loyalty legislation" in states throughout the United States. For example, the May 1952 issue of the *Defense Bulletin* summarized mandates for teachers to swear loyalty to the United States and its institutions in 30 different states. In many *Bulletin* issues, the actual loyalty oaths were reprinted verbatim. The preeminence of the topics of loyalty oaths and of Congressional investigations in many editions of the *Defense Bulletin* attest to the NEA's growing concern for the academic freedom of teachers and the climate of fear which pervaded educational circles.

As a central component in the Defense Commission's quest to blunt red scare attacks, the *Defense Bulletin* performed several important functions. Three in particular appear salient. First, the *Defense Bulletin* acted as a national source of information for educators at the local level. It intended to provide teachers across the country with a central forum for information, opinion, and support. Many issues devoted considerable attention to exposing organizations such as the National Council for American Education and the Conference of American Small Businessmen. It emphasized to teachers and administrators that local red scare attacks were not isolated and atypical acts, but elements of a sinister and damaging national picture. The *Defense Bulletin* argued that if the attackers were to be stopped, educators must learn more about their methods and practices.

The second function of the *Defense Bulletin* followed directly from the first. Under banner headlines, such as "Let's Nip this Propaganda in the Bud," and "What You Can Do To Stop the Attacks," the Defense Commission published information which advocated that local groups take positive steps to confront red scare propaganda. The *Bulletin* reported local examples of the withdrawal by powerful business organizations, prominent politicians, and influential pressure groups of their accusations against the public schools as a direct consequence of bold and assertive challenges from local NEA affiliates.

Issue after issue of the *Defense Bulletin* offered educators, often at no cost, an enormous range of information sheets, books, leaflets, and articles that set out arguments in support of notable causes such as academic freedom, federal aid to education, UNESCO, and freedom of inquiry. In addition, as a further testament to the NEA's concern that educators be informed and protected from direct attack, the *Defense Bulletin* even advertised the availability of an NEA sponsored movie, "The Truth Which Keeps Us Free," and a 44 minute vinyl record entitled "A Reply to the Attacks on Education." By the late 1940s and early 1950s, therefore, the *Defense Bulletin* routinely provided local and state Education Associations with a wealth of information to support the cause of public education, highlighted and championed cases in which red scare attacks had been challenged, and offered practical advice and action plans for NEA members who sought to confront red scare practices in school districts throughout the United States.

The third function of the *Defense Bulletin* was arguably its most important. At a time when some teachers and administrators encountered personal accusations of subversion and many faced threats of dismissal, morale of the nation's teaching force sank to low and desperate levels. In an effort to elevate the status of educators and to raise the morale of the teaching profession, the *Defense Bulletin* reminded teachers of the enormously important work they were undertaking.

At every opportunity, the *Defense Bulletin* published accounts of prominent individuals and organizations who publicly supported American education. Many issues reported the supportive words of individuals such as Henry Steele Commager and President Truman and the fortifying declarations of organizations such as the CIO and the NAM. It also reported on a range of successful conferences that focused on major educational issues such as academic freedom, civil liberties, and the increasing threat of the red scare. The over-arching purpose of these conferences clearly was to induce a feeling of collective unity within the teaching profession. Indeed, inured by the shared experience of confronting red scare attacks, the *Defense Bulletin* claimed that many educators grew more confident in their ability both to deal with and to confront the rising tide of venomous attack.

In many respects, much of the information in the *Defense Bulletin* was intended as a comfort and as a support to America's teachers. For example, it published summaries of research studies that revealed that modern schools were significantly superior to schools of the pre-war era. In addition, teachers learned through the pages of the *Defense Bulletin* that fights over textbooks, the imposition of loyalty oaths, and the persistence of red scare attacks were not peculiar to their local situation. Rather, they discovered that other teachers throughout the United States encountered similar opposition and endured similar attacks.

An overall evaluation of the *Defense Bulletin's* impact, influence, and effectiveness in quieting red scare attack appears problematic. The extent to which the *Defense Bulletin* encouraged local teachers to stand up to critics of education and the degree to which educators found the *Bulletin's* advice helpful, informative, and provocative remains open to conjecture. In addition, how little or how much the *Defense Bulletin* instilled confidence and feelings of collective unity among the American teaching profession may never be assessed.

It seems likely, however, that the *Defense Bulletin* influenced teachers wishing to confront the excesses of the postwar red scare. Indeed, correspondence received by the editors of the *Defense Bulletin* and the testimony of many teachers during the Defense Commission's investigations reveal that many professional educators welcomed the role played by the *Defense Bulletin* in its tracking, investigation, and suppression of red scare attack.

Yet, despite these accolades, the *Defense Bulletin* exhibited a peculiar feature which betrayed itself as a victim of the fear and paranoia of the red scare era. In an almost myopic desire to appear respectable and professional to the American public, the *Defense Bulletin* often proclaimed the essentially social and political conservatism of the National Education Association. For example, it reminded readers on many occasions that it did not support the increasing wave of teacher strikes in the country and that it explicitly opposed the employment of members of the Communist Party as teachers in American public schools. Furthermore, although the Defense Commission repeatedly objected to loyalty oaths and Congressional investigations, not once did the *Defense Bulletin* encourage teachers to refuse to sign the loyalty oaths or to shun cooperation with state and federal investigations.

What is clear, however, is that the pages of the *Defense Bulletin* offer an intriguing and comprehensive insight into the influence of the red scare on education at the local, state, and national level. Indeed, the scale of political content and the enormously widespread geographic distribution of the *Defense Bulletin* indicate that the red scare's impact was more dramatic, more debilitating, and more profound than many educational historians have hitherto recognized.

Endnotes

1. An excellent summary of each of the Defense Commission's 28 full-scale investigations is included in the "Stewardship Report of the Defense Commission," National Education Association Archives (Washington, D. C., 1961), Box 1024. Hereafter cited as NEA Archives.

2. See, also, Don E. Carleton's description of the red scare as "a widespread series of actions by individuals and groups whose intentions were to frighten Americans with false and highly exaggerated charges of Communist subversion for the purposes of political, economic, and psychological profit." Don E. Carleton, "McCarthyism was more than McCarthy: Documenting the Red Scare at the State and Local Level," *The Midwestern Archivist*, 12 (1987): 13.

3. Robert C. Morris, The Right Wing Critics of Education Yesterday and Today," *Educational Leadership* 35 (May 1978): 624.
4. *Defense Bulletin*, 38, February 1951, NEA Archives, Box 1026.
5. For example, Allen Zoll's National Council for American Education was targeted in *Defense Bulletins* 28, 35, 38, 39, 43, 46, 50, and 54. Similarly, General A. Amos Fries received comprehensive treatment in *Defense Bulletins* 2, 8, 9, 12, 14, 18, 28, 38, 52, 54, and 69.
6. Allen A. Zoll, "They Want Your Child, " Monographs and Papers of the National Council for American Education (New York, 1951): 2, cited in Robert C. Morris, *Era of Anxiety: An Historical Account of the Effects and Reactions to Right Wing Forces Affecting Education during the years 1949-1954.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation (Indiana State University, 1976): 151.
7. *Defense Bulletin*, 36, November 1945, NEA Archives, Box 1026.
8. *Defense Bulletin*, 14, December 1945, NEA Archives, Box 1026.
9. *Defense Bulletin*, 46, September 1952, NEA Archives, Box 1026.
10. *Defense Bulletin*, 19, December 1946, NEA Archives, Box 1026.
11. *Defense Bulletin*, 48, January 1953, NEA Archives, Box 1026.
12. *Defense Bulletin*, 20, March 1947, NEA Archives, Box 1026.
13. *Defense Bulletin*, 2, January 1942, NEA Archives, Box 1026.

Admiral Hyman G. Rickover on Education

Paul Plath
University of Evansville

Scholarly examinations of the *Sputnik*-era in American education history are hardly in short supply. Certainly by the 1980s, historians of American education found themselves confidently prepared to publish enlightened narratives about these years, taking full advantage of the deeper wisdom that reliably accompanies the passage of time.[1] Even a cursory sampling of the more recent narratives about American education during the Cold War would very quickly reveal a rather familiar list of the key players who dominated the public arena during this period. Although some of the more extensive treatments would undoubtedly include such figures as Jerome Bruner, Charles Silberman, Max Rafferty, Paul Goodman, and Mortimer Smith, consensus attention is usually conferred on the big three of Arthur E. Bestor, James B. Conant, and Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, much better known as the father of the atomic submarine.[2]

In the spirit of revisiting the conventional portrayals of key historical figures, it is the general purpose of this paper to provide a fresh and more exhaustive depiction of Admiral Rickover, unquestionably the most colorful personality among the big three. It is this paper's contention that Rickover's notoriously abrasive demeanor and contemptuous bearing have led some historians, perhaps understandably, to arrive at a rather superficial stereotype of his role in the *Sputnik*-era education reform movement. Consequently, extensive scrutiny of the entire body of Rickover's school reform writings is rarely attempted; the indelible memories of his frequently explosive personality have long since engulfed the public mind. Accordingly, the late admiral deserves a second hearing.

No one disputes that the *Sputnik* event of October 4, 1957 was an important moment in American educational history. Fairly or unfairly, public school officials were vociferously criticized by politicians and citizens alike for allegedly driving the country toward second-class status vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. The successful launching into orbit of the world's first artificial satellite proved, at least to some people, that communist education had indeed achieved a menacing superiority, especially in science and technology. It seemed to many that the public schools were partly to blame for this sudden crisis in national security, and that the Federal government had to do something.[3]

President Eisenhower and the Congress immediately responded to the public uproar the very next year by cobbling together the National Defense Education Act. This new law gave Congress the authority to pour millions of tax dollars into public school budgets in order to relieve public anxiety and reassert American scientific supremacy. This rather desperate, face-saving response to what was actually a policy failure in Washington was transparently the "direct result" of the Soviet Union's *Sputnik* spectacular and could not possibly have generated any direct, short-term boost to the space program.[4]

Nevertheless, from that point on into the early 1960s, the nation witnessed significant curricular changes in many public schools. "These changes sought to reshape on a national scale the total content of the curriculum and to introduce, at the same time, a new set of methodologies."[5] These new approaches to learning soon became identified throughout the mass media by such shorthand labels as the "new math" and the "new science." The driving theme behind these new methodologies was that mastery of the thinking process itself was of greater importance than the factual content of each discipline.[6]

Of course, harsh criticism of postwar public-school trends had already begun long before 1957. During these early postwar years, conservative advocates of traditional values and basic education, such as Russell Kirk and Arthur Bestor, had already emerged in print as passionate critics of public education. They were heavily engaged in a running battle with the dominant theories and practices of the day which they roundly condemned as ruinous to genuine scholastic excellence. Although some of these critics were more interested in restoring this standard of excellence only for an elite few, they all agreed that the sad historical decline of academic performance was directly traceable to what they insisted was the pernicious influence of John Dewey and his progressive education ideas.[7]

Indeed, the very identity of progressive education had rapidly degenerated into a dirty word during the early Cold War years. In 1955, the progressive-education movement's leading professional organization, the Progressive Education Association, was formally dissolved after thirty-six years of mostly triumphant advocacy.[8]

At this point in mid-decade, Admiral Rickover's fame and photograph had been conspicuously disseminated throughout the American mass media and, indeed, throughout the Cold War world. Rickover's team of engineers in the

Navy had taken the same atom that had incinerated Hiroshima and Nagasaki just ten years before and had harnessed it inside a nuclear reactor so compact that it could be fitted inside a submarine. At that time, Rickover's nuclear-powered submarine had given the U.S. an enormous strategic advantage over the Soviet Union, or anyone else for that matter. Before nuclear power, conventionally-powered submarines were always vulnerable to certain destruction during sea warfare whenever they were forced to surface. Like whales, all submarines had to come up for air eventually. However, with nuclear power, a submarine could remain submerged for months at a time, making enemy detection from above virtually impossible. That is why Rickover's achievement had made him the quintessential Cold War hero in America.

At this time in the mid-1950s, Rickover had not published any frontal criticisms about American public schools. What private concerns he had were largely indirect, being almost totally confined to his frustrations in recruiting a sufficiently large number of technicians qualified for the growing nuclear-powered Navy.[9]

It was from these humble personnel problems that Rickover was to elevate his sights to the more general problems facing the U.S. public schools. While making this leap into the domain of professional educators would appear to be a daunting task for any prudent nonprofessional, Rickover would have one big advantage over the professional educators: he was a famous national hero, and they were not.

Born to Jewish merchant parents in Russian-controlled Poland in 1900, Rickover emigrated with his mother and sister to the U.S. a few years later, eventually settling in Chicago. He graduated from a public high school in 1918 and four years later from the Naval Academy at Annapolis where he earned a reputation as a serious student with few social interests.[10]

Rickover's record in the Navy during the next two decades was certainly honorable but hardly the sort that would have presaged his later fame in the 1950s. He spent World War II as a head engineer in the Navy's Bureau of Ships, designing and building naval war vessels. He did not actually enter any war zone until he arrived at Okinawa on August 6, 1945, the same day of the Hiroshima atomic bombing which virtually ended WWII. By all accounts, his wartime performance at the Bureau was exemplary. However, his prospects for promotion were in jeopardy because of his notorious temper and disdain for military protocol.[11]

After the war, in 1946, Captain Rickover was assigned by the Bureau of Ships to study the Manhattan Project's new nuclear reactor at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, as preparation for designing and building a nuclear-powered submarine. In short order, he succeeded in combining his new expertise in nuclear physics with his well-deserved reputation for ruthless bureaucratic infighting to carve out a new Navy career for himself as head of the atomic submarine program. On August 20, 1951, he ordered construction to begin on the world's first nuclear-powered submarine, the *U.S.S. Nautilus*. With the *Nautilus* finally scheduled to be christened and launched on January 21, 1954, *Time* magazine published a flattering cover story on Rickover just ten days before the historic event, virtually creating a new American hero overnight. A full length biography of Rickover, written by a *Time* correspondent, hit the bookstores the same week. Perhaps most remarkable of all, he had by now risen to the rank of rear admiral with virtually no combat experience on his record.[12]

With Rickover's place in American military history now firmly secure and additional atomic submarines being launched every year, the successful orbiting of *Sputnik* by the Soviet Union on October 4, 1957, posed yet another technological and political challenge to the U.S. government. Rickover, still annoyed by his continuing difficulties in recruiting qualified personnel for his nuclear Navy, seized the moment to demand that America's schools must also improve their own performance in helping the nation meet this new challenge. So, he assigned himself to the task of leading America's imperiled public schools away from Dewey's misguided legacy and toward his own vision of an ever-expanding manpower pool for winning the Cold War. In January of 1958, just three months after *Sputnik*, he testified before Congress on the implications of *Sputnik* for drastic education reform. He suggested that, "*Sputnik* may well be the catalyst which brings about drastic and long overdue reforms in utilizing the Nation's intellectual capacities." He thought "It may thus do in matters of the intellect what Pearl Harbor did in matters industrial and military."[13]

Rickover's dramatic testimony before Congress surely added to the already considerable momentum that eventually led President Eisenhower to sign the National Defense Education Act later on that year. By this new law, millions of Federal dollars were appropriated to enhance the instruction of science, mathematics, and foreign languages in the public schools, despite a powerful national animus against Federal aid to education led by Republicans.[14] Although Rickover could certainly not take sole credit for the passage of this historic legislation, his personal contribution was very influential. By the end of 1958, his credibility as both defender and savior had soared into the stratosphere with the headline-grabbing news that the *Nautilus* had reached the North Pole, coupled with the ceremonial launching of the nation's first multiple-reactor submarine, the *U.S.S. Triton*.[15]

By 1959, with the twin issues of *Sputnik* and public school reform still enjoying the spotlight, Rickover's reputation as an unimpeachable expert on virtually any subject had reached a pinnacle. However, his stature as a serious participant in the school reform movement began to unravel soon after his return from a highly publicized thirteen-day trip to the Soviet Union and Poland with Vice President Nixon. Nixon was using the trip to solidify his credentials as the Republican Party's presidential candidate for 1960 while Rickover was brought along to symbolize America's leadership in nuclear-powered technology.[16]

Almost immediately upon his return from this trip in early August of 1959, Rickover committed the amateur's cardinal mistake of actually providing specific details, plans, and examples to support his school reform opinions. Up to that point, they had largely amounted to passionate diatribes in behalf of better science, mathematics and engineering instruction, as provided for by the National Defense Education Act the previous year. But when he appeared before the House Appropriations Committee, he proceeded to read a rambling, eighty-page, single-spaced analysis of the Russian and American educational systems, most unflattering to the latter. The critique, simply called "Report on Russia," was based almost exclusively on observations gleaned from his recent whirlwind tour of Russia and Poland with Vice President Nixon. The report's opening statement perfectly set the tone for the argument about to unfold: "My visit to Russia and Poland confirmed my belief that the real race that we are in with communism is to see whose educational system best prepares you for the world of modern science and technology."[17]

Rickover forged ahead with his report, supplying the congressmen with his conclusion that Russia's ten-year ladder of basic education produced young adults who were "at least two years ahead" of the typical high school graduate from America's standard twelve-year ladder. Furthermore, Russia's ten-year ladder produced a "much larger talent pool" from which their society's professional leadership class would be drawn.[18]

Rickover then gave a detailed explanation of the Russian school system's national achievement examination covering seven academic subjects which all ten-year students had to pass to receive their diploma. The Admiral hardly had to point out that the U.S. had no mandatory national achievement tests to measure the learning levels of its high school graduates and that our various aptitude tests, like the S.A.T., were taken only by college-bound students on a volunteer basis, which he thought was much to our detriment.[19]

Rickover requested that a copy of these Russian national examinations be included in the Congressional Record. He also lauded the Russian school system as undeniably superior to our own and recommended that the U.S. immediately establish special advanced high schools for our most gifted students to ensure that we satisfied our professional manpower needs in the future. According to Rickover, "you cannot educate anyone properly if the class represents too large an intelligence spread."[20]

Rickover recommended that the Congress create a "commission or council" that would establish a set of national education standards or goals which local schools could decide to pursue or disregard as they saw fit. With such standards, "everyone could judge where exactly the local school stood."[21]

Just a few days after his startling Congressional testimony, Rickover fortified his case for radical school reform by giving an interview to the *New York Times* in which he alternated between fulsome praise for the Russian school system and scathing rebuke to American progressive educators. Under a headline reading, "Rickover Hails Reds' Education," he argued that "our really great race with the Soviet Union is in education," not military might, and that throughout his trip to Russia and Poland, he "could not find a single drum majorette."[22]

If all of the national publicity given to Rickover's educational views were not enough, 1959 was also the year that he published his first book of criticisms of American education entitled *Education and Freedom*. The book was basically a collection of previous speeches with such revealing titles as "Education Is Our First Line of Defense--Make It Strong."[23] Needless to say, it attracted considerable attention in the news media and was heavily reviewed with mixed results, not that Rickover would have cared.[24]

Rickover's undoing as a vanguard spokesman for public school reform began near the end of 1959 with the publication of a competing book on educational reform, James B. Conant's *The American High School Today*. As a former president of Harvard and prolific author of numerous studies of American education, his book became an immediate best-seller, boosted no doubt by the enormous media blitz orchestrated by the book's sponsor, the Carnegie Corporation. Although generally sympathetic to Rickover's call for the greater care and feeding of the elite class of students, Conant rejected the Admiral's key preference for special high schools for the elite and instead gave his seal of approval to the established pattern of the comprehensive public high school. Defenders of the status quo in public education rejoiced at Conant's crucial support, and the public's faith in its schools seemed to be restored. Rickover's brief place as America's most prominent spokesman on public education had suddenly been eclipsed by Conant.[25]

Rickover soon ran into other problems in his crusade to reform the public schools according to national security specifications. For one, members of Congress who hailed the Admiral's testimony demanding more money for nuclear-powered naval vessels had difficulty in swallowing his insistence on the virtues of Soviet education. Congress members felt this implied that communism was, at least indirectly, superior to democracy. Perhaps this explains why the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee characterized Rickover's detour into the field of education as only a "hobby."[26]

Rickover was undeterred. In 1962, he published his second book on education entitled *Swiss Schools and Ours: Why Theirs are Better*. The book was a bust in the marketplace. While railing against the usual litany of life-adjustment courses, child-centered progressive theory, and the absence of any national standards of achievement, the central message of this second book was now devoted to the alleged advantages of the Swiss school system.[27]

Rickover published his third and final book on education in 1963, calling it *American Education, A National Failure*. This book was the direct result of another repeat performance before the same House Appropriations Committee that had sat spellbound during the Admiral's 1959 "Report on Russia," except this time the subject was the English school system and how it too was so obviously superior to the American system.[28]

During his testimony on English schools, Rickover returned to many of his favorite themes from the past, but he was especially incited to respond in print to his many detractors. There was a long list of charges that he wished to publicly refute, to wit: that he ignored the humanities; that he cared only for an "education for the elite"; that he was "out to destroy democracy"; and that he had a secret plan for America's school children that would "educate the best and shoot the rest." He countered that all of these charges amounted to nothing more than name-calling by insecure educationists who refused to acknowledge "lay criticism."[29]

Admiral Rickover's legacy to the history of American education is just as complicated to assess as the Admiral's personality. Perhaps his biographers said it best by concluding that, contrary to popular belief, he was never really some sort of "wild eyed crypto-fascist." Rather, he was a man so intensely driven and so "narrowly focused" on those causes he championed that he was "innocent of the political consequences" of his actions and statements. He didn't know when to shut up and rarely attempted to build a consensus. He unnecessarily antagonized those who might have been his allies. He believed devoutly in a society of hard work and meritocratic reward. Fools were not to be suffered gladly; they were a menace to the national security.[30]

But with respect to the field of education specifically, isn't it remarkable that much of what Rickover proposed and criticized thirty years ago--and was resoundingly rejected at that time--has now re-emerged and has been accepted into the conventional wisdom of education. For example, how was Rickover's unflattering comparisons of America's schools with those in Russia, Switzerland, and England so different from our current preoccupation with the alleged superiority of Japanese schools?

For another example, how was Rickover's proposal for the establishment of national standards of academic achievement so different from the Clinton Administration's Goals 2000 plan, highlighted in the media by the controversial national standards for history? Even Rickover's caveat that his national standards should be voluntary is duplicated in Goals 2000.

Furthermore, what about Rickover's call for the establishment of special high schools for elite students? Many states over the last decade or so have founded special academies at taxpayer expense especially for those students gifted in mathematics and science. Rickover would certainly be nodding his approval if he were alive today.

All of these parallels, of course, bear the depressingly familiar stamp of compulsive school reformers from time immemorial: good intentions coupled with ulterior motives. Throughout American history, impassioned calls for education reform have usually become the convenient battle cry of political activists everywhere who have sought answers to the most vexing national problems by peering behind the schoolhouse door.

Endnotes

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From Pedagogy to Education at the University of Chicago, 1896-1904

Joan K. Smith   Millicent Drower
University of Oklahoma   Chicago Public Schools

In 1989, David C. Berliner stated, "We are on the threshold of creating a truly scientific basis for the art of teaching that will be acceptable to the general public as a truly specialized knowledge."[1] Today, we talk of a pedagogical science that has been built on research from developmental psychology, pediatrics, neuropsychology, and cognition. Its application is sifted through a constructivist philosophy that shifts the focus from the techniques of teaching to understanding our students' thought processes and helping them to build new concepts and thoughts based on that understanding.

In 1902, Ella Flagg Young wrote "Scientific Method in Education" and argued, "The teacher with the grasp of the subject-matter and a knowledge of the laws that underlie mental activity and growth has . . . this end in view: to keep track of the way in which different minds in the class act upon the stimuli presented. If the material presented does not lead to the new conceptual framework as assessed by the students' motor activity into the stream of consciousness, then the teacher knows that the stimuli are not stimulating, or that old presentations did not become a part of the capital of the children."[2] The obvious question then becomes, if progressivism had a constructivist scientific base for educational methodology in the first decade of the twentieth century, why has it taken the rest of the century to articulate and apply it? I believe part of the question can be answered by taking a look at what was happening in philosophy, psychology, and pedagogy at the University of Chicago when Dewey, Young, and Parker's Cook County Normal faculty were there.

In 1894, John Dewey was brought to the University of Chicago to direct the Department of Philosophy, Psychology, and Pedagogy. At the time Dewey was a relatively unknown figure in educational circles. He had graduated ten years earlier in psychology and philosophy from Johns Hopkins University and had just been appointed as Chair of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Michigan, when President Harper at Chicago offered him the position. His publication record was modest with only two articles related to teaching.[3]

At the time of his arrival in Chicago, the city school system had just been indicted by muckraker Joseph Mayer Rice in one of a series of articles exposing the nation's schools as dreary, mechanical, and unscientific places to be. At the same time one of Rice's articles praised Chicago's Cook County Normal School, which was under the direction of Colonel Francis W. Parker. Rice described the school as the most exciting and scientific educational training center in the United States, embodying the scientific ideal of the "new education."[4]

With little public school experience, Dewey was expected to develop the pedagogical side of his department. President Harper's grand design for the newly created university included a teachers' college and lab school that would bring Chicago's elementary teachers into university classes. Dewey struggled to develop these programs, relying heavily on the knowledge and experience of one of his graduate students, former assistant superintendent of Chicago schools, Mrs. Ella Flagg Young. Then, Harper acquired Parker and his million dollar endowment to found a teacher training institution in 1900. With all of this expertise in one place, the development of a strong scientific teacher training and lab school should have been a simple matter.

However, it was not. Politics engulfed the attempt, making a cooperative and collaborative approach impossible. When Ella Flagg Young decided to enter the University of Chicago in 1895 in hopes of completing a Ph.D., Dewey had completed his first year as department head. Although Young was thirteen years his senior, she and Dewey seemed to develop an immediate intellectual rapport. Dewey said of their relationship that he was constantly getting ideas from her: "More times than I could well say I didn't see the meaning or force of some favorite conception of my own till Mrs. Young had given it back to me." And "I would come to her with these abstract ideas of mine and she would tell me what they meant."[5]

The president of the university, William Rainey Harper, was also eager to have Young, but for different reasons. He was opening a teachers' college and wanted Young to teach courses that would bring in the Chicago teachers, whom she knew so well. However, Harper was less concerned about Young's pursuit of her Ph.D., even though he had led her to believe that her normal school work could be evaluated as the equivalent of a bachelor's degree. After several communications between Harper and Young, and Dewey and Young, Dewey wrote to Harper that Mrs. Young was becoming restless, and that if the matter of a baccalaureate equivalent was not resolved quickly, he thought Young would terminate her university relationship.[6] The matter was resolved. Young thanked Harper and continued to teach in the Teachers' College, while expressing her concern that the college would become a set of stair steps leading out of elementary education into secondary education and administration.[7]

In the meantime, Dewey had opened a private elementary school in spite of inadequate funding from Harper and much controversy. Opened in 1896 with sixteen children of faculty in attendance, it was Dewey's attempt to make himself more familiar with educational matters now that he oversaw pedagogy. Dewey was not very clear about the purpose of the school. Sometimes he described it as a place where the best methods would be taught and other times he portrayed it as a laboratory where various methods would be tested. Thus, parents complained. George S. Goodspeed said of his son's experience, "One year at the University Preparatory Laboratory, otherwise known as the D____ School (supply the proper word, not on Sunday please!) nearly ruined him. We have to teach him how to study! He learned to 'observe' last year." After observing, another parent declared, "[M]y children are not going to that school."[8]

Ultimately, Young suggested the name Laboratory School and in 1899 she began to help Dewey with its design. The new organizational structure continued to promote education as growth in a community environment centered around occupational activity. However, the development of intellectual and academic skills related to language, math, and communication were also stressed. Staff and student enrollment grew in 1900 and 1901, but money continued to be tight. Harper had thought that he had made it clear to Dewey to make the school self-supporting. Dewey, however, continued to request money from the university.

University trustee Mrs. Anita McCormick Blaine had given Col. Parker one million dollars to endow him in his own training and practice school. Known as the Chicago Institute, Parker had taken his best normal faculty with him to this new school. Unfortunately, Parker had never been a good financial manager, and with the death of his wife, for whom he never quit grieving, the new institute was poorly managed. Blaine convinced Parker that it would be better served as the University of Chicago's School of Education, a prospect which delighted Harper. Parker was reluctant to give up his authority to a bureaucratic university structure but was convinced by his faculty, who were promised tenure under this new agreement.[9]

The preliminary agreement was signed in February 1901. The agreement stipulated that Parker would be Director of the Chicago Institute, which would be renamed the School of Education; his second in command at the institute, Wilbur S. Jackman, would be Dean. The departments of pedagogy and philosophy would remain with Dewey, as would secondary education in the form of an academy and a manual training school already controlled by the university. All elementary education, however, would be under Parker's School of Education. Dewey was very unhappy about this plan and felt that he was not adequately consulted. Harper offered him an additional thousand dollars, bringing his salary to six thousand dollars. Dewey demanded seven thousand and Harper acquiesced.[10]

In the meantime, Young and Dewey solicited letters from national educators, calling for the lab school to remain a separate entity under Dewey's direction. Parents of Dewey's school were also concerned that, under Parker, their children would be "practiced upon." Harper called a meeting with the parents to explain the merger of the lab and practice schools. Dewey could not be present and asked Young to speak on behalf of the lab school. Young carefully explained the difference between the work of the two and afterwards was given credit for saving the school from the merger.[11]

The parents followed up by meeting with President Harper to try to convince him that their school should remain separate. They said that they would raise twenty-five hundred to five thousand dollars to offset the deficit. Harper checked with Blaine and Parker. Katherine Stillwell, Parker's Latin teacher, recalled that Parker said, "Let him keep his little school; we can't have too many schools of this kind."[12]

Although Dewey could keep his school, he was still not happy. Parker's school was listed and advertised as the University Elementary School--the name that Dewey was officially using. He wrote Harper an angry letter, declaring that people requesting information about his school were receiving materials about Parker's school. Harper solved the problem by changing the letterhead to read, "The University Elementary School on the Blaine Foundation," and added Colonel Parker's name to it. Still not satisfied, Dewey turned his attacks on Dean Jackman, claiming that the new dean was not giving him enough money or space in the new building for his secondary school and calling Jackman's efforts "too absurd for serious attention."[13]

With little cooperation from Dewey, Jackman began working more closely with Harper, which only angered Dewey more. He wrote Harper again, stating that he did not want his secondary school housed in buildings that were controlled by another university unit. Harper wrote back out of frustration, wondering why this was coming up now since it had always been part of the agreement.[14]

Dewey's response is not recorded, but his next move was: he appointed his wife, Alice, as principal of his laboratory school at a salary of five hundred dollars. He did this without consulting Harper, who let it stand for a time. He questioned Dewey about the fact that his two children paid no tuition in a school that was constantly fighting deficit spending. Dewey replied that this was due to the fact that Mrs. Dewey was giving full time to the school. Yet their combined income of seventy-five hundred dollars a year (plus additional salary for Dewey's summer teaching at other institutions, such as Berkeley) allowed them to live very comfortably. They expanded into two adjoining apartments, employed two servants, a nurse and a part time laundress, and built a summer home in the Adirondacks. Yet, there is no indication that they ever contributed money to the laboratory school.[15]

Colonel Parker, who had left Chicago due to ill health, died on 2 March 1902. On 20 May 1902, Dewey was appointed to succeed Parker as the director of the Blaine elementary school. Jackman and the Parker faculty hoped that the previously strained relationship could now improve, but they were disappointed. Dewey did nothing to mollify the staff. Instead, he increased his wife's salary to $1,250 while reducing some Parker faculty salaries and giving the rest no raises. He attended no faculty meetings and finally admitted to Blaine that administrative work was not his line. He did not offer to step down, however.[16]

During the fall of 1902 and spring of 1903, Dewey revisited the idea of merging the two elementary schools. He started by talking with the Parker principal, Zonia Baber and history department chair Emily Rice. He said that it would be more cost effective to remove some of the Parker faculty who were not "growing." He also stated that there would need to be salary cuts to save additional revenue.

Young visited the two women and tried to explain what she thought was Dewey's ulterior motive: to put Mrs. Dewey in as principal of the merged schools and to rid the school of faculty who were still loyal to Parker and his methods by cutting their salaries. They could not be fired because they tenure. Being somewhat naively accustomed to Parker's protection, they could not seem to comprehend this motivation. Young asked them if they thought Dewey could "sit in his office and do nothing but clerk work another year without having things done his way?" With salary cuts and with Alice Dewey as principal he would not have to assume the responsibility of "putting out the teachers." Young concluded that Mrs. Dewey was very adept at getting rid of teachers. When Blaine confronted Dewey with this, he was furious and accused Baber and Rice of being the manipulative ones by using him and misrepresenting Young's position.[17]

By early May, Dewey had appointed his wife as principal over the merger at double her former salary. Blaine wrote to Harper, stating that "unless Mrs. Dewey fills the office of Grade Principal to everyone's satisfaction (which seems to us hardly possible under the circumstances) her occupation will be brief." Harper assured her that he would make this clear to Dewey.[18]

Young got caught in another round of crossfire between Dewey and Harper regarding the editorial responsibilities of Parker's *Elementary School Teacher*. Mrs. Dewey was supposed to have done the editorial work, but Dewey advised her not to do it; Jackman wanted to do it but was waiting for Dewey to appoint him. Harper chastised Young for not doing it, even though Jackman had suggested she not do it. In a letter to Harper, Young stated that she had never been in an entanglement like this. Nonetheless, she agreed to be responsible for the conduct of the magazine from December until June, if the President so desired.[19]

By the end of the 1903-1904 winter, Dewey's attempts to rid the school of Parker faculty had mostly failed. He had fired an art teacher, Miss Covington, who had been hired after the tenure agreement, and her supervisor, John Duncan, resigned in protest. He said that Covington was an excellent teacher, but Dewey had dismissed her to make room for one of his own teachers without Duncan's consultation. The rest of the Parker faculty remained even though Mrs. Dewey threatened to resign if they did. Apparently, she was not aware of Blaine's view of her employment, even though Harper had written to Dewey in February that "it was the distinct understanding of the trustees that the appointment of the present principal of the Elementary School was contrary to the best opinion of the Committee and the Trustees." He indicated that Mrs. Dewey was free to resign at the end of the year or sooner.[20]

Jackman had been advised by Blaine and the School of Education's Board of Trustees to document any difficulties centering around Alice Dewey's administration. In a letter dated 23 April 1904, Jackman stated that her basic problem was in her critical attitude, "so critical that it becomes destructive . . . making it impossible for her to direct others . . . without continual combat." He continued, "One patron, who withdrew her child was told that 'Christian Scientists' were not wanted"; others were told that "we should not have children who do not come from good homes." A letter from John Cook, Principal of the DeKalb State Normal School, described the humiliating treatment his visit received. He was told that his visit was inconvenient and he was not expected, even though his visit had been confirmed. Another party from Indiana was treated so rudely that they left in bitterness. Jackman continued to explain that a clerk had been hired under a year's contract, after having turned down a better paying job in favor of this one that would allow her to pursue her studies. When she was fired shortly thereafter without regard to the contract, Mrs. Dewey told her that there are no ethics in business, "that she was merely a cog in a huge machine." Finally, Jackman stated that her conduct in the Parents Association was one of "political ward maneuvers."[21]

During the early spring of 1904, Dewey went to Columbia University to give a series of lectures. According to a letter from Columbia's President Nicholas Murray Butler to Harper, it was during this visit that Dewey negotiated a position in their philosophy department. Upon his return, Harper wrote to Alice Dewey that the time for her resignation would soon be passed. Mrs. Dewey was surprised and said that Mr. Dewey had not told her about her expected resignation. Even though it had been conveyed in the February letter from Harper to Dewey, the latter said that he had not told his wife because he was not aware of it.[22]

Nevertheless, both Dr. and Mrs. Dewey tendered their resignations that spring, and by June they were off to a vacation in Europe. About that same time, Young resigned. Harper had made her a flattering offer, but she felt that she could not remain under the circumstances.[23]

What began as a great collaborative opportunity to lay the groundwork for a scientific pedagogy in professional teacher preparation ended impaled in politics. The School of Education followed the path that Young had feared: its focus became one of climbing up the ladder to secondary and normal preparation and administration, with the elementary coursework leading to what was regarded as an inferior bachelor of education degree instead of a B.A. or B.S.

Most of Young's writings, including "Scientific Method in Education," which explained the basis for a constructivist pedagogy, were buried in the plethora of other philosophic writings mostly by men who had little applied experience in teaching. In psychology as in other sciences, Young stated that the purely scientific study must be followed by the applied, which is generally termed educational psychology. Unfortunately, as the century progressed educational (and developmental) psychology was controlled by behaviorism. From Pavlov's conditioning we moved to Thorndike's laws of learning. Following in this tradition came John Watson and finally B. F. Skinner's operant conditioning.

In the 1960s as behaviorism began to wane, the influence of Piaget's studies on conceptual development increased. Parallel to this study were the discoveries of cognitive science, an emerging field that includes research from neurosurgery, neuropsychology, cognition, and information or computer science. And so at the end of this century, we have come full circle in understanding how children learn. The difference, of course, is that we have the convergence of the research of the other fields listed above. But the speculative and conceptual framework of Young's scientific method has not changed. It is time that her work become recognized as part of our intellectual educational past. Furthermore, there is another lesson to be learned from the University of Chicago's situation: to be able to balance collaboration in the pursuit of professional excellence with political activities necessary to keep the education profession moving forward and not backward to a less professional time.

Endnotes

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The Educational Reforms of William Maclure (1763-1840)

Eleanor Nicholson
Ancona School at Chicago

William Maclure, the Scottish-born geologist, traveler, reformer, and philanthropist, envisioned a world in which those who "labored by the sweat of their brows" would be economically and politically equal with the rich and powerful. To achieve this goal he devoted his time, talents, and considerable financial resources to a variety of educational reforms. In the course of his long life he sought to establish libraries and institutes for the working classes and Pestalozzi schools for children. He generously supported individual scientists and attempted to create agricultural schools in Spain and Mexico. He collaborated with Robert Owen in the communitarian experiment at New Harmony, Indiana, where he established Pestalozzi schools for the children of New Harmony. The purpose of this paper is to describe some of those reforms and evaluate their outcomes.

Born in Ayr, Scotland, on October 27, 1763, Maclure went to London in his early twenties to enter business. Little is known about the American firm of Miller, Hart, and Co. with which he was associated. Suffice it to say that the business and Maclure both prospered, so that when he retired from business altogether in 1797 at the age of 34, he was a wealthy young man.

He then came to the United States, settled in Philadelphia, became an American citizen, and took up the serious study of the geology of the United States. Again, how he obtained his working knowledge of both the theories and facts of geology--an infant science at the time--is unknown. Armed with his hammer and packet, however, he traveled throughout the eastern United States collecting specimens and writing up his findings. On January 20, 1809, he presented his paper entitled "Observations on the Geology of the United States, Explanatory of a Geological Map" to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, of which he had been a member since 1798.

By 1818 when he had refined his observations and published them in a final form, he was one of the pre-eminent American scientists, known subsequently as the "Father of American geology." Memberships in scientific societies in America and abroad accompanied his wide-spread recognition as a scientist.

But while his scientific activities were in the forefront during the first years of the nineteenth century, his ideas about society and its ills had been taking shape as well. During his years in England, where he had been acquainted with the circle of radicals clustered around Joseph Johnson, the publisher, and his frequent visits to France, where he was witness to scenes of the Revolution, his sympathy with the exploited and disenfranchised had been reinforced. His ideas were congruent with many liberal notables of the day. He counted among his friends Thomas Jefferson; Count Francois Constantin Chasse-Boeuf Volney, an architect of the French Constitution; Joseph Priestley, the chemist and radical Dissenter; Joel Barlow, American wit and diplomat; and scores of other diplomats and political activists of the late eighteenth and very early nineteenth centuries.

There is a variety of primary sources from which to gain an understanding of Maclure's ideas. First, throughout his extensive European travels he kept journals which were edited by John S. Doskey and published as *The European Journals of William Maclure* by the American Philosophical Society in 1988. Second, the voluminous correspondence between Maclure and Marie Fretageot, the Pestalozzi teacher who was a devoted friend and manager of his affairs, has been edited *in toto* by Josephine Mirabella Elliott of New Harmony, Indiana, and published as *Partnership for Posterity* by the Indiana Historical Society in 1994. Finally, his frequent essays sent from Mexico after he left New Harmony and published in the New Harmony newspaper he founded, *The Disseminator of Useful Knowledge*, gave full scope to his wide-ranging ideas on education, politics, economics, foreign affairs, and society in general. These essays were compiled into a three-volume set entitled *Opinions on Various Subjects*.

Maclure expressed the core of his belief about education in a democratic society on September 21, 1829. He said that the neglect of the instruction of the millions is the greatest crime a free people can commit. It caused incalculable evils during the present age, and death and destruction to freedom in the next.[1]

Maclure believed that ignorant men were duped and exploited by those who were richer, better-educated, and more powerful. Although the educated people did not produce goods for society, theyrs were free to pursue their own self-interest. While the "industrious producers," or, as he also referred to them, the "millions" were inhibited from doing so by laws, customs, and pressures created by the powerful non-producers and sustained by ignorance of their own rights.

Maclure was fully confident that, given knowledge, the millions were perfectly able to govern and could effect the equitable distribution of power and property. How to give them that knowledge was Maclure's continuing theme and the motivation for his philanthropic projects.

Maclure was scathing in his comments about the rich and powerful--the Church, the State, and the aristocracy. He was vehemently anti-clerical and railed against organized religion; he saw Church and State in league with each other in an unholy alliance.

For Maclure, Europe was old and corrupt. It was "enclosed in an impenetrable barrier of bayonets, and the field of political experiment is in possession of those who have an interest in retaining all subject to physical force, and limiting all moral improvement to the narrow bounds of their luxurious convenience."[2] America was a more promising site for his dreams of social reform.

Maclure was at once a visionary, a sharp critic of society, and an intensely practical man. His remedy for the despotism and oppression in Europe was the equalization of knowledge. This required establishing a society on an equal division of useful knowledge, securing a proportionably equal division of property and power, and totally eradicating the power, as well as the temptation, of one class of society tyrannizing over another.[3]

Maclure's Philanthropic Projects

Maclure attempted several projects that would give working people an "equal, universal, useful and liberal instruction." One model that had captured his interest during his European travels was the "mechanical institute." While in Scotland, Ireland, and England in 1824, Maclure visited, among others, the Belfast Natural History Society, the Mechanics Institute of Glasgow, and the London Mechanics Institute. According to G. D. H. Cole, these institutes had become very popular among the working class in the 1820s, offering lectures, practical training, and extensive libraries. They had both a self-improvement and a political aspect. Often run democratically in themselves, they "did much to stimulate discussion and kindle working-class interest, and they often supplied the stimulus for the organization of counter-activities by the working class bodies."[4] They were, in short, the cradle of the labor union movement.

Maclure resolved to implement this idea. When he returned to America in 1825 after a journey of several years, his friends importuned him to join Robert Owen's communitarian experiment in New Harmony, Indiana. Infected with the enthusiasm of his friends and scientific colleagues and swayed by Owen's rhetoric about what was to transpire on the banks of the Wabash, Maclure agreed to head westward. However, his goal was not only to support Owen's utopian dreams, but to establish in the heartland a center for scientific research and publishing and institutions for the practical training of adults and children.

Most of his dreams for New Harmony came to naught, but the Working Men's Institute is Maclure's most lasting contribution to the welfare of the working classes.

According to George Lockwood, the first attempt to found the institute was made in 1828; Maclure called it the "Society for Mutual Instruction" and announced in *The Disseminator* that the new plan was to be like the mechanics' institutes in Europe and the United States. The object of the Society was to "communicate a general knowledge of the arts and sciences to those persons who have hitherto been excluded from a scientific or general education by the erroneous and narrow-minded policy of college and public schools, which have invariably endeavored to confine learning to the rich few, so that they might tyrannize over the uneducated many."[5]

On the heels of the creation of the Society, Maclure left New Harmony for Mexico, never to return. Without his presence, the Society floundered. But in 1837, three years before his death, Maclure resuscitated the organization by giving it a permanent home and adding a library, thus establishing and incorporating the Working Men's Institute and Library in New Harmony. Thanks not only to its founder, but also to generous benefactors in the years that followed, it exists today as a library and research center.

Maclure had also been enthusiastic about the working men's libraries he had seen in Europe. Maintaining his interest in those who "labor with their hands and earn their living with the sweat of their brows" to the very end, he provided in his will that the sum of five hundred dollars be given to any group of working men who would add books to their already existing libraries of at least one hundred volumes.

After his death, this wished-for trust was declared void because it provided for funds to be distributed to organizations not yet in existence; and so Anna and Alexander Maclure, William's brother and sister who were living in New Harmony, proceeded to consume the proceeds of the estate to which, with the exception of the library provision, they were the sole heirs.

However, a young attorney, A. P. Hovey, fought the case of the library provision through the Supreme Court of Indiana, where he finally won and was made administrator of the trust. Finally in 1855--fifteen years after Maclure's death--he began to distribute funds to groups of working men who sought to add to their collections of books. In the end, Hovey distributed $80,000 to a total of one hundred sixty libraries, one hundred forty-four in Indiana and sixteen in Illinois. Ultimately, with the exception of the Working Men's Institute Library itself, most of these collections were either absorbed into later public or school libraries or, for lack of systematic maintenance, disappeared.

In spite of his continuing enthusiasm for forwarding the education of adults, Maclure often despaired of the efficacy of transforming grown persons. In one of his many letters to Marie Duclos Fretageot, Maclure wrote that for thirty years he had considered ignorance as the cause of all the miseries and errors of mankind. He added that his experience soon convinced him that it was impossible to give any real information to men and that the only possible means of giving useful knowledge to the world was by the education of children.[6] The life experiences of far too many adults had either not educated them or had mis-educated them, and so, held Maclure, undoing the errors and faulty learning of a lifetime was too difficult. Since "men must be wise before they understand the real use of knowledge, and they must have knowledge before they can be wise," it was difficult to remediate "after their education had put them on the wrong road."[7]

So Maclure turned to the education of children. He believed that his own classical education had ill prepared him for life and that the traditional methods of rote learning of meaningless information taught by authoritarian and ill-prepared teachers was no way to lift the working classes and prepare them for participation in democracy.

But from the moment, in 1805, that he saw the Pestalozzian method of teaching and learning in action, he knew that it would answer the need for a rational and useful education. Maclure's introduction to the Pestalozzi approach came about when he went to Joseph Neef's school in Paris in the hopes of meeting Napoleon who, with Tallyrand, was visiting the school that day. Although Napoleon stated that Pestalozzianism would not work in France, Maclure saw Neef's work as a way of improving the lot of the poorer classes.[8]

Maclure visited Pestalozzi himself at Yverdon on 3 October 1805, and continued those visits for many years. In his essay of 9 April 1828, he wrote that "he had traveled seven summers in Switzerland, and some months of each residing at Pestalozzi's school at Yverdon."[9]

Maclure's thinking was largely congruent with that of the Swiss educator. In his belief in the child as active learner, who learned best when what was presented to him moved from the concrete to the abstract, from the immediate context to the more distant, from the simple to the complex, Pestalozzi practiced what is echoed in Maclure's writings. Maclure, the practical scientist, believed as did Pestalozzi that children learn through their senses and that what is presented to them must capture their interest and thus their attention. For that reason, the teacher must "find out the inclination of his pupils, and teach them any and all the useful lessons he may find they study with pleasure."[10] For both men, it was more important to know how to think than what to think. This perspective was in sharp contrast to the customary teaching methods of the day.

Maclure's enthusiasm for Pestalozzi's educational and social philosophy led to an unswerving commitment to spread Pestalozzian education in as many settings as he could devise. He supported Pestalozzi teachers; he contributed money, books, and scientific equipment and specimens to Pestalozzian schools; and he recruited students. He loaned Pestalozzi the capital to continue his work at Yverdon when it seemed that the whole enterprise was crashing around the old teacher's head.

Maclure set about to establish Pestalozzi schools, first in Paris and then in America. He tried to create an agricultural school along Pestalozzian principles in Alicante in Spain, but the land he acquired during a short-lived liberal regime was confiscated and returned to the Church.[11]

Maclure found and employed in a variety of settings three Pestalozzi teachers: Joseph Neef, Guillaume Sylvan Casimir Phiquepal D'Arusmont (known as William Phiquepal when he came to the United States) and Marie Duclos Fretageot, who became Maclure's trusted manager, adviser, and confidante.

After Maclure met Joseph Neef in Paris, he persuaded him to come to Philadelphia to open a Pestalozzi school there. Maclure supported Neef and his wife for three years while they learned English, planned the school, and began operations. Neef's first American school opened at the Falls of the Schuylkill in 1809 with an enrollment of 75 boys. The school prospered for nearly three years, but in 1812 Neef moved the school to Village Green, also in Pennsylvania. Here there were troubles, probably stemming from religious controversies. Although Neef was a deeply religious man, who opened his school to both Catholic and Protestant children, he believed in freedom of conscience and this tolerance did not suit the community. A discouraged Neef then moved to Kentucky where he opened yet another school, which also failed. It was there that Maclure found him as Maclure proceeded westward to New Harmony. Neef then opened his school for older students in New Harmony, where Maclure was in charge of the whole educational system.

The somewhat erratic and eccentric Phiquepal first taught with Neef at Village Green, where he gained his skill in the Pestalozzian approach. He returned to Paris after Neef left for Kentucky where, in 1820, he resumed his acquaintance with Maclure. Maclure offered him his private residence on the Rue des Brodeurs in Paris to establish a Pestalozzi school for boys. After a short time, however, the political climate in France following the restoration of the Bourbons made Phiquepal's teaching suspect, so he and four of his students, including Madame Fretageot's son Achilles, set sail for New York. Maclure intended Phiquepal to start another boys' school in Philadelphia, but no sooner were those plans underway than the whole project was terminated in order to transplant it to New Harmony.

Maclure met Marie Fretageot in Paris where she was first a parent, then a teacher, in Phiquepal's school. She had previously been connected with a school for girls in Philadelphia, so the return to Philadelphia in 1821 to start a boarding school for girls with Maclure's financial backing was an easy transition. The school prospered.

But once again everything changed. Robert Owen's plans for the brave new world in New Harmony lured Mme. Fretageot and many of Maclure's scientific colleagues. Upon his return from Europe, he could not resist the pleas of his friends and the opportunities he believed awaited him, where he could work with Owen and manage the educational system at New Harmony. So both Philadelphia Pestalozzi schools closed, and Phiquepal and some of his students and Mme. Fretageot and some of her students joined Maclure, Owen, and others of Philadelphia's most distinguished scientists on a trip down the Ohio River in a keelboat named *The Philanthropist*.

Affairs at New Harmony became more and more contentious. The ambiguity of the financial arrangements between Maclure and Owen caused each to sue the other. The organization of the community was in total disarray; Owen was frequently gone, as was Maclure. After their open break, Maclure was appalled to learn from Mme. Fretageot that Owen had instituted a totally new and competing educational organization in New Harmony. The three Pestalozzi teachers were at odds with each other and with the Philadelphia scientists. The situation deteriorated rapidly and in June of 1827, Owen left New Harmony for good and returned to Scotland. The utopian experiment ended a scant sixteen months after *The Philanthropist* had delivered its hopeful and high-spirited passengers to the banks of the Wabash. Maclure left a year or so later.

Conclusion

In many ways William Maclure's ideas and projects were sound and far-seeing. His belief in and support of scientific education was far ahead of his time, as was his vision of the child as an active and thinking learner. His efforts to raise the consciousness of the working class to an awareness of its opportunities and responsibilities for participation in a democratic society foreshadowed the rise of the labor union movement and, according to David Harris, the growth of socialist thought in America.[12]

He understood the power of the press and the frequent abuse of that power. His comments on various political issues--the sale of public lands, taxes, the equality of women, the shame of slavery, the manipulations of politicians, the importance of the small community, wars, even a world organization dedicated to peace, and above all, his call for free public education--were prophetic.

He was a one-man philanthropic foundation at a time in the United States when the drive for personal gain was the over-riding motive. Maclure had prestige and high visibility, contacts, resources, ideas, and vision. Yet so many of his projects either failed or never reached fruition. One must ask why. The reasons may be found both outside of and within William Maclure.

Political events in France and Spain, over which he certainly had no control, brought his plans for the agricultural school in Alicante, Spain, to a crashing and disappointing halt, while the restoration in France cast a shadow on his Pestalozzi schools there. His failing health dispelled hopes of an agricultural school in Mexico.

His vehement stance against organized religion was surely at cross purposes with the deeply-ingrained sectarianism that characterized early nineteenth-century America and that jeopardized Neef's schools in Philadelphia. His Pestalozzian views on the nature of teaching and learning ran counter to the prevailing educational ideas. Even the later work of Henry

Barnard (1811-1900) in the *American Journal of Education*, which popularized Pestalozzi, did not effect any long-term reforms of the traditional school.[13]

But one must look to the man himself. There was a certain political and administrative *naivete* about him. He was stubborn and probably too straightforward for his own good. In Samuel Morton's 1841 memoriam for Maclure, addressing the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, Morton said of his friend, "Mr. Maclure's character habitually expressed itself without dissimulation or disguise," and "Mr. Maclure was very much isolated during the last thirty years of his life, partly owing to a naturally retiring disposition, partly to the peculiarity of some of his opinions, in respect to which, though unobtrusive, he was inflexible."[14]

He set his Pestalozzi teachers up in business, then moved them about without regard to commitment or continuity. His frequent comings and goings must surely have affected the success, or lack of it, of his projects.

His loose arrangements with Robert Owen would certainly not characterize a practical man of business, and, much as he despised lawyers, his provision for the workingmen's libraries would have fared better had he been more attentive to the legalities and maintenance of his project.

Maclure operated unilaterally and was not a collaborator. His earlier geological expeditions were carried on either alone or with a small number of friends; he travelled alone; and he sponsored his projects alone. Perhaps that is why, when they failed, so little was left behind. Although the Working Men's Institute in New Harmony and his writings represent a significant legacy, one could wish that the efforts of so independent and unique a personality might have borne more fruit.

Endnotes

1. William Maclure, *Opinions on Various Subjects, Dedicated to the Industrious Producers* (New York: repr. Augustus M. Kelley, 1971), 1:199.
2. Ibid., 1:434-5.
3. Ibid., 1:36.
4. G.D.H. Cole, *A Short History of the British Working Class Movement 1789-1927* (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd. & The Labour Publishing Company Limited), 1:67-75.
5. George B. Lockwood, *The New Harmony Movement* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905). 255.
6. Arthur E. Bestor, Jr. ed., *Education and Reform at New Harmony* (Clifton, New Jersey: Augustus M. Kelley, Publishers, 1973), 301.
7. Ibid., 322.
8. Baron Roger DeGuimps, *Pestalozzi: His Aim and Work*, translated by Margaret Cuthbertson Crombie (Syracuse, New York: C. W. Bardeen, Publisher, 1889).
9. Maclure, *Opinions on Various Subjects*, 1:60
10. Ibid., 1:66.
11. The reader will find as full an account of the Alicante adventure as is presently available in the interesting and carefully researched book by Alberto Gil Novales, *William Maclure in Spain*, translated by Alonso Carnicer (Madrid: Iniciativas de Cultura, 1981)
12. William Maclure is one of the three nineteenth century American figures discussed in the book by David Harris, *Socialist Origins in the United States: American Forerunners of Marx, 1817-1832* (Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum & Company, N. V., 1966).
13. Gerald Lee Gutek, *Pestalozzi and Education* (New York: Random House, 1968), 162.
14. Samuel Morton, "A Memoir of William Maclure" in Maclure, *Opinions*, 1:8.

Religion, Culture, and Higher Education in the Writings of Christopher Dawson

Ronald Rutkowski
Marquette University

Christopher Henry Dawson was the second child and only son of Mary Louisa and Henry Philip Dawson born at Hay Castle in Wales on October 12, 1889. Mary Louisa's father, William Bevan, was in a long line of ministers to the Anglican Church. In the course of his career he attained the office of Archdeacon of Bevan. Henry Philip followed the example of his forbears by choosing a career in the military. His choice was wise; he retired with the rank of colonel. The marriage of Mary Louisa and Henry Philip secured more than a middle-class existence. One notable benefit was an annuity that supplied their son with an income for study at Oxford and throughout his life. A large library signaled the value placed on learning. Christopher spent many happy hours in the library during his youth, and when he retired his library contained more than 2,000 volumes. The unwavering loyalty Mary Louisa and Henry Philip pledged to the Anglican Church was handed on to their children.

Christopher received his education from tutors and schools in England and Europe. He contracted bronchitis at the age of ten while attending Bilton Grange, a preparatory school. The illness was the first of many maladies including periods of apathy, depression, and insomnia that plagued his life. The condition of his health determined his scholastic performance. His poor health and frail physique permitted an exemption from military service during World War I and might have been the cause of his shyness.

Dawson received his Bachelor of Arts and Master of Arts degrees from Trinity College, Oxford. A scholarship and his income afforded a comfortable existence at Oxford, although he lacked some amenities enjoyed by other students. He studied under Ernest Barker whose specialty was ancient Greek political theory. Barker also encouraged him to develop his interest in the philosophy of history. Two events during his stay at Trinity College deeply influenced Dawson's life as a scholar. He read the works of the historian Lord Acton, whose contention that religion was the key to understanding culture served as the background for Dawson's investigations into the relationship between religion and culture. He also began to doubt his commitment to the Anglican church. In the writings of John Henry Cardinal Newman and other Catholics, Dawson found answers to his questions and converted to Catholicism in 1914. Dawson's research would eventually be considered an example of the finest work from English Catholics.[1]

In 1916 Dawson married Valery Mills, a member of a prosperous family. Her interest in history was the basis for their relationship. During her studies for a baccalaureate degree in art history, Valery acquired a thorough knowledge of the holdings in Europe's finest museums. They had two daughters and one son.

After completing his studies, Dawson lectured on a part-time basis for twelve years at University College, Exeter, and for a short time at Liverpool University. Other universities requested lectures from him. He entered the main currents of British intellectual life through his lectures and published articles. Publication of his books during the 1930s established Dawson's reputation as an historian and apologist for Catholicism. In 1940 he accepted the position as editor of the *Dublin Review*. For three years Dawson used the review as an arena for reflection by Christians on problems confronting Europe. Contributions from representatives of different Christian denominations quickly made the review the locus for ecumenical discussions between Catholics and Protestants. Reluctance on the part of the English Catholic hierarchy to support the discussions eventually caused Dawson to suspend ecumenical dialogue. The British Academy acknowledged the worth of Dawson's scholarship in 1943 by electing him to be a fellow. Accepting the invitations of the University of Edinburgh, he presented the Gifford Lectures in 1947 and 1948. His lectures were the bases for his books *Religion and Culture* and *Religion and the Rise of Western Culture*.

Dawson demonstrated the contribution religion made to culture through his research. He also hoped to convince readers of the important choice confronting the West: a religious or secular understanding of culture and human existence. After leaving Oxford he prepared to write a history of culture, but the outbreak of World War I caused him to set aside his project in favor of aiding the British effort as a writer. Edward Ingram Watkin, Dawson's friend since his studies at Oxford and another articulate voice for Catholicism in England, asserted that this cumulative history of culture would have been a most important venture.[2]

The articles and twenty books that flowed from his pen were responses to questions about the relationship between religion and culture. His writings attracted a responsive audience. In his comment on Dawson's book, *The Making of Europe*, Aldous Huxley wrote: "The Dark Ages lose their darkness, take on form and significance. Thanks to Mr. Dawson's erudition and his gift of marshaling facts, we begin to have a notion of what it is all about." Many of Dawson's books were translated into German, Italian, Spanish, French, Japanese, Portuguese, and Polish.

During the years 1958-1962, Dawson taught at the Divinity School of Harvard University. Nathan M. Pusey, president of Harvard, believed a chair for a Catholic scholar would add prestige to the Divinity School and would acknowledge the presence of Catholic students at the university. He initiated negotiations between the faculty and the university's trustees to secure permission for a chair restricted to a Catholic scholar in 1952. Objections--some vigorous--came quickly, but Pusey persisted. An endowment for the chair was donated by the Stillman family, long known for generosity to the university and favorable to Pusey's idea because the family included converts to Catholicism. Pusey announced in 1958 the award of the Charles Chauncey Stillman Chair of Roman Catholic Studies to Christopher Dawson. At Saint Bonaventure University in 1959, Dawson was the recipient of the Catholic Action Medal in recognition of significant achievement by a lay man or woman to the Catholic Church.

Dawson arrived at Cambridge eager to work. He completed five books and maintained a busy schedule for teaching. However, his relationships with students developed slowly. His shyness and habit of speaking very softly were obstacles. A few students withdrew from his seminars. Dawson and his students adjusted to each other as time passed. Students then found him to be congenial, always ready to discuss ideas, and helpful. His colleagues on the faculty enjoyed his presence. Despite being content with the weather at Cambridge, Dawson's health deteriorated. He returned to England in 1962. His departure ended the effort by the University of Notre Dame to appoint Dawson to its faculty.

A heart attack soon complicated by pneumonia and a coma led to Dawson's death at his home on the southern Devon coast on May 25, 1970. Except for a comment to Watkin about his dislike for the change of the language in Catholic liturgy from Latin to English, poor health prevented Dawson from writing more about the events taking place in the Catholic Church during Vatican Council II. Shortly after his death, admirers of Dawson's work began circulation of the *Dawson Newsletter* as a forum for reflection and commentary. The newsletter continues to be published.[3]

The words *religion, culture,* and *education* had distinct meanings for Dawson. He understood culture to mean "any social way of life which possesses a permanent institutional or organized form."[4] Culture was a living complex rooted in yet not determined by the external forces of biology or geography. Culture provided unity and coherence to a society. An important aspect of culture was its ability to adapt. "For a culture. . . is an open system--open not only to new knowledge and new ways of behavior but also to other cultures, if a bridge of communication can be established between them."[5] Culture provided the common background for the lives of men and women and acted as the standard against which new ideas were assimilated.

Religion was "the word generally used to describe man's relationship to divine or super human powers and various organized systems of belief and worship in which these relations have been expressed."[6] Research into the relationship between religion and culture brought him to the conclusion that religion was the basis of culture. Religion sanctioned a common view of life, common forms of behavior, and a common system of values. The relationship had been the normal condition of human existence from its earliest time. A culture that denied its religious foundation was an aberration. Religion made positive contributions to culture. His research underscored the point that "any religious movement which adopts a purely critical and negative attitude to culture is therefore a force of destruction and disintegration which mobilizes against it the healthiest and most constructive elements in society--elements which can by no means be dismissed as worthless from a religious point of view."[7]

Christianity affirmed the goodness of life and the importance of time and history. "Christianity can never ignore history because the Christian revelation is essentially historical and the truths of faith are inseparably connected with historical events."[8] The Middle Ages best exemplified the relationship between Christianity and culture, but one would be wrong to conclude that Dawson yearned for the return to the Middle Ages.[9] Dawson understood history as moving forward. Christianity bore the responsibility of continually defining itself and its message within changing historical conditions. "And so when we talk of Christian culture, we ought not to think of some ideal pattern of social perfection. We should look first and above all at the historic reality of Christianity as a living force which has entered into the lives of men and societies and changed them in proportion to their will and capacity."[10]

Dawson wrote several articles during the 1950s about higher education. From the articles he issued an outline of his theory of higher education in his book *The Crisis of Western Education*. Emphasis is given to the word *outlined*. The book did not provide a detailed program for education. He was content to describe his program in broad terms leaving details to educators who wished to implement his theory.

Convinced the development of secularist thought turned education in the wrong direction, his book was a call to return education to its true mooring. Education was "the process by which the new members of a community are initiated into its way of life and thought from the simplest elements of behavior or manners up to the highest tradition of spiritual wisdom."[11] He noted the similarity between his definition of education and what anthropologists called *enculturation*. The distinguishing mark of his theory of education when compared to much of contemporary education was breadth. Vocational and professional education were narrow forms of education, the result of the rise of secularist thought in Western culture.

In his book, Dawson argued that a secular theory of culture led from the Renaissance to the development of the modern totalitarian state. As secularism became the dominant motif in Western culture it coincided with the development of universal education. Dawson did not impugn universal education. He protested the linkage of secularist thought with universal education "that destroyed the hierarchy of divinity, humanity, and natural science that was the tradition of European higher education."[12]

For much of its history, Western education was the product of the integration of the Christian religion and classical humanism. This was the background of the teachers who filled the universities. Christian education was the soil in which the idea of progress was nurtured. "It must be recognized that our faith in progress and the unique value of human experience rests on religious foundations, and that they cannot be severed from historical religion and used as a substitute for it, as man attempted to do during the last two centuries."[13] Underlying universal education was the premise that either denied the existence of spiritual reality or considered religion to be merely a matter of choice without consequences for society.

To reverse the secularistic trend, Dawson sought the restoration of Christianity to its proper place in higher education. Education must "open the mind to an appreciation of the spiritual as well as the scientific and humanistic inheritance of culture."[14] Although he conceded that his position spoke for a minority of scholars and educators, he warned readers that unless the minority presented its argument forcefully, Christianity would not be able to regain her place in culture and education. "In the last resort every civilization depends not on its material resources and methods of production but on the spiritual vision of its greatest minds and on the way in which this experience is transmitted to the community of faith and tradition and education."[15]

Dawson's program was a call for the study of Christian culture. "It was through the medium of culture that the Christian faith penetrates civilization and transforms the thought and ideology of modern society."[16] The rise of secularism and its implications for education meant men and women could spend years being educated yet remain unaware of Christianity as a spiritual factor in the life of one's psyche or Western culture. His program focused on "the culture-process itself from its spiritual and theological roots, throughout its organic historical growth to its cultural fruits. It is the organic relation between theology, history, and culture which provides the integrative principle. . . and the only one capable of taking the place of the old classical humanism which is disappearing."[17] Dawson cautioned readers that his educational program was not a kind of religious education, although the program could lead one to study Christian doctrine.[18] His program sought to communicate one point: "Christian culture was essentially humanistic in as much as there is nothing which does not come within its sphere of influence and which does not in some way belong to it."[19] He believed his program for education could establish curriculums for state, private, and religiously affiliated universities.

Dawson divided the development of Christian culture into six periods: primitive Christianity (New Testament to the 4th century), Patristic Christianity (4th to 6th centuries), the formation of Christendom (6th to 9th centuries), Medieval Christendom (11th to 15th centuries), divided Christendom (16th to 18th centuries), and secularized Christianity (18th century to the present). His program was neither a nostalgic review of the past nor an accumulation of Christian artifacts. It was an attempt to "study Christian culture as a social reality--its origins, development and achievements--for this would provide a background or framework that would integrate the liberal studies which are apt at present to disintegrate into unrelated specialism."[20] The goal of the program was to show how Christian culture "is a dynamic process which does not belong to any single period, but is co-extensive with the history of Christianity and inseparable from it."[21] His program can be studied historically--Christendom as a historic reality and Christian culture--and as the spirit informing, preserving, and advancing Western culture.

His program for higher education attracted both praise and criticism. Proponents understood his theory of education as a means of reviving and restoring the importance of Christianity for higher education. Critics argued his program of education was bound to the medieval tradition and failed to take into account the factors influencing education in the United States.[22] An analysis of the arguments criticizing or defending Dawson's theory of education is material for another paper. There are two aspects of his thought that have significance for contemporary Western culture and higher education in the United States.

Current statements by different groups of Christians are signs of Christianity searching for ways to address culture. Secularism for Catholicism is no longer the enemy of religion; it is the fact defining contemporary Western culture. However, recognition of the fact of secularism does not mean that secularism is beyond just criticism. Nor does Christianity remain absolved from answering questions raised by a secular culture. The historical implications of the way Christianity speaks to culture are worthy of investigation.

George M. Marsden concludes his book, *The Soul of the American University*, with an analysis of the current widespread disregard for Christianity in higher education, and he suggests reasons for the inclusion of the Christian perspective in academe. His comments are cogent and deserve an honest evaluation.[23] Dawson uses a different methodology than Dr. Marsden by searching for points of convergence between religion and culture. Dr. Marsden investigates the intellectual currents within Protestant Christianity leading to the demise of Christianity in higher education. Yet Dawson's observations about higher education complement Dr. Marsden's book. By examining the implications of the convergence between Christianity and contemporary culture, historians of education can have a better method to evaluate the role of religion in higher education in the United States. Religion is a constant in culture and makes its presence felt in many ways. The historical analyses provided by Christopher Dawson and Dr. Marsden serve as reminders that religion in the life of a scholar and the academic community is of no little consequence.

Because he was a representative of Catholic thought inspired by the philosophy and theology of Thomas Aquinas, Dawson became virtually forgotten amid the sweeping changes in Catholic thinking fostered by Vatican Council II. In retrospect, Dawson asked questions and provided answers that are very much part of the discussion about the role of religion in culture and higher education. We would do well to read Dawson's words.

Endnotes

1. See the estimates of Dawson's scholarship in: Kenelem Foster, "Mr. Dawson and Christendom," *Blackfriars* 31 (September 1950): 423; Frederick D. Wilhelmsen, "The Vision of Christopher Dawson,"*Commonweal* 68 (January 3, 1958): 355; and James Ambrose Raftis, "The Development of Christopher Dawson's Thought,"*Chesterton Review* 9 (May 1983): 115.
2. E[dward] I[ngram] Watkin, "Tribute to Christopher Dawson," *Tablet* 223 (October 4, 1989): 974.
3. Huxley's quotation is cited in two sources: Stanley J. Kunitz, ed., *Twentieth Century Authors* (New York: H. H. Wilson Company, 1955), 267; and Calvert Alexander, *The Catholic Literary Revival*, Science and Culture Series, ed. Joseph Husslein. (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1935), 302. Biographical information about Dawson is obtained from seven sources. Christina Scott, *A Historian and His World: A Life of Christopher Dawson 1889-1970* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1984), 13-30 and passim. Ms. Scott is Dawson's daughter. Her book has a bibliography of Dawson's books and articles. Daniel Callahan et al., "Christopher Dawson (12 October 1889 - 25 May 1970) First Incumbent of the Charles Chauncey Stillman Chair at Harvard," *Harvard Theological Review* 66 (April 1973): 161-76. The article also has a bibliography of Dawson s books and articles. Callahan was a graduate assistant to Dawson. He described the situation in his eulogy Christopher Dawson, *Commonweal* 92 (June 12, 1970): 284. See also the article by Edward Ingram Watkin, "Reflections on the Work of Christopher Dawson," *Downside Review* 89 (January 1971): 1-12, and the article by Watkin cited above in note 2. Fernando Cervantes blends biographical information and exposition of Dawson s thought in his article "A Vision to Regain? Reconsidering Christopher Dawson (1889-1970)," *New Blackfriars* 70 (October 1989):437-49. There is an entry about Dawson in Ann Evory, ed., *Contemporary Authors*. New Revision Series, no. 6. (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1982): 128.
4. Christopher Dawson, *The Historic Reality of Christian Culture*. Religious Perspectives, vol. 2. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), 32-3.
5. Idem. *The Formation of Christendom* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1967), 36.
6. James Oliver and Christina Scott, eds., *Religion and World History: A Selection from the Works of Christopher Dawson* (Garden City, New York: Image Books, 1975), 27.
7. Christopher Dawson, *Religion and Culture*. Gifford Lectures, 1947. (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1948), 206.
8. Idem. *The Dynamics of World History*, edited by John J. Mulloy. (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1956), 275.
9. From Dawson s book *Medieval Essays* Edward Ingram Watkin quotes Dawson's evaluation of the Middle Ages: "I do not maintain that the general level of religious life was higher than at other times, still less that scandals were rarer or moral evils less obvious. What one can assert

is that in the Middle Ages, more than at other periods in the life of our civilization, the European culture and the Christian religion were in a state of communion: the highest expressions of mediaeval culture, whether in art, in literature or in philosophy, were religious and the greatest representatives of mediaeval religion were also the leaders of mediaeval culture." Edward Ingram Watkin, "Reflections," 8.

10. Christopher Dawson, "The Outlook for Christian Culture Today," *Cross Currents* 5 (Winter 1955): 127.
11. Christopher Dawson.*The Crisis of Western Education* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1961), 268.
12. Dawson, *Crisis*, 266.
13. Christopher Dawson. *Progress and Religion* (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929), 244.
14. Dawson, *Crisis*, 204.
15. Christopher Dawson, "American Education and Christian Culture," *The American Benedictine Review* 9 (Spring-Summer 1958): 14.
16. Dawson, *Crisis*, 178.
17. Ibid., 137-8
18. Ibid., 114.
19. Christopher Dawson, "The Challenge of Secularism," *Catholic World* 174 (February 1953): 328.
20. Dawson, *Crisis*, 137.
21. Ibid., 164.
22. Examples of the defense of Dawson's theory of education are found in: Mary Luella Dumm, "The Cultural Theories of Christopher Dawson and Their Educational Implications" (M.A. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1959); and Eugene Kevane, "Christopher Dawson and the Study of Christian Culture," *Catholic Educational Review* 57 (October 1957): 447. For criticism, see: Justus George Lawler, *The Catholic Dimension in Higher Education* (Westminister, MD: The Newman Press, 1959), 213; Marie Corde McNichols, "Western Culture and the Mystical Body," *Catholic Mind* 157 (December 1957): 167-72; and Herbert Musurillo, "II. Dawson's Program," *Thought* 30 (Summer 1955): 174-87.
23. George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994): 429-44. Philip Gleason examines the influence of modernism on Catholic colleges and universities in his forthcoming book, *Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). The book will be available in December, 1995.

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A.S. Makarenko and New Dimensions in the Qualities of Teaching

Rose Edwards
Northeastern Illinois University

In the summer of 1928, Soviet educational authorities dismissed Anton Makarenko for using "un-Soviet" methods in a colony for juvenile delinquents that he had directed with great success since 1920. No sooner had he died (1939) than he was lionized as a Soviet cultural hero, his educational ideas officially recognized and his pedagogical model adopted as authoritative by the Soviet system. Such a paradox deserves our attention: who was Anton Makarenko, what really were his pedagogical ideas, and what was the historical context within which his ideas were rejected and then canonized in swift succession?

Makarenko worked as an educator of lawbreaking youth and juvenile delinquents within one of the most turbulent periods of Russian history, the years from 1917 to 1920 of the Russian Revolution, which Leon Trotsky described as "overturning the world." The Soviet historian Richard Pipes explained the revolution's intentions as "a complete redesign of state, society, economy, and culture all over the world for the ultimate purpose of creating a new human being." [1] The Russian Revolution also prompted a revolution in education. The Bolsheviks were confronted with the necessity of completely restructuring the inherited tsarist educational system and with laying the foundation for a modern Soviet school plan. However, following the Bolshevik seizure of power in 1917, no one knew how to build a new school system that had a "Soviet" character. Anatoli Lunacharsky, appointed commissar for education and the arts after the Revolution, admitted, "No one knew, neither in detail nor in many other important matters," how to build a new educational system.[2] During the first decade of communist rule, Lunacharsky and Nadezhda Konstantinova Krupskaya (Lenin's wife) struggled under uncommonly difficult conditions as the leading figures of Soviet education. Both had idealistic (if not utopian) goals for the new schools.

In discarding the old education system, Soviet leaders willingly opened their minds to the pedagogical ideas of Western Europe and the United States and borrowed liberally from such educators as Montessori, Dewey, Kerschensteiner, Kilpatrick, and Thorndike.[3] Thus, many different pedagogical paths were tried and adopted simultaneously.

Dominant during the early period of Soviet education were the theories of "social education" and "pedology," (defined by educational authority A. P. Pinkevitch as a "science. . . which studies the biology and psychology of human growth"), [4] essential aspects of a movement spearheaded by two of the most influential figures in early Soviet education, P. Blonsky and S. Shatsky. According to Soviet scholar Oskar Anweiler, they followed the premise that the "self-sufficient" aims in education were the child and the child's free development.[5]

These liberal and child-centered principles were also applied to the social rehabilitation of lawbreaking youth, who, it was believed, should be educated "without force, punishment or scornful treatment." Such thinking was illustrated by Professor A. Zalkind, the leading authority in the field of re-education. He identified a labor colony for delinquent youth in Moscow as a model institution that, in Zalkind's words, had "not one ready-made rule, no directions from above; nothing should be forced upon the child, everything was to develop by itself in the course of time." Blonsky, who directed a "labor school" himself, deliberately put his students into an *Urzustand* (German for "primordial state of being") "to thus [spontaneously] awaken their drive for action, their urge for learning and their sense of community." Like Rousseau, early Soviet pedagogues believed the child would "naturally" develop into a new communist person.[6]

Makarenko, in his work with lawbreaking and often dangerous youth, found that these theories of "free education" promoted by early Soviet pedagogues had to "stand helplessly" before the reality of his young charges, who, he quickly discovered, really needed an education "against their own nature."[7] Makarenko had come to understand that lenient methods and gentle practices were hopelessly ineffective when working with delinquents. Spontaneous activities had to give way to disciplined approaches. The "progressive" assumptions of early Soviet pedagogues brought him into bitter conflict with his superiors and with leading Soviet pedagogues. Controversies erupted over his educational ideas and practices, and he encountered criticism and rejection of the principles he had so laboriously hammered out in the "rough air" of his colony. In the summer of 1928, the People's Commissariat for Education dismissed Makarenko from the directorship of the colony for using "un-Soviet" methods.[8]

During the 1930s, the liberal approaches of early Soviet educators were replaced by stricter procedures intended to provide the nation with well-disciplined and highly trained cadres to meet Stalin's political goals. In this environment

Makarenko's strict practices found official acceptance and after his death he was celebrated as the "father" of Soviet education.[9]

During his most active period as a teacher, the decades of the 1920s and 1930s, Makarenko came to be viewed as an outsider by Soviet authorities. He worked under disintegrated social, economic, and political conditions. His students were young war orphans and street urchins, often turned criminals, who challenged him far beyond normal parameters to take a fresh look at what is effective in education. To appreciate his insights and discoveries of what worked under such deprived circumstances, it is appropriate, first, to look briefly at Makarenko's life.

Born in the Ukraine, in 1888, Makarenko had been a schoolteacher for children of railroad workers for some 15 years before he took on the responsibility of educating homeless and delinquent children and youth. In 1920, amidst a raging civil war, Ukrainian authorities appointed him at the age of 32 to organize and direct a labor colony for "these homeless kids" who had appeared in unprecedented numbers. Makarenko faced the challenge of not only providing his uprooted pupils with the most rudimentary needs for daily living and education, but above all with mobilizing the cooperation of his defiant charges, whom he found alienated from society and ignorant of social norms. Makarenko viewed the situation pessimistically, writing as follows:

> The lonely forest surrounding the colony, the empty shells of our buildings, our ten camp beds, . . . the five boys who were in frank opposition not only to our pedagogical system, but to the very principles of human culture itself, all this had. . . little to do with our conventional school practice.[10]

Overwhelmed by his new task, Makarenko admitted to a sense of profound helplessness. Searching for answers, he spent the first winter reading more books on education than he ever had before. He learned there was no existing theory that could guide him, and he would have to wrestle his own theories from real life encounters. He describes in his semi-autobiographical work, *The Road to Life*, how it dawned on him that theoretical formulations offered no answers. He wrote, "What I needed was immediate analysis of each situation, followed by immediate action."[11]

In *The Road to Life*, Makarenko described his successes and failures in resocializing vagrant youngsters and his efforts to help them reenter society as healthy, socially responsible people. He also described how, against a background of unusual conditions, he began to build his pedagogical principles.

Among Western educators, Makarenko is generally known for his use of "collective education," "student self-government," "productive labor," and "military exercises," but on closer examination of his writings, particularly the lectures he gave toward the end of his life, we find a far more differentiated picture of the true character of his teaching practice. Through daily interaction with his pupils, he had made some surprising observations and had gained insights as to what was truly important in education and in upbringing. Filled with these experiences and conclusions, he advised educators regarding these practices and conditions he had found to be effective.

As I will show in the following examples, Makarenko demonstrated that teaching is an art that involves far more than knowledge of subject matter, teaching methods, and theories of learning. He believed teaching to be a formative process that goes beyond classroom instruction to include forms of upbringing and that to be a competent teacher, one must acquire exemplary personal skills and habits in addition to traditional teacher training. Much of what Makarenko came to consider educationally effective most contemporary educators would not view as useful or important. Many of his teaching practices are difficult to define and resist evaluation, but they are nonetheless educationally consequential. For example, Makarenko discovered that teachers who paid conscious attention in the classroom to the many small practices of daily living engendered significant educational results. This conscious use of the seemingly insignificant details of life proved to be vital to his teaching success. The Russian novelist and dramatist, Maxim Gorky, after having observed Makarenko's work at the Gorky Colony, told Makarenko, "Your educational experiment with its outstanding results is . . . something of truly universal importance. . . . It is important, indeed imperative that you bring news of it to progressive teachers throughout the world. And the sooner, the better."[12] It is on this dimension of educational practice that goes beyond traditional classroom instruction that I wish to focus. I will call this dimension Makarenko's "special features."

Makarenko was convinced that to become fully competent, teachers needed more training than was conventionally offered in teacher training colleges. To gain what he called pedagogical mastery, teachers had to acquire specific personal skills. He explained, "Children in our schools--as you know--assume a good posture with one teacher and a bad posture with another. This has nothing to do with the teachers' talents, but simply with one teacher being a master and the other one not."[13] I will describe what Makarenko meant by pedagogical mastery and then look at several of the special features, to which he gave such names as "style," "tone," "beauty," and "perspectives."

Makarenko explained that in daily practice he and other experienced teachers had found that many "little things" were decisive in their work. For instance, educators had to understand how to walk, how to joke, how to look happy or angry; "voice training, facial expression, the ability to stand up or sit down in the right manner, all that is very, very important for a pedagogue." He insisted that the acquisition of skills of just such a nature constituted pedagogical mastery.[14]

Based on experiences in the colony that he eventually named Gorky Colony, Makarenko gained a clear idea of how an educator had to be trained. Teachers had to be "primed in the specific capabilities without which no single educator could work."[15] He believed a good educator had to know how to use his voice and how to speak to youngsters. Personal training was essential. Makarenko considered himself a master only after he had learned to say "come here" in 15 to 20 different shades or tones of expression.[16] He believed that such mastery was absolutely necessary when guiding young people's education and upbringing. He also believed teachers had to be trained to acquire such skills, for, as he explained, many parents and teachers did not know how to speak to a child. Makarenko gave this example:

The other day a father came to me and said:

> "I am a . . . worker. I have a good son. He does not obey me. I tell him something but he does not obey me. I say it for the second time--he does not obey. I say it for the third time--he does not obey. What shall I do with him?"
>
> I asked the father who had come to see me to sit down and began a conversation with him:
>
> "Now show me how you talk to your son."
>
> "Well, like this."
>
> "Try it once this way."
>
> "It does not work."
>
> "Try again."
>
> I spent half an hour with him, and then he had learned how to give an order. It was merely a matter of voice.[17]

Makarenko advised his lecture audiences to employ an actor to school their voices, for "our voice is after all an instrument in our work that must be sharpened."[18] Another value for voice training, according to Makarenko, was that some parents and educators indulged in the luxury of allowing their own moods to be reflected in their voices. He thought this unacceptable; their voices, regardless of their moods, should be "normal," "good," and "firm."[19]

In addition to training one's voice, Makarenko wanted educators to school their facial expressions, because he believed that an educator's countenance should be independent of his or her mood. He never permitted himself to wear a gloomy expression, even when he was worried. He explained that this demand was placed on all his staff and that he dismissed some educators because they grumped and pouted all the time.[20]

Lastly, Makarenko drew attention to the educator's outer appearance, even down to such seemingly trivial matters as polishing one's boots every day or using a clean handkerchief, as this created a definite impression. In a lecture to educators he explained, "I must impress them [the children] aesthetically, and so I never once appeared before my pupils in an unbelted blouse or boots that needed a shine. I, too, had to shine to the best of my ability."[21]

Makarenko summarized his ideas on pedagogical mastery in a description of how he had trained his teachers:

> What constituted this training? Above all the tutor's character formation, the schooling of [his] behavior, and then transmitting such special knowledge and capacities without which no educator can be effective. If a tutor's voice is not trained, he will not know how to speak to students . . . . No one can be a good educator who cannot control his facial expression or who is unable to control his mood. The educator must know how to organize, how to walk, joke, and be happy or angry. The educator must behave in such a way that his every movement would be educative. He must always know exactly what he wants or does not want. If he does not know this, how can he educate others?[22]

Makarenko frequently spoke of a special feature he called "style and tone," which he placed at the center of education, believing they had a critical part to play in children's upbringing. He expressed frequent regret that pedagogues had given style and tone little consideration. In his opinion, monographs should be written to deal with what he called "the problem of style."[23] According to him, the student's whole conduct and demeanor were shaped by the characteristics of the style prevalent in an educational community and by the tone of interaction between people. Style and tone were an expression of the predominant mood, the tenor of a social interaction. Makarenko called style a "perishable substance" that needed "constant care and daily attention," requiring "as much tending as a bed of flowers."[24]

Makarenko admitted that style and tone had no functional value, but due to their observed beneficial effects on students they added important qualities to the life of an educational community. He strongly recommended that each educational community develop a definite style. Among the characteristics of a good style, Makarenko delineated a happy mood that, like a musical tone, sounded a major key: a sense of one's own dignity, which would find expression in the student's polite and friendly demeanor; an experience of inner security, wherein children could feel protected against force, arbitrariness, and humiliation; a sense of orientation that would enable students and teachers to be fully awake to what was going on around them, even discerning what was going on in another room; and feeling the "tone of life," the "tone of day." Makarenko noted that much too often such a sense was completely lacking in people, who seemed to experience only themselves. Makarenko conceded that style and tone could not be developed in an educational community overnight but he believed that slowly, over the course of years, it could grow out of the community's daily life.[25]

Reflecting on what Makarenko perceived to be the characteristics of an appropriate style for a school or educational community, it becomes evident that he was not speaking merely of outer forms of style and tone, but rather of acquired capabilities and inner attitudes. It also becomes clear why Makarenko called style a "delicate and perishable substance" that needed "constant care" and "daily attention."[26]

Makarenko told his lecture audiences that the importance of the aesthetic side of life in his colony could not be overestimated. He observed that it was precisely the pedagogues who suffer from "a certain nihilism" in matters of aesthetics. In a written statement, he gave this direction:

> Building upon beauty means to build securely. Beauty is a most powerful magnet, and it is not only a beautiful face or a beautiful shape of a human being that has an appealing effect, but also a beautiful deed, a beautiful concert. . . even a beautiful soldier cut out of paper.[27]

On November 7, 1938, *Moscow News* published an article in which Makarenko described the life of his colony. He wrote:

> We made their lives in the colony as . . . beautiful as we could. They [the colonists] had their own theatre, their orchestra, there was always an abundance of flowers and the young people were nicely dressed.[28]

Makarenko felt it to be most important to beautify the colony in an outwardly visible way. He built a greenhouse at a time when the colony was poor and planted flowers that were tended by colonists and used to adorn the rooms, landings, and staircases.

Makarenko regarded cleanliness and personal hygiene to be aspects of beauty, contributing to the dignity of human life. Flowers, clothes, and cleanliness in all rooms needed constant attention. His demands for cleanliness were uncompromising. One of Makarenko's own accounts gives a flavor of the high standards he set:

> There was, for example, the table. One can put a wax cloth over it, that is fine and hygienic. One can put all sorts of things on top of it; wipe over, and everything is clean again. No way! Only a white table cloth! Only a white table cloth can bring about the habit to eat mannerly; a wax cloth invites letting oneself go. During the first days, a white table cloth will inevitably be soiled and full of stains. After half a year it will remain clean. If there is no white table cloth on the table, it will be impossible to teach mannerly habits.[29]

"Perspective" in the sense of having a joyful outlook, a happy anticipation of the coming day, and envisioning a hopeful future, was a central notion in Makarenko's work. "To educate man is to furnish him with a perspective leading to the morrow's joy. A whole book could be written about this most important work."[30] Some educators attribute Makarenko's pedagogical success mainly to his having devoted much of his efforts to providing his colonists with joyful perspectives. Makarenko believed that man cannot live on earth without beholding something joyful.[31] However, joyfulness had to be organized; it had to be called into being and treated as a reality.

Makarenko distinguished between near, middle, and distant perspectives. Essentially, the near perspectives gratify physical comforts and those things personally pleasant. In the colony's early days this meant food, shelter, warmth, cleanliness, and a sense of protection. Makarenko found that, typically, the near perspectives were most important to young children who needed instant satisfaction.

The middle perspectives might consist in planning a special event that was to take place in the near future. Gratification was delayed. Makarenko believed that older students were ready for more distant perspectives. Such special events should not occur too frequently--not more than two times a year-- and should be anticipated with great joy. The distant perspectives, which pertained to the most mature students, would include life goals and career aspirations.

As he developed these perspectives for the colonists, Makarenko discovered that entering colonists were used to other kinds of near perspectives, such as burglary, drinking, gambling, or terrifying weaker colonists. Consequently, he devoted his full attention to replacing primitive perspectives with worthier ones, such as visits to films, attendance at social gatherings, and trips and outings. Makarenko stressed that all perspectives had to be achievable, that primitive and egoistic joys had to be transformed into more selfless forms of gratification, and that ultimately total harmony between personal and societal perspectives could be achieved. He spoke of there being an "interesting line" of gratification, one that proceeds "from the primitive gratification provided by a piece of gingerbread to the satisfaction based upon the deepest sense of duty." He emphasized that perspectives had to be clearly understood. "The failure of many . . . homes was due to the weakness and ambiguity of [their] perspectives."[32]

Since evaluation of educational methods during Makarenko's time rested almost entirely on observed results, we must rely on the accounts of those who observed or experienced his techniques. Several sources give evidence of Makarenko's success in the education and upbringing of delinquent youth. From Makarenko's own writings and the writings of his former charges, we know that many colonists became respected citizens, some of them successful teachers, others doctors, engineers, or factory workers, with families and children of their own.[33] Reflecting on his former charges, Makarenko wrote in 1935:

> Seven years have passed since then [since he left the Gorky Colony in 1928]: . . . My Gorkyites also grew up, and were scattered all over the Soviet Union. . . . There's no getting hold of engineer Zadorov, who has become absorbed by some vast Turkmenistan construction work; and neither Vershnev, Medical Officer to the Special Far Eastern Army, nor Burun, a doctor in Yaroslavl, can be called for an interview. Even Nisinov and Zoren, those kids, even they have flown away from me, rustling their wings, . . . [the] wings of Soviet airplanes. Shelaputin, too, made no mistake when he vowed he would become a pilot. And Shura Zhevely . . . has also become a pilot.[34]

In addition to Makarenko's statements and the written testimony of a host of grateful pupils who attest to Makarenko's effective and imaginative ways of teaching and upbringing, we have an eyewitness report from Maxim Gorky, who wrote in his essay "Across the Soviet Union":

> I had been carrying on a correspondence with the young people [at the Gorky Colony in Kuryazh] for four years keeping track of how gradually their spelling and grammar improved, how their social awareness grew and their knowledge of the world around them widened - in a word how young tramps, thieves, anarchists and prostitutes were turning into upright working men and women.[35]

During a visit to the Ukraine in 1992, I met two of Makarenko's former pupils, now well into their seventies, who are now looking back at successful professional careers. Both gentlemen, still filled with admiration and love for Makarenko, confirmed his pedagogical talent.

My own appreciation of Makarenko's educational insights was drawn from personal experience as a teacher for handicapped and normal children in inner-city school environments. I recognized in Makarenko's work numerous perceptions and insights that corresponded to my experience of what elements in the total pedagogical process proved effective--many of them commonly overlooked in traditional classrooms. For example, paying attention to the many little things Makarenko mentions, such as posture, facial expression, tone of voice, beauty, cleanliness, and order and the mood in the classroom, as well as providing a joyful outlook toward the next lesson, seemed to have an encouraging effect on students as measured, at least in part, by their sincere efforts toward participating in activities inside and out of the classroom.

Based on my personal experience and those of others, I believe Makarenko's educational experiments merit the attention of teachers, and all those who bring up children and young people. Happily, implementing his "special features" would not require financial resources; they would neither appear on a budget nor could we measure their effectiveness with commonly used methods. Yet, they proved effective with even the toughest delinquents. The parallels between Makarenko's youngsters and those of today, particularly those in our inner-cities, are inescapable. I believe we have something to learn from this highly creative teacher. His ideas are as applicable today as they were then. I would urge teachers to try out for themselves some of the "little things," without which, according to Makarenko, no educator can be effective.

Endnotes

In the current article, the author has employed English texts were available Translations from German sources into English were made by the author.

1. Richard Pipes, *The Russian Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1990), xxi
2. Anatoli Lunacharsky, cited in Isabella Rüttenauer, *A. S. Makarenko. Ein Erzieher und Schriftsteller in der Sowjetgesellschaft*. (Freiburg: Verlag Herder,1965), 117.
3. Gerald L. Gutek, *A History of the Western Educational Experience*, 2nd ed. (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press Inc., 1995), 437.
4. A. Pinkevitch, in George Z. F. Bereday et al. *The Changing Soviet School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1960), 63.
5. Oskar Anweiler, "A. S. Makarenko und die Pädagogik seiner Zeit" in Hillig and Weitz, eds., *Wege der Forschung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1979), 122.
6. Ibid., 127-128, 129, 137, 131.
7. Ibid., 128
8. A. S. Makarenko, *The Road to Life. An Epic of Education*, vol. 3. Trans. I. and T. Litvinov (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1951), 405. Hereafter cited *The Road to Life*.
9. Makarenko's work has been widely read and widely acclaimed internationally by educators. To portray him as a communist ideologue, the Soviets have long falsified his writings and biography, thus misrepresenting his philosophy and work. These historical distortions are now largely being corrected: Since 1968, the Makarenko Department at the Philipps University in Marburg, Germany, has, through archival research and oral history, reconstructed Makarenko's writings and biography. We are now able to more accurately assess his contributions to education.
10. A. S. Makarenko, in *A. S. Makarenko, Gesammelte Werke* (GW) Marburger Ausgabe, vol. 3, (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), 11.
11. Ibid., 13.
12. Nikolai Fere, "My Teacher," in Valentin Kumarin, ed. *Anton Makarenko: His Life and His Work in Education*. (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976), 163.
13. *Werke*, vol. V, 242.
14. *Werke*, vol. IV, 527.
15. *Werke*, vol. V, 183.
16. Ibid., 278.
17. *Werke*, vol. IV, 527.
18. *Werke*, vol. V, 303.
19. *Werke*, vol. IV, 526.
20. *Werke*, vol. V, 227.
21. Ibid., 279, 227.
22. Ibid., 183.
23. Ibid., 216.
24. *The Road to Life*, vol. 3, 263.
25. *Werke*, vol. V, 220-223.
26. *The Road to Life*, vol. 3, 263.
27. A. S. Makarenko, Makarenko-Archiv Nr.84, cited in Rüttenauer, 257.
28. G. Hillig and S. Weitz, eds. *Makarenko Materialien I*. (Marburg: VVG Verlag- undVertriebsgemeinschaft, 1969), 31.
29. *Werke*, vol. V, 229.
30. *The Road to Life*, vol. 3, 284.
31. Ibid., 283.
32. *Werke*, vol. V, 80; 79-87.
33. See N. Fere, *Makarenko, Mein Lehrer*. (Berlin: Verlag Neues Leben, 1953); Bernhard Isaacs. *Makarenko, His Life and Work*. Articles, Talksand Reminiscences. Trans. B. Isaacs. (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d.).
34. A. S. Makarenko. *The Road to Life*, vol. 3, 412-413.
35. Maxim Gorky, "Across the Soviet Union," in Kumarin, *Anton Makarenko*, 103.

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Struggle for the Soul of a Normal School

Jared Stallones
The University of Texas at Austin

Herbert Kliebard (1995) has described the ideological struggles surrounding the development of the school curriculum. The evolution of Alta Vista Agricultural College for Colored Youth into Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical University is a case study of the ideological and political struggles that mold a school's curriculum and shape its identity. Competing interests attempted to define Prairie View's mission as one of training black students in the industrial trades and agriculture, or as a vehicle for character education. While Prairie View became a football for politicians, its core identity as a teacher education institution helped it weather adversity.

The Texas Constitution of 1876 was remarkably progressive in calling for the equal, if not integrated, education of all races. Article VII, Section 7, read, "Separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored children, and impartial provisions shall be made for both." Section 13 of the same Article VII established an Agricultural and Mechanical College as part of the University of Texas. Texas intended to take full advantage of newly-available Morrill Act monies in building this school. The Act required, though, that states accepting its funds make some provision for black education. If Texas did not act, the white land grant college, with its 180,000 acre endowment, would be at risk. So, on August 14, 1876, the 15th Legislature passed an enabling act which proposed, "to establish an Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, for the benefit of Colored Youths and to make appropriations therefor" (Gammel 1898). The college was to be a branch under the supervision of the nearby white A. and M. College.

The opening day of the new Alta Vista Agricultural College for Colored Youth, March 11, 1878, proved a disappointment. Principal L.W. Minor prepared for 20 students, but only eight enrolled. The next term, enrollment fell to six. Thomas S. Gathright, A. and M.'s President, attributed the low enrollment to "no demand for higher education among the blacks" (1878), but other factors may have accounted for the low turnout. Alta Vista was located far from the black population centers of east Texas, and on a former slave plantation at that. Possibly, black Texans aspired to more than a purely agricultural education already gained by so many through practical experience in the fields. Also, late 1878 saw higher wages paid for labor in the cotton fields, and the prospect of immediate cash may have proven too big a temptation for some students. Even though Alta Vista attracted more students than the white A. and M. college had, its Board declared the black school a failure and discontinued classes in late 1878.

The Texas Constitution and the Morrill Act both required the state to provide some form of higher education for black Texans. At that time, Texas suffered from an acute shortage of teachers for its black common schools. Orlando N. Hollingsworth, the Secretary of the Texas Board of Education, reported to the U.S. Commissioner of Education remarkable increases in black school attendance. According to these reports, the number of black children in the schools increased 600% during the 1870s (U.S. Commissioner of Education 1877). The private colleges of Texas could not keep up with the demand for black teachers. Governor Oran M. Roberts prompted the 16th Texas Legislature to recast Alta Vista as The Prairie View Normal Institute for blacks. Six thousand dollars a year was appropriated from the University Fund for the new school, to be matched by the Peabody Education Fund. Thus, on April 19, 1879, Prairie View became the first public institution for teacher education in Texas, while remaining a branch of the A. and M. College.

The term opened that fall with E.H. Anderson as principal. Sixteen students enrolled with assurances that simply remaining through the first year would earn them a certificate allowing them to teach in any black school statewide without further examination. The school was an instant success. By the end of the term, enrollment grew to sixty, and additional students were turned away for lack of space.

Prairie View rapidly established itself as a center for teacher education. It did this in several ways. First, the school supplied a large number of teachers to staff Texas' schools. A legislative subcommittee in 1917 found that 75% of all black teachers in Texas were Prairie View graduates (Tillotson 1917). Second, the school produced quality as well as quantity. Prairie View became the supplier of choice for the Austin public schools after its graduates bested those from other colleges in a three-day competitive examination (White 1938). By 1890, Prairie View students were taking education courses similar to those offered at Sam Houston Normal and the University of Texas, and using the same standard texts (Prairie View State Normal Institute 1889).

A third reason for Prairie View's dominance of black teacher education was the network established among its graduates across the state. Prairie View graduates directed generations of their students and relatives to their alma mater, creating a chronic overcrowding problem. In his report for 1882, Principal Anderson claimed that Prairie View could serve three times the 51 students enrolled that year if only more space was available (Anderson 1882). The school strengthened its network by supporting organizations for teachers and providing services for their schools. In 1884, L.C. Anderson of the Prairie View faculty was instrumental in forming the Colored Teachers State Association, and the school began Summer Normals for teachers as early as 1910. Prairie View also ran the Texas Interscholastic League of Colored Schools, printing and distributing its rules, bulletins, and hosting its state meets.

Prairie View's prominence eventually invited meddling with its curriculum. This reflected a curriculum debate taking place in communities all over America. America was becoming an increasingly urban, industrial society as the nineteenth century drew to a close, and its education system struggled to meet changing demands. There was growing pressure on schools to train children for careers in industry. Industrialists such as Andrew Carnegie decried the traditional curriculum as a waste of to learn such languages as Greek and Latin, which are of no more practical use to them than Choctaw. Worse, Carnegie thought the traditional instruction imbued the students with false ideas and gave them a distaste for practical life (1902, 79). Many educators concurred. The Superintendent of the New Orleans schools told a National Education Association gathering, "We are living in a practical, money-making age. . . The big thing today is the reward, the dollar, and it is paid for practice and not for the theory and training behind the practice" (National Education Association 1914).

Some opposed industrial education for black students. This was a time of growing resentment toward blacks and attempts to draw strict color lines in political and economic life throughout the South. Blacks were often denied membership in labor unions, crowding them out of the industrial trades. At the same time, white workers were moving into such traditionally black domains as domestic service. Paul B. Barringer of the University of Virginia expressed the fears of some whites when he asked the Southern Educational Association meeting in Richmond, "Shall we, having by great effort gotten rid of the Negro as a political menace, deliberately proceed to equip the Negro of the future as an economic menace? Shall we, knowing his primitive racial needs, arm him and pit him against the poor whites of the South?" (Woolfolk 1962, 114). Some black leaders opposed it as well. They felt industrial education would consign young blacks to manual labor. They joined W.E.B. DuBois in calling for a classical-liberal curriculum for blacks equal to that in the best white schools.

Others favored an industrial curriculum for the black schools. Many in the black community saw that apprenticeships were increasingly difficult for young black men to find. Black leaders meeting at Waco in 1882 charged that some whites opposed industrial education for blacks because they feared the resulting competition for jobs. They petitioned Governor Roberts for a program of industrial education in their schools.

White Texans also found reasons to support industrial education for black students. To some it was a matter of conscience, "[I have] always felt that it was our duty, claiming to be the superior race, and having control of the government, to do all in our power that promised beneficial and practical results, to educate and elevate our colored citizens" (Peeler 1881). Others saw it as an economic necessity, "The people of Texas depend on Negroes and Mexicans for practically all agricultural and manufacturing labor. On account of the ignorance of the laborers they require constant supervision and in many cases lack the ability to obey orders. This great ignorance necessarily means an increase in the cost of production" (Platt 1917, 5).

The version that finally impacted Prairie View descended from the Russian educator Victor Della Vos. His blend of manual, literary, and moral education in both theoretical and practical instruction was adopted by General Samuel C. Armstrong at the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Virginia and by Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute. It dovetailed neatly with the emphasis on character education described in the Prairie View literature, "Plainly a system is required which shall be at once constructive of mental and moral worth and destructive of the vices characteristic of the slave. . . His deficiencies of character are, I believe, worse for him and the world than his ignorance" (Prairie View Normal School 1883). Principal Anderson admired Washington, and had worked with him at Tuskegee. It was no surprise, then, that the industrial education at Prairie View would follow the Hampton/Tuskegee model, but flavored by the normal's pastoral setting and teacher education mission.

Industrial education was formally initiated at Prairie View in 1888, with the creation of an Agricultural and Mechanical Department. New faculty were hired to staff the fields and the shops. Professor Randolph, a Hampton Institute graduate, led instruction in woodworking, printing, and mechanics. In addition, a Ladies Industrial Department under the leadership of Prairie View alumnus Sallie Ewell taught home economics subjects. The industrialists seemed to have won.

Yet, the critics of industrial education for blacks need not have worried about Prairie View becoming an industrial training center. The industrial course was not even listed in the college catalogue until 1893, and even then it was oriented toward producing teachers of industrial arts, not artisans. In fact, the industrial education curriculum was already being undermined by the ideas of the agricultural populists.

Agricultural education had been the original mission given Prairie View when it was still Alta Vista Agricultural College. The initial lack of student interest did not deter those who cast Prairie View as a training school for farmers from pressing to institute their vision. When Prairie View launched its Industrial Department, it started an Agricultural Department as well. A graduate of Tuskegee Institute was put in charge. The agricultural course of study blended classroom instruction in farming methods and general academic subjects with fieldwork. The agriculturalists gained momentum in the 1890s, and funding questions became a catalyst for curriculum change.

The second Morrill Act, passed in 1890, provided funds for Prairie View. An annual sum was granted to each land-grant college provided that a black college funded from state revenues receive a fair share of the money. Once again, adequate funding for Prairie View became a prerequisite for the continued funding of A. and M. At the same time, the Texas Grange lobbied Governors Roberts and Lawrence S. Ross to end instruction in the classical subjects at the land-grant schools in Texas. The Grange saw money spent on these as a violation of the intent of the Morrill Acts. Bowing to the pressure, Prairie View dropped Latin from the course of study, and a growing senior college program was discontinued. In a typically paternalistic statement, the A. and M. Board declared, "We believe that it is not higher education, but practical education that the Negro race needs for its development" (Prairie View Normal and Industrial College 1906).

Two influential reports added force to the argument for agricultural education. Thomas Jesse Jones directed an exhaustive survey of black education in the South for the U.S. Bureau of Education from 1910-1916. His study found that the curriculum at Prairie View was a blend of elementary and secondary subjects. He advised the school to relinquish its aspirations toward college-level work, and focus instead on normal and agricultural training. Jones wrote that, "While opportunities for the highly technical trades should be open to colored pupils, the primary need is emphatically for a knowledge of gardening, small farming, and the simple industries required in farming communities" (U.S. Department of the Interior 1917). The Texas Legislature concurred in its own study of Prairie View. Its report concluded that blacks lacked an appreciation of the value of education. It contended that large numbers of black students attended school with no idea of what they wanted to learn (Tillotson, 831).

In his insightful history of Prairie View, George R. Woolfolk (1962) sometimes casts the school's principals as innocents in a world of power politics beyond their grasp, but they should more properly be seen as shrewd politicians who understood the limitations of their influence, yet continually pressed for improved educational opportunities for black Texans. Throughout the clash between the proponents of agricultural and industrial curricula, the Prairie View principals played one against the other as they worked toward a classical-liberal course of study at the senior college level.

Despite the protestations of the agriculturalists, this curriculum was consistent with the intent of the Morrill Acts. Justin Morrill himself said, "The Act of 1862 proposed a system of broad education by colleges, not limited to a superficial and dwarfed training such as might be had at an industrial school. . . it was a liberal education that was proposed" (Woolfolk, 114). Prairie View adopted the air of offering a liberal education to blacks as its purpose in 1893.

As Principal from 1885-1895, L.C. Anderson presided during the early battles over industrial and agricultural education, but he had a broader vision for Prairie View's role in black education. He had supported Prairie View as the site for the creation of a four-year classical university for blacks, and repeatedly pressed the A. and M. Board to upgrade the school's curriculum.

The rapidly expanding curriculum in the lower schools continued to call attention to the need for a more sophisticated curriculum. By 1900, Texas had 19 black high schools (U.S. Commissioner of Education 1901), the most of any southern state. That number had nearly doubled by 1905 (U.S. Commissioner of Education 1905). The growth of high schools exerted pressure for more highly-educated teachers. The need for a black public university was apparent, but the issue was taken out of the hands of the educators by the politicians.

By 1890, the influence of black politicians was shrinking with the failing fortunes of the Republican Party. Many saw education issues as a means to stop this erosion, and the second Morrill Act offered the vehicle by which political power could be reasserted. Black Republicans, led by Norris Wright Cuney, lobbied the U.S. Interior Department to rescind

Morrill funds for A. and M. on the basis that Texas practiced systematic discrimination in its funding for black schools. There was some truth to the charge. Throughout this period of Democratic state administrations, there was considerable inequality between black and white schools in Texas in terms of teacher salaries, school buildings (Texas State Board of Education 1890), libraries (1900), length of the school term (1918), and spending per pupil (Tuskegee Institute 1917). Governor Ross responded to the accusation by arguing that Texas showed, "No distinction...on the basis of color in the distribution of the school fund, such distinction being forbidden both by the organic and statutory law, and as a matter of fact none has been made. . ." (Ross 1890). He claimed that Democratic administrations had spent far more on the black schools than had been received in revenues from black taxpayers. Despite the Republican lobbying efforts Ross' version held sway, and Secretary of the Interior John W. Noble consented to release the Morrill Act funds to Texas.

These bitterly partisan political battles culminated in the replacement of Principal Anderson with a Democrat, Edward L. Blackshear. More politically astute than his predecessors, Blackshear played on white fears of racial unrest to gain support for the school. He wrote that, "there is probably no single agency in the state doing more than Prairie View Normal and Industrial College to bring about that proper understanding and relationship between the races" (Prairie View Normal and Industrial College 1902).

Typically, white leaders favored the gradual growth of a classical university at Prairie View. The Democrats, at their state convention in August 1896, claimed, "The Prairie View Normal School should be enlarged, making provision for industrial features and gradually converting it into a university for the colored people" (Winkler 1916, 388). The Prairie View directors concurred. They declared that, "The university for higher classical education of the colored youth of Texas will eventually be located at this school. . ." (Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College 1896). President M.H. Broyles of the Colored Teachers State Association also favored this gradual process.

Others, however, disagreed with the strategy of locating the black university at Prairie View. Some cities complained that making Prairie View the center for all black higher education, whether industrial, normal, agricultural, or classical, would dilute its ability to do any of those things well. In addition, the Republican Party made a separate university a rallying cry, calling in its platforms of 1884, 1892, 1894, and 1896 for "extending to our colored youths the opportunities of a university education" apart from Prairie View (Winkler, 427).

The time for a separate black university was not ripe in any case. A statement made by A. and M. Board Chairman W.R. Cavitt in 1884 typified the attitude of white educators. He echoed Texas A. and M. President Gathright's 1878 assertion that blacks were uninterested in higher education. Cavitt wrote, "It would be useless to equip a first class university, with all appliances for instruction, with none to enter" (Woolfolk, 96). Principal Blackshear assessed the resistance, and shelved his dream of a separate university. Instead, he turned his energies to gradually building Prairie View's curriculum. In 1896, the school was reorganized into academic departments. There were separate departments for Science, Math, Pedagogy, History and English, and Music, as well as a Mechanical Department, Agricultural Department, and Girls' Industrial Department. More classical elements were also added to the curriculum. A Department of Latin offering a two-year sequence was created, and in 1901, the Legislature appropriated money for the ". . . maintenance of a four-year college course of classical and scientific studies. . ." at Prairie View (Acts 1901). A Department of Greek was added, and the first A.B. degrees were granted in 1904. Although the proponents of agricultural education forced temporary setbacks in all of these programs, the foundations of liberal education at Prairie View had been laid.

Politics again led to the demise of a Prairie View principal. In the gubernatorial election of 1914, Blackshear had joined other black leaders in supporting Prohibitionist Thomas Ball against James Ferguson. Ferguson won and exacted political revenge. In supporting an appropriation for Prairie View, Ferguson told members of the A. and M. Board, "I want to serve notice on you right now that E.L. Blackshear at the head of the institution has got to go" (Woolfolk, 159). Blackshear was asked to resign in early 1915.

Despite nearly 40 years of meddling by politicians and curriculum ideologues, Prairie View survived the pressures exerted by agricultural populists, industrialists, and others all seeking to remake the school in their own images. Dedicated leaders shepherded the school through these trials, taking every opportunity to strengthen the teacher education curriculum. Their political skills, along with Prairie View's central role in black education helped fend off the worst of the attacks on its identity. But Prairie View is not unique. Institutions of teacher education have been buffeted by frequent assaults on their curriculum and identity. Investigating their stories will yield clues as to how teacher education institutions today can better manage the dynamic tension produced by the interests competing for their souls.

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Is Outcome-Based Education Fair?

Erwin Goldenstein
L. James Walter
University of Nebraska-Lincoln

In an attempt to provide some insights with respect to a phenomenon that has polarized the country in the past decade, it is our purpose in this paper to examine Outcome-Based Education (OBE) objectively. Surely everyone expects some outcome from education. Otherwise, why would Americans spend so much money, publicly and privately, to provide schools and ancillary educational services? Why then should the mere mention of OBE elicit such extreme passion on the part of both its opponents and proponents? The question then becomes: what kind of outcomes should schools attempt to produce, and who should determine what those outcomes should be? This paper, however, reports the results of an examination of what a selected group of high school graduates over a period of threedecades regards as the most important outcomes of their high school experience. It is the authors' belief that opinions of graduates regarding outcomes must be considered in the debate regarding OBE.

Bill Spady and Kit Marshall, as reported in *Educational Leadership*, attribute the genesis of OBE to BenjaminBloom's essay, "Learning from Mastery." Spady and Marshall tout fourprinciples that allegedly distinguish OBE from ordinary education. They are (a)clarity of focus, (b)expanded opportunity, (c)high expectations, and (d)design down (planning curriculum back from desired student outcomes). Others, however, attribute such principles to educational pioneers like Comenius, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart.

American philosophers and educators have largely built upon the foundations laid by these Europeans to bring U.S. education to fruition as we have come to know it in the late 20thcentury. For RalphWaldoEmerson, the desired outcome of education was the moral and spiritual self-reliance of the individual. For ThomasJefferson and HoraceMann, the desired outcome was the development of ethical and rational citizens capable of making democracy work. JohnDewey rejected blind obedience and conformity in favor of originality, initiative, and responsibility.

FranklinBobbitt was one of the first American educators to analyze the activities of adults as a defensible basis for curriculum planning. In his 1918 publication *The Curriculum*, he advocated an analysis of such activities as a basis for restating them in terms of behavioral objectives. In his 1924 *How to Make a Curriculum*, he explained in detail how this was to be done. BenjaminBloom, however, is the researcher and theorist given special credit by Spady for the work that undergirds OBE. Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*, first published in 1956, examined educational outcomes from the perspectives of cognitive, affective, and psychomotor domains. Much of his genius lay in his ability to state objectives in measurable or observable terms by using action verbs to describe the behavior or outcome to be sought at various levels of development or sophistication within each of the domains. Bloom's work eventually gave way to a concept of mastery learning, and that, in turn, was succeeded by Outcome-Based Education.

The history of American education in the last century is replete with pronouncements by a variety of groups and individuals as to what the content, purposes, and outcomes of secondary education ought to be. By 1892 a debate raged as to whether the American high school should provide terminal education or preparation for college. The National Education Association in that year created a *Committee of Ten*, headed by PresidentCharlesW.Eliot of Harvard, in an attempt to resolve the issue. Interestingly, the resulting report took the position that terminal education was the main function of the high school, but it addressed primarily the need to reform college preparatory programs. Uncertainty regarding the purpose of high school education continued largely unabated. In 1918 the NEA's *Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education* developed a somewhat ambiguous statement in attempting to define what it called the sevencardinal principles of secondary education. In 1944 the Educational Policies Commission attacked the problem of defining secondary education by producing a statement of what it regarded as the imperative needs of youth. Responding to the often caustic criticisms of such writers as ArthurBestor and HymenRickover, JamesB.Conant published in 1959 *The American High School Today*, a rather persuasive argument for a comprehensive high school that would provide appropriate options for both terminal education of a vocational nature and rigorous preparation for collegiate studies.

Conant was writing in an atmosphere of acrimonious criticism that had become highly politically charged. The launching of the SovietUnion's *Sputnik* in 1957 led much of the American media and many politicians to search for an explanation for the apparent superiority of Russian science. Almost immediately secondary schools became a scapegoat.

Suddenly federal support of education became much less distasteful than it had been through much of the country's history. As a result, Congress passed and PresidentEisenhower signed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA). National financial support for education, it seemed, could be tolerated if it were in the interest of fighting the Cold War. The NDEA emphasized such areas as science, mathematics, foreign languages, and vocational guidance. Almost overnight, collegiate scholars and secondary school teachers formed an alliance to design programs aimed at improving both terminal education and college preparation.

Emphasis on enhancing academic education and appropriate vocational guidance continued for nearly a decade. By the mid1960s, however, new pronouncements critical of this emphasis began to emerge from JohnHolt, JonathanKozol, HerbertKohl, and JamesHerndon. These "compassionate critics" and other opponents of the war in Vietnam began to call rather stridently for a curriculum that would emphasize human values and address the plight of poor and minority children in the nation's inner cities.

By the early 1980s, however, the advocates of rigorous standards for grading, promotion, and graduation had rediscovered their voices. Thus, in the midst of a new controversy, TerrenceBell, PresidentReagan's Secretary of Education, created a commission to examine secondary schools and to make recommendations for their improvement. The resultant report, *A Nation at Risk*, featured expressions such as "a rising tide of mediocrity" and "unilateral educational disarmament." Their recommendations featured an unambiguous academic program, tougher grading standards, enhanced college admission requirements, upgraded textbooks, and increased use of educational technology.

In view of the numerous educational pronouncements as to what outcomes should be expected of high school graduates, it is interesting to examine what some graduates from several time periods regard as the most important outcome of their high school experience. To investigate this matter, the authors conducted a telephone survey of 587graduates of 16Nebraska high schools for the years 1953, 1963, 1973, and 1983. The years selected were chosen because they were regarded as reflecting several distinct eras and the educational demands associated with those eras. Thus the 1953 graduates were considered representative of the pre-*Sputnik* era; the 1963 graduates of the *Sputnik*-Vietnam Era; the 1973 graduates of the Watergate Era; and the 1983 graduates of the NewFederalism Era. Each of these eras was regarded from a point of view as responding to the demands and criticisms of the time as discussed earlier. The sample of schools was deliberately chosen to include a wide geographic representation of the state, as well as a considerable range in the size of graduating classes. The authors were interested in rural schools; hence high schools in metropolitan areas were excluded from the sample. Since large high schools in metropolitan areas are in a position to offer larger, more diverse curricula than smaller schools in rural areas, the authors believed that rural school curricula might respond more noticeably to changes demanded by educational critics. This, it was felt, might in turn effect the courses actually taken by the graduates and influence their decisions as to the most important outcomes.

School officials and alumni organizations provided the researchers with lists of graduating seniors for the years in question. From these lists students were randomly chosen to be interviewed. The subjects thus chosen were asked to identify the most important outcomes of their high school studies. Not surprisingly, responses varied greatly. They ranged from developing good human relations to escaping from the local community, from refining athletic skills to improving their thinking skills, and from having fun and recreation to acquiring a mature outlook on life.

It may be very disconcerting to educators and others who have prescribed desirable outcomes that the graduates interviewed regard the simple earning of their diploma as a very important outcome of their high school experience. Onehundrednine (19%) of the sample of 587students reported this as their single most important outcome. It should be pointed out, though, that the students were given no predetermined response choices in the telephone interviews.

The 19% who identified the diploma as being the most important outcome did so explicitly. The other telephone responses were classified in several different ways. First, they were grouped into 11categories, namely *diploma, further education, career education, human relations, philosophy/religion, self-confidence, general education, basic skills, communication skills, math/science,* and *music/art*. Responses that did not readily fit any of these classifications were listed as *miscellaneous*. A considerable number of interviewees responded with a "don't know" or "none" answer. To gain an impression of overall trends, we further grouped the 11categories of outcomes into three broad areas: *affective development, career development,* and *general education*.

Many of the responding students may have seen the diploma as an essential factor in their career development. Such responses as human relations, philosophy/religion, self-confidence, and discipline were placed in the *affective development* category. Basic skills, communication skills, math/science, and similar responses were subsumed under the *general education* classification. Further education and career preparation were combined under the *career development* classification.

A few observations seem in order. Earning a diploma seemed to be most important to the 1973 graduates. Human relations nearly doubled in importance from 1953 to 1983. General education did double in importance according to our subjects during that time frame. *Math/science*, apparently never highly regarded by graduates, even declined during the period in question, despite the national emphasis that characterized the post-*Sputnik* crisis. The 1953 graduates were less clear as to what they considered the most important outcome of their high school experience than were their successors in the next three decades. This may be due in some measure to the time lapse between graduation and the date of the interview.

Male versus female comparisons yield some interesting data. On a number of important outcomes there is considerable difference of opinion between men and women graduates. Females in the sample placed a much higher value on career preparation than did the males by a margin of 14% to 6%. By a margin of 11% to 8% the females also valued general education more highly than the males. Gaining self-confidence, too, seemed more important to female subjects. In the categories of communication skills and math/science, however, the situation was reversed. Less than 1% of the women chose communication skills as the most important outcome, but 5% of the men did so. Similarly, only 1% of the females selected math/science as the most important outcome, compared to 4% of the males. Male subjects were far more likely than their female counterparts to choose a variety of outcomes classified under the miscellaneous heading; 11% of the males did so, but only 2% of the females did. Gender was, therefore, a factor in determining the selection of the importance of high school educational outcomes.

Responses as to the most important outcome of their high school experiences also depended, to some degree, on whether subjects had graduated from a public or a parochial school. These comparisons reveal several differences. Parochial school graduates were considerably more likely than public school graduates to select *affective development* as the most important outcome of their high school studies. Public school graduates, on the other hand, were more likely to select *career development* and *general education*. The most notable difference was found with respect to religion and philosophy of life. Fourteenpercent of the parochial school graduates indicated this to be the most important outcome of their high school experience, but only 4% of the public school graduates did so. This difference was somewhat predictable in view of the fact that religion was a required course in the parochial schools. This requirement may also help to account for the phenomenon that fewer parochial than public school graduates gave a don't know/none response. Apparently, the reason for attending a parochial school is emphasized for its students. Somewhat surprising is the fact that 4% of the public school graduates chose communication skills, while only 1% of the parochial graduates did so, and that 3% of the public school graduates regarded music/art skills and appreciation as the most important outcome of their high school work, compared with 1% of the parochial school respondents.

As we reflect on our data for each decade, can we detect patterns in the graduates' statements which are indicative of the impact of national educational movements? For example, can we see evidence that the graduates of 1963 valued mathematics and science more because of the tremendous reaction to *Sputnik*? No. However, we did see some evidence that 1963 graduates valued career development more than graduates of other decades. Could that result be attributed to the National Defense Education Act of 1957, which stressed vocational and career development? Perhaps.

A higher percentage of graduates from the 1983 sample listed affective development outcomes than did graduates of other decades. Can that be attributed to the work of the "compassionate critics," as they urged schools to emphasize the attitudes and feelings of students? We could not discern a definite pattern from our data, and we sense a much larger national study would need to be accomplished to demonstrate changes such as these.

Educators, political leaders, scholarly organizations, and critics all have a remarkable capacity for overlooking the obvious fact that each high school student is an individual with his or her own peculiar educational outcomes in mind. Whether curricula can or should be devised that will lead all students to devote themselves assiduously to the pursuit of common outcomes prescribed by some self-selected segment of society is a question that has both practical and ethical implications. Those implications suggest the need for a broad based public discussion and further research.

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The General Education Board's Influence on Southern Education from 1905 to 1925

Louise E. Fleming
Ashland University

During the Progressive Era in the United States, a group of successful clergymen, businessmen, and educators were selected to administer John D. Rockefeller's foundation, the General Education Board (GEB). Formed to fund Southern educational projects, it was a branch of the Conference for Education in the South and partner with the Southern Education Board.[1]

These foundations confronted the many problems in Southern education, including illiteracy and public schools that were poorly funded. The Conference attempted to stimulate Southern public education by such methods as increasing taxation, lengthening school terms, consolidating smaller schools into larger ones, educating teachers, establishing high schools, and promoting industrial and agricultural education. The latter was a deliberate attempt to boost the economy of the South (and thus increase tax revenue for schools). One way to assure efficiency in production was to educate children to take on industrial and agricultural roles. This technique was efficiency itself: in business efficiency meant specialization, and in education efficiency meant education for particular jobs.

The General Education Board set about to hire people to further its cause and to see what it could do about Southern schools. This study begins by looking at the direction of GEB activity; it explores some of its members' publications and its beliefs about education; it continues by discussing specific programs that the GEB funded; finally it discusses the effects of the GEB programs. All areas featured a network of experts, who could be trusted to see that the purposes of the Board were carried out. None of the evidence indicates a formal plan to "keep people in their places," but rather it indicates experts trying to improve Southern education.

In a 1914 confidential report to the Board, Wallace Buttrick, Executive Secretary of the GEB, Abraham Flexner, Assistant Secretary, and Jerome Greene, member, summarized current programs and recommended new directions. They described their current programs as extensive and intensive. Extensive programs included Professors of Secondary Education and Rural School Supervisors, whose purpose was to begin educational programs. Intensive programs included experiments in the ideal rural school, in order to make education more responsive to needs.[2]

They also recommended state surveys. For these the GEB would send a group of experts to study education within a state and make appropriate recommendations. They then planned for the states to emulate one another. The GEB would partially fund the first state, but other states would be expected to pay their own costs. The committee also advised setting up model county districts to publicize the ideal rural school and to encourage other counties to follow their example. The committee also called for publishing monographs on educational topics and contributing to certain teacher education institutions.[3]

One way in which the General education Board saw their ideas implemented was sponsoring conferences. They distributed their recommendations prior to the conferences, and then the agents who attended the conferences wrote conference reports which parroted the GEB's recommendations. Many recommendations centered on promoting industrial and agricultural education and making curriculum more appropriate for the children with whom they worked. Some recommendations were as follows: making sure that each principal was trained in agriculture and that each school had at least one teacher trained in domestic science; simplifying the curriculum by eliminating minor facts and secondary matters; and supplying more active libraries, laboratories, domestic science and farm mechanics, school gardens, demonstration plots, home building, farm life, and rural economy. Programs already in existence such as farm mechanics, cooking and sewing, woodworking, practical agriculture, and industrial work were praised, while questions such as "What Forms of Industrial Work Can Be Profitably Introduced into Country Schools?" were discussed.[4]

Not only did the GEB predetermine topics and conference results, but the members attempted to insure that only their people would attend their conferences. In one situation, rural school supervisors planned to attend the annual meeting of the Conference for Education in the South. Upon learning of their decision to attend this conference, the GEB gave them permission to attend but informed them that the GEB would not provide the funds to do so. One rural school stated that the GEB officers were not inclined to favor outside participation in the planned meeting. As a result, the rural school agents did not attend the conference.[5]

Several GEB members participated in what the GEB called occasional papers. Occasional papers were published and distributed in large numbers. Abraham Flexner often sent these out to selected GEB and non-GEB members for critique. Occasional Paper Number One was *The Country School of Tomorrow,* by Frederick Gates, president of the board from 1907 to 1917. Gates blasted educational traditions; he believed schools should not teach students to be philosophers, men of science, lawyers, doctors, or politicians but should meet the lowly needs of rural life. To this end, he supported teaching every industry in the district, such as would be found in kitchen, barn, dairy, and shop. According to Gates, students should learn health, how to make clothing, how to cook, and what and how to eat, and they should learn in model kitchens and model homes. Further, he addressed the importance of scientific farming. He envisioned a community of young workers producing in agriculture, sewing, the kitchen, the dairy, the orchard, and the lawn. He scoffed at the three R's, suggesting that they be taught only within the realm of the child's experience.

Charles Eliot, former president of Harvard and member of the GEB upon his retirement, responded to Gates' paper. Agreeing with Gates' position, he told about a surgeon who had praised the value of classical languages for their ability to train the mind. Eliot wrote that the GEB's charge was to overcome this blind acceptance of tradition and instead produce men educated in modern ways. Flexner's return letter agreed with Eliot.

Charles Eliot wrote Occasional Paper Number Two, *Changes Needed in Secondary Education,* in which he supported the need for practical courses, concrete experiences, and elimination of memory work. In another context he complained about the memory studies. Instead he wished to see manual and observation skills developed. The GEB issued a press release approving Eliot's paper, reiterating that the best knowledge came from observation of the senses. They recommended for poor children more hand, ear, and eye work, such as drawing, carpentry, music, sewing, cooking, and the sciences of observation (chemistry, physics, biology, and geology). For country schools they added agriculture and work in a school garden.[6]

Occasional Paper Number Three, *A Modern School* by Abraham Flexner, also dealt with subject matter in schools. He supported the need for the rudiments of education but not for courses whose purpose it is to train the mind. Rather, he maintained that a "man educated in the modern sense . . . will be contentedly ignorant of things for learning which no better reason than tradition can be assigned." He preferred studies that served real purposes, which he divided into four fields: science, industry (including manual skills and industrial work), aesthetics, and civics. Although he recommended algebra and geometry for those who would later attend college, for those who would not need it, he recommended industry.

In addition to Occasional Papers, Flexner wrote some articles that appeared in a popular magazine. In one article he stated that mental discipline did not carry over to other subjects, except in particular categories. Virgil is just as valid as learning to bake a pumpkin pie, he declared: either task should only be performed for enjoyment or for a purpose. According to the article, if a student were not planning to attend college, he or she should not study Latin. He further maintained that only students who would need a command of formal grammar and arithmetic in their future jobs should study those subjects. Another article expressed his opinion that schools should replace Latin, math, ancient history, and bookish science and offer, instead, vocational and purposeful subjects.[7]

These publications exemplify members' belief in efficiency. These members supported a simplified curriculum for rural or poor children, children not bound for college (or the professions). And what did they propose to do instead? Not to cram their minds with facts; not to challenge their thinking skills; but to prepare them for the life they would ultimately face. In the minds of the Board, one could not become too efficient. They were the experts, and their decisions were far superior to those of school personnel, parents, or students. Even the critics who responded to the occasional papers were disregarded unless they agreed with the Board's position.

The GEB sponsored three major programs. These were professors of secondary education, rural school supervisors, and surveys. The former began in 1905 and involved employing and paying travel expenses for an education professor from a state university to act as a field representative for the GEB. The professor's primary job was to establish high schools, including organizing the task, gaining public support, advising local leadership, and earning accreditation. In most cases establishing a high school meant adding two or three rooms, two or three grades, and two or three teachers to an elementary school.[8]

The first professor selected was from Virginia. Eventually professors from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, and West Virginia were added. GEB members judged this program so successful that it was no longer needed, and they discontinued it in 1925. The board assured the professors that it would not dictate to them. The professors then wrote detailed reports to the board, describing conditions which they found and hardships which they faced.[9]

The reports by the professors indicated that most existing schools offered highly academic programs, with such courses as agriculture, manual training, domestic science, school garden work, and bookkeeping, offered as electives. The professors praised these academic but diverse programs that they had found. However, as time progressed, the professors began to express urgency for vocational education, particularly agricultural and domestic.

The General Education Board records at the Rockefeller Archive Center contain the reports of a Professor of Secondary Education, Joseph S. Stewart of Georgia, which exemplify this change. He recommended a highly academic program in his reports until 1906. Following a visit to a private industrial school, he changed his views. In a later report in the same archives, he told of the work he had observed in the home, dairy, garden, barns, and woodworking shop. He then supported legislation to raise taxes to support schools and to build an agricultural high school for every congressional district. Stewart had been asked to help plan the curriculum for these schools: English, math, history, science plus agriculture, shop work, laboratories, and farm plots. Buttrick advised him to oversee these schools, to get the best men to run them, and to write him monthly reports.

Other examples from the archives show that another professor of secondary education, Charles G. Maphis of Virginia, wrote to a superintendent in 1912, accusing him of overly emphasizing academics and thus causing students to lose interest in school and to drop out. He then recommended parallel courses of study, equally emphasized: classical, business, agricultural, domestic arts, and so forth. He stated, "Your schedule administers practically the same diet to all alike, though their tasks may be different and their needs may vary." He urged the superintendent to require less homework, to strengthen the commercial courses, and to add manual training, domestic science, and homemaking.

As Gates, Flexner, and Eliot had rejected the idea that certain subjects were more worthwhile than others and wanted the curriculum to reflect what was needed for future occupations, these professors continued to promote the idea of efficiency. The Rockefeller Archives Center has examples in reports from L. L. Friend of West Virginia written in 1912. He complained that agriculture was not offered in his state as widely as it should be. Although few schools in his state offered domestic science and manual training, he stated that where they were offered, instruction was in closer contact with life. He also recommended practical application of chemistry, hygiene, geometry, and drawing. Furthermore, he reported that several high schools were offering commercial courses and practical English. Other professors reported similar results in vocational expansion. Some oversaw the building of agricultural high schools or the addition of industrial and household arts in more schools. They referred to any vocational additions as progress.

The GEB also promoted the efficiency of high schools. For example, Buttrick urged Stewart to oversee the new and much more efficient agricultural high schools. Maphis clearly maintained an air of superiority in remonstrating with his superintendent and recommending a more efficient curriculum. Friend and others were instrumental in seeing that high schools became more efficient, adding agriculture for future farmers, industry for future workers, and household arts for future wives and mothers.

A similar program, specifically for rural schools, took the place of the Peabody Fund when it dissolved in 1914. This program was called Rural School Supervisors. The agents were employed by the State Superintendent's office, and the GEB paid their salaries. Their purpose was to assist in consolidating small schools, facilitating local taxation, appointing local superintendents, improving facilities, and encouraging domestic science, student agricultural clubs, and demonstration work. Eventually twelve states participated in this program, and although most of them were Southern states, a few highly rural states from the rest of the country also participated.

Many of the rural school supervisors expressed the belief that it was the duty of public educators to assure the future of agriculture and domestic science. For example, in the records of the General Education Board are reports of school administrators officiating at fairs where children's agricultural and domestic products were displayed. The reports contain descriptions of county fairs that had competitions in physics, writing, maps, drawing, spelling, music, culinary arts, needle work, manual training, farm and garden work, and club work. From these records, it seems that, at one time or another, all the supervisors reported progress in expansion of agriculture, gardening, home economics and domestic science, and manual training.

Other progress involved a gift of $7,000 for a domestic science department in Charleston, South Carolina. The rural school supervisor from South Carolina later wrote Frederick Gates of the GEB, complimenting him on his Occasional Paper on rural schools. He cited some examples of domestic science and agriculture in schools of South Carolina, including one school in which the teachers taught on farms and in homes of the community. Furthermore, to dispense with "boring" curricula, this supervisor established a school in an old farmhouse, with a workshop for boys and a kitchen for girls. He did not teach academics but had the students grow vegetables and make wooden articles. Students learned from measuring gardens, dividing profits, and reading recipes and books about birds.[10] GEB responded to him by asking him to participate in studying "interesting and significant experiments" in rural education.[11] These rural school supervisors also acted as experts on education. Although they made great strides in education, by educating students for rural life only, they also limited their future choices.

A third program that the GEB sponsored was school surveys. Although they began at a state level in order to encourage emulation of good practices, they also spread to other locations. The first one took place in Maryland in 1915, at the state's request. Three-fourths of the cost was met by the GEB. "Shake-up Expected" read the headline that preceded the final report. The report reorganized the state system of education and was subsequently used as a teacher training textbook. Following the publication of the report, the recommendations, including vocational education for industrial areas of the state and agriculture for rural areas of the state, were enacted by the Maryland legislature. In 1918 the Delaware legislature invited the GEB to survey Delaware public schools and to revise state education laws. The recommendations, including increased funding for education, were accepted into law in 1919. North Carolina followed. However, the GEB found public resistance to its recommendations because they were associated with the GEB. Finally, although three other states had requested them, the GEB withdrew from conducting surveys; instead it assisted state legislatures in doing them. By removing its support, it hoped to influence more greatly educational policy-making.[12]

The GEB also surveyed the famous schools of Gary, Indiana. Gary schools had been founded as an attempt to redefine education, including in the schools' role social services, recreation, adult education, and manual training. These schools traditionally prepared children to work in the mills of Gary. Believing that children had different abilities, interests, and employment opportunities that must be recognized, they also offered vocational courses. Boys regularly took courses in shop work, carpentry, electrical work, plumbing, and painting, while girls participated in domestic science, restaurant work, and secretarial skills.[13] The survey was conducted in 1916, and reports came out in 1918. The GEB did not find that the program was deficient. Several clippings in the General Education Board records indicate that the administrators did not perform adequately. However, the evaluators praised the genuine life activities.

Another survey in 1919 took place in Tarrytown, North Tarrytown, and adjoining districts in New York. The GEB found that Tarrytown High School met college entrance requirements but did not "neglect the needs of students who desire to pursue the commercial course or to work in the area of industrial and household arts." It commended North Tarrytown Junior High for adding a vocational course, manual training, and cooking, as well as for making regular courses more practical. It recommended that both the junior high and the high school broaden opportunities in commercial work, household arts, and in industrial arts.[14]

An inheritance of $1,650,000, left for educating the poor in Winchester, Virginia, prompted a request to the GEB for a survey. A news clipping of 1920, published by the Winchester Chamber of Commerce, explained the outcome of the GEB's study. They planned an athletic stadium, auditorium, art-history museum, dispensary and center of hygiene instruction, swimming pool, gymnasium and shower baths, domestic science and home economics laboratories, cafeteria lunch facilities, an open air classroom for anemic or convalescent children, vocational and pre-vocational shops for agriculture and industry, a library-study room, and an agricultural laboratory and experimental orchard.[15]

A GEB survey in Indiana, 1921-1922, recommended agriculture for all boys and home economics for all girls, as part of their regular education program. In fact, a newspaper report stated that the study favored vocational education "beyond all other forms of education." The GEB then attempted to convince the public of the efficiency of county administration by setting up a model county demonstration in Indiana.[16]

Certainly the surveys demonstrate how powerful the GEB had grown and how well-respected the experts were. That they were requested to perform the surveys and that their recommendations were enacted by the state legislatures would indicate public adulation of the expert. In these cases, as in many others during the Progressive Era, the idea of efficiency held sway, and school districts, counties, and states began rearranging their structure in order to address efficiency more adequately.

After examining the experts' methods, beliefs, and programs, the final topic that must be considered is the effect of the experts' actions upon school children. How efficient did the students and their parents want school to be? State high school inspector, B.L. Parkinson, reported in 1920-21 that 33% of South Carolina's white secondary pupils were in vocational courses. These courses took up 11.2% of the total teaching time in the state. Conversely, 67% of the white students were in such academics as modern languages, math, natural science, history, Latin, and English. This took up 88% of the teaching time.[17]

By the 1916-1917 school year only commercial courses had a sizable enrollment increase.[18] Academics still held the largest enrollments. It would seem that parents and students regarded academics as a better route to future advancement than narrow job preparation. Viewed from the enrollment statistics alone, the experts' success in promoting efficiency was marginal.

Another concern to this study is why the GEB spent millions of dollars to fund these vocational programs. Abraham Flexner wrote that foundations did not act from self-interest.[19] It is important to keep the GEB's activities during 1905 to 1925 in the context of the Progressive Era. Changes were occurring on many fronts. Efficiency was being sought in many arenas, one being education.

Experts often believed in a special calling to shape a better society. Such is the case with GEB actions in Southern schools. Allan Nevins, well-known biographer of John D. Rockefeller, stated that Rockefeller built an "efficient industrial empire for what seemed to him the good not only of its heads but of the general public." Rockefeller and the first president of the GEB, Frederick Gates, believed that wealth was a God-given trust that should be stewarded by helping others.[20]

It is true that the GEB put a great deal of emphasis on the efficiency of vocational education. It is also true that such an education may have limited children in seeking later options. However, one can also credit the Board for increasing numbers of schools, better funding and facilities, bus service, and teacher education, to name a few accomplishments. The experts took charge and did what they thought would best equip their clientele for their lives.

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A Black High School Student's Experience of Desegregation in Birmingham, Alabama

Anna Victoria Wilson
The University of Texas at Austin

On September 4, 1963, a 15 year old student walked up the steps of Ramsay High School in Birmingham, Alabama, accompanied by several attorneys for the NAACP and the SCLC and Federal Marshals. Richard Walker became the first Black student to desegregate Ramsay High School. State Troopers policed the building for the next two years. However, they supported the white protesters. Federal Marshals escorted Walker to and from Ramsay High School while he remained a student there.[1]

In 1963, major structural changes were occurring in Birmingham, Alabama as responses to the values of both the Black society and the white society. Richard Walker's schooling experiences help define the nature of the times through which he lived. Of equal importance to an account of his story are the perspectives of other participants in the desegregation of Ramsay High School.

This story focuses on ordinary people in their local setting who lived through some extraordinary events. Differences in viewpoints about the particular events continue to exist. Those multiple viewpoints offer both focus and dimensionality to this historical narrative.

In addition to Richard Walker, other participants in the desegregation narrative of Ramsay High School includes Odessa Woolfolk, Connie Pegues, and Tina Childs. Ms. Woolfolk, a Black woman, was born and reared in Birmingham, Alabama, and currently serves as president of the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute. During 1962-63, she taught U. S. Government at Ullman High School and knew Richard Walker prior to his attendance and enrollment at Ramsay High School.[2] Mrs. Childs , a white woman and now retired, was a counselor and Assistant Principal at Ramsay High School during its desegregation years.[3] Mrs. Pegues, a Black woman, taught English at Ullman High School, a Birmingham high school for Blacks students. Richard Walker was a student in her classes at Ullman before he decided to enroll at Ramsay. After Walker's graduation, she was one of the first Black teachers to be transferred to Ramsay High School.[4] Each recalls the events of 1963 differently from each other and from Richard Walker. This diversity enhances the thickness of Richard's remembrance of the particulars of the summer and fall (1963) in Birmingham, Alabama.[5]

During the 1960s, Birmingham's Blacks experienced a rigidly segregated society based on race, black and white. Although most of the city's Black citizens were poor, a minority constituted a small middle-class community, and a solid working-class community existed. Black families attempted to protect their children from thinking of themselves as being victimized. The adults talked among themselves about the evils of segregation, but seldom with their children. Black children were aware, through the NAACP youth groups, church groups and other organizations, that Birmingham's segregated society applied an unfair and, even, un-American set of restrictions to their lives. In other communities, Blacks knew, they could shop and try on clothes, use public water fountains, ride buses, and have access to various parts of those communities. They could no do such things in Birmingham.

When Richard Walker was eight years old, he recognized separate black and white societies. As his grandmother took him shopping, she told him about things he could do and places to which he could not go. Walker remembered his experiences,

> I could read and I would see the water fountains labeled *white* and *colored*. I would intentionally go over and drink out of the *white* fountain. My grandmother would get really upset and tell me the police would arrest me if I continued to do that.

As a young child, Walker was well aware of the differences between whites and blacks. Very early, he began to test the system.

> The police would threaten me all the time 'Boy, if you drink out of that fountain again I'm going to arrest you.' But they never arrested me.

A recurring theme of Walker's reflection about growing up in Birmingham referred to his friends' being beaten or shot.

He did not want those events to happen to him. Early in his childhood, Walker decided to fight segregation in ways that were available to him.

> Maybe some of the things I did weren't the smartest things to do, but I had some bravado attached to being young. I knew one-on-one, these people were basically cowards. They did not want to face you. But in a group, when they had the upper hand and they had a gun pointed at you, they were brave. Anyone can be a big man then. I tried to stay out of situations where they [the police or other whites] could accuse me of stealing or robbery - I didn't want to be in that situation. For example, one night I was stopped and this guy had a business card which he pretended to drop. I think he wanted me to run but I just stood there because I knew he would shoot me in the back. There was no sense in testing that type of situation.

Later, as a teenager, when he attended Ramsay High School, Walker remembered walking home with a friend when a police officer stopped them.

> The officer wanted to know what we were doing. He wanted to know where I went to school and when he found out I went to Ramsay, he wanted to know if I had ever been in jail and I said 'no.' He said 'This is the night to bust your cherry--don't you think we should?' and I said 'no.' I was in the back seat of his car. He drove to this dark place [like an alley] continuing to threaten me. He wanted me to say 'no, sir,' and I wouldn't do it. The police in Birmingham did that all the time. I grew up knowing this type of behavior would happen.

During the Fall term [October, 1962] of Richard Walker's sophomore year at Ullman High School, U. S. District Chief Judge Seybourn H. Lynne heard final arguments about ending segregation in the schools of Birmingham, Alabama. Judge Lynne originally had been scheduled to hear a two-year-old segregation suit filed by James Armstrong, Sr., on behalf of his children Floyd, Dwight, Denise and James Armstrong, Jr., by Fred Shuttlesworth on behalf of Ruby Fredricka Shuttlesworth and F. L. Shuttlesworth, Jr., and by Vann English for his daughter Carolyn. Four months earlier, on June 17, 1962, a second lawsuit was filed by T. M. Nelson on behalf of his two children. Both lawsuits, filed as class actions on behalf of all Negroes, demanded desegregation of Birmingham schools and cessation of assigning teachers and other personnel to schools on the basis of race. "Arguments to Start on School Mix Here," *Birmingham Post-Herald*, 3 October, 1963.[6]

For Blacks in Birmingham, 1963 was the culmination of their struggle which began, for many, in the 1950s. The state of Alabama outlawed the National Association for the Advancement Colored People (NAACP) in 1956. To pick up the work of the NAACP, the Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth formed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). This group invited Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., to come to Birmingham to focus on desegregation of the schools. Dr. King brought a staff, visibility, and was a hero with a mission so the national news started targeting what was going on in Birmingham. He offered credibility to the desegregation movement in Birmingham.

Soon after King's arrival in Birmingham, Judge Lynne refused to order the Birmingham School Board to desegregate the all-white schools. He found that the plaintiffs had not exhausted the administrative remedy provided by the Alabama Placement Law. The NAACP and the SCLC recognized that Negro schools received less money, less support, less of everything during that period of time. Additionally, white students were given a wider array of courses from which to choose, and had better equipped laboratories than did Negro students. In response to the 1954 U. S. Supreme Court decision, the Birmingham Board of Education constructed three additional Black high schools, but none of these schools were equal to those attended by whites.

The NAACP and the SCLC organized marches to focus the attention of Birmingham, as well as the nation and the world, on the evils of segregation in Birmingham, Alabama. The organization recruited Black students were recruited from the local schools to participate in the marches. Despite increased pressure from the local Negro community, the Birmingham Board of Education held fast to its rules suspended or expelled these Negro student demonstrators. Subsequently, the Birmingham Board of Education expelled or suspended the 1,081 Negro pupils who were arrested for marching in support of desegregation. Fifth Circuit Court Judge Tuttle issued an injunction which ordered the Birmingham School Board to reinstate the students and prohibited Board's use of jail time to justify the permanent exclusion of the students from school.

During several of the marches in which the students participated in, Chief "Bull" Connor ordered the police force to use tanks, fire hoses, clubs, and dogs against the marchers. Black marchers, including the students, were peaceful; they never hurled stones at police. They only tried to escape the brutality of the police.[7] Woolfolk remembered that

> when Bull Connor unleashed his dogs and fire hoses on the marchers, it made headlines around the world and finally caused the business leaders to say something. Even the Birmingham newspapers editorialized against the brutality. Certainly nobody in his right mind would condone the bombing of a church.

Depending on one's perspective, the conflicts in Birmingham during the summer and fall of 1963 were called either riots or demonstrations. Ms. Woolfolk and Richard Walker, for example, both believed that riots took place in the urban cities of the North, but that the demonstrations in Birmingham were provoked by police brutality. Thus, they differentiated between riots and demonstrations. In contrast, Mrs. Childs believed the press exaggerated the actual events which she called 'riots.' She believed that,

> the water hoses were taken out of context for the newspaper. I never knew what was going on. I hadn't seen anything. The papers played up the riots. Both local and outside papers.

Mrs. Pegues also was disturbed by the civil disobedience. She had been taught to not cause trouble and things would go well. The marches and demonstrations really troubled her. Mrs. Pegues also believed that desegregation would happen naturally. She did not believe the marches were necessary. When her students left her classes to march, she encouraged them to be careful.

> The day students left to go march, I prayed they wouldn't get into trouble. I told them to be careful and not get into trouble.

Although many of Walker's friends participated in the marches, he did not think his temperament was suited to peaceful demonstrations, even though Martin Luther King was one of his heros.

> Nonviolent protest, especially when violence was being perpetrated against us, was not part of my makeup. I felt if I was going to do something, I could do it through education so that's why I agreed to integrate Ramsay. My integrating Ramsay was my way of contributing to the Civil Rights Movement.

About 85 Birmingham area residents, met on July 11, 1963, to discuss plans to keep Jefferson County schools open and to maintain the peace if desegregation were ordered. Each of these individuals was aware of the intense national focus on Birmingham as a city of violence. They were united in their desire to keep open the public schools and to keep the peace in expectation of a forthcoming court order for desegregation.[8]

The day that the group of citizens met, the Fifth U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals gave the Birmingham Board of Education until August 19th [38 days from that date] to submit a school desegregation plan effective at the beginning of the Fall school term. If the Birmingham School Board failed to submit a plan by August 19th, a Federal judge likely would impose a plan. However the judges pointed out that they expected desegregation to be accomplished through application of the Alabama School Placement Law.[9]

The Appeals Court order noted that the litigation had been pending for more than three years. Therefore, at the very minimum, the Board must make a good faith start toward the acommodation of the plaintiffs and the members of the class represented by them .

Because Judge Lynne refused to desegregate the schools, the NAACP and the SCLC contacted Richard Walker's parents and asked them if he would participate in the desegregation of Ramsay High School. Walker does not remember how the NAACP and the SCLC decided which students to contact.

> The NAACP and the SCLC originally contacted me to go to Ramsay in May, 1963. I was a little anxious about it, but, at age 15, I was almost fearless of many things. There was some excitement about the integration plan, but I knew it had to be done and would be done. I focused on what would happen when I actually attended Ramsay High School. I would be the only Black person at that school and I wondered how that would be. I would have no friends there, but I'm a very innovative person. I thought about how would I fare as far as the other students were concerned.

Richard's willingness to participate in the desegregation process was also influenced by his decision to earn a medical degree.

> I knew I would go to a predominately white school. I wanted to see how I would fare as far as other white students were concerned. I was always interested in medicine and I wanted to get a good science foundation. I had heard that the labs at Ramsay were superior to the labs at Ullman High School [the Negro school] including equipment and instruction. I knew it was a college preparatory school. You could take college level courses earning credit for them. But the main reason for my volunteering to integrate Ramsay was the competition with white students. I wanted to see how well I would do in an all white school.

Ms. Woolfolk, who knew Richard as a student at Ullman High School, described him as a quiet child.

> He was mannerable, quiet, studious, unflappable, likeable. He had a little group he ran around with. He always completed his homework--he grew up in public housing. We knew Richard was going to succeed in what ever he did because he had that internal strength. Kids liked him, but he was not a football hero. He was just a good, solid, hardworking student. One of the reasons Richard was chosen [to desegregate Ramsay] was because of these traits. You needed someone who would go into a hostile environment and not cave in. Richard had enough internal fortitude that he could take the slurs which he was surely to get and which he did get and still do his work. He would succeed academically no matter who was around him, what being said about him or if he was being ignored which actually happened most of the time. Those were the traits that it took to go into combat because that's what it really was and it took a special kind of Black student to go in Birmingham, Alabama, to a white high school such as Ramsay. It took a person who felt very good about himself and wasn't scared. That was the kind of person Richard was.

Mrs. Childs also described Richard as a very quiet, shy individual. However, her description differs from Walker's and Woolfolk's perception of him.

> We [the faculty] never did understand why Richard wanted to let himself be put through this. "He was very polite. He was a real fine young man and was scared to death the whole time he was there. We didn't blame him, because we never know when it was going to explode. Things were very calm as I remember them. Now he [Richard] may remember them differently. Mrs. Childs described Richard as an asset to Ramsay. Ramsay's faculty incorrectly believed that Walker was being paid by the NAACP to attend Ramsay. Otherwise, the reasoning went; no one would volunteer to put him/herself in such danger.

Federal Judge Clarence Allgood, on August 19, 1963, approved the Birmingham School Board's plan to admit Negroes to Birmingham's white schools September 4th. Birmingham would be the first public school desegregation in Alabama. The Board's plan proposed that only the 12th grade accept Negroes that autumn, although it left open the door for other classes to desegregate. Under the Alabama Pupil Placement Act, several Negroes applied for transfers to white schools. Although the school board's plan did not disclose the actual numbers, a limited number of grades, one or more, would accept Negroes for the 1964-65 term.[10]

Four hours before they were to be desegregated, Governor George C. Wallace announced that the Birmingham Board of Education agreed immediately to temporarily close the three schools. He noted that the Board also agreed to take legal action to attempt to stay the federal court order to integrate the three schools. The action was tied to an argument that integration would mean further racial violence.[11]

Five Negro students planned to integrate three white schools on Thursday September 6, 1963. Two Negro brothers were to register and to attend Graymont High School which had an anticipated enrollment of 325; two Negro girls were to register and to attend West End High School which had an anticipated enrollment of 1,498. One Negro boy, Richard Walker, was scheduled to register and to attend Ramsay High School which had an anticipated enrollment of 900.

After obtaining a second court ordered injunction, Ramsay High School officials agreed to enroll Walker as a student. He remembers very vividly his first weeks there and how the State Troopers were not there to protect him but, if possible, prevent his attendance.

> Especially in the beginning of integration at Ramsay, there would be lots of civilian crowds at the school. You would never know what the crowds would do. They would yell and vilify me as I entered school. On at least two occasions, they caught people trying to bomb the house where I lived. We had people in the neighborhood who actually stood guard for at least a couple of years to keep the bombers away. You have to understand the white people were ruthless. They did not want integration.

Mrs. Childs, who was the Assistant Principal at Ramsay, believed that Governor Wallace exacerbated the problems facing Ramsay High School. Unlike Walker, however, Mrs. Childs believed that the State Troopers were present to prevent riots and to protect Richard Walker.

> At Ramsay, we had only one walkout by the white students [protesting desegregation]. As they started down the steps and I told them to think twice before they followed through. We never had a lot of the problems associated with the other schools. Many parents came to school complaining [about integration]. Some parents withdrew their children who did not want the school to be integrated. We didn't have many but there were some.

Each morning Richard came to school, his 'cheering squad' waited for him at the front door. They said racial slurs and derogatory comments to him for the entire first year he attended Ramsay High School. The racial attacks, he recalled, did slow down after the first few months.

> But after John F. Kennedy was assassinated, they would say I was next and that sort of thing. They never changed the whole time I was there [two years]. Those students who were friendly to me were either kicked out of school or reprimanded in some way. I did not want that to happen but I had no control over it. I only stayed at school from 8:15 until 2:00, we had no recess per se. I always left school [Ramsay] early because the Federal Marshals would come and pick me up. I remember on one occasion, the Federal Marshals were not there but the State Police were outside surrounding the school. I went over and talked to one of them and he said, very sarcastically, 'I figured you'd come out here.' He was as bad as the students. I went back into the school and called on the telephone to find out where my ride was. That was true the whole time I attended Ramsay High School. I always had body guards (Federal Marshals) who escorted me to and from Ramsay High School.

Richard Walker always sat in the same seat in each class, at the same table in the cafeteria, and always ate lunch alone. At one point during the two years he was at Ramsay, some white students came to his table and sat down and tried to talk to him. Subsequently, he learned that they had been suspended from school for talking with him. Mrs. Childs remembered that the white students accepted Richard but that he had a difficult time with them. She recalled that he did not socialize with white students, but segregated himself.

> He did not push himself on the other white students. They were nice to him. He would go to the lunch room and he would go to a table and sit by himself. He would not join a group. If they wanted to join him, that was fine.

Richard described very eloquently the assignment of seating in the classes at Ramsay High.

> Once I sat in a seat in the class, that was my assigned seat throughout the semester. No one else would sit in that seat. What ever reason they gave is not the question. The seats were assigned by my sitting in the seat or by eating at the table in the cafeteria. I guess that was how the seats were assigned. Generally there was a space around me, seats on all sides of me would be empty. Sometimes the way the class was arranged, white students would have to sit beside me. If there was no way for the white student to avoid sitting in a seat near me, the student just wouldn't come to class. Most of the time, the teachers would sanction these students but that was all. It was easier to blame me than hold them responsible. Some of them were just bad students and they were disruptive in class. Many of these students lived in the area and, as I told you before, I told them I would see them at Five Points and I would--they understood that. As long as they were in their little gangs that would scare me. I would go to the bathroom and about

> 10 of them would come in and stand around. I wasn't worried about them trying to do anything. That's what they would try to do, try to intimidate me. When I first attended Ramsay, white students would do unexpected things, like come up behind me as I am walking down the hall and knock my books out of my hands. When I got used to what they would do, I was prepared for that. Basically I think they were cowards because, without the group, they were totally different people. In fact many would say 'It wasn't me -- it was somebody else.' I kind of got used to the constant harassment.

From Mrs. Child's perspective, Walker was afraid of the white students.

> He wasn't treated differently although he asked to not use the boys' restroom . He asked to go down stairs and use that one and he was allowed to do that. He was afraid, so it was a safe place for him. He did not push himself on anyone else. I don't remember having to discipline any other [white] students because of Richard. I have not followed him after his graduation. I don't know anything else about him, except he is a doctor here in Birmingham.

Years after the fact, Walker remembered some positive memories of his teachers at Ramsay High School. He thought that some of the teachers learned that he was a different kind of person and they befriended him.

> In fact, most of the teachers were very respectful of me and appreciated my being there. Although some did not. There was not a lot of violence. Some of the students that I came in contact with were hostile, but we had this understanding that I would see them up at 5 Point South and they knew what that meant. I didn't have much trouble overtly with people, but people did things behind my back.

Ms. Woolfolk supports Richard's description of himself with teachers. She recalled:

> He was able to get along with teachers very well. Teachers liked and respected him. He was hardworking and smart. There was a small group of smart kids of which Richard was a part who all worked together. Richard would go to school at Ramsay and would get out early, for his safety, and he would come to Ullman where his buddies were and they would ask what it was like to be at Ramsay. We all learned from Richard that those kids [white] were just like other kids [Black]. Black kids didn't know what white kids were like, such as some were just plain dumb, others were disrespectful to teachers. Richard was an outstanding human being and very strong.

Walker gave school authorities no problems or concerns, as Mrs. Childs remembered. She described seeing him in the school office with an attorney from the NAACP [with the court order to enroll him].

> He looked like a cowed little black boy. Scared to death -- I'd have been, too. We operated under a fear that something would happen. There was always a chance that something would erupt and cause problems.

Each person's description of Birmingham's desegregation process in the summer and fall of 1963 emerges from their particular point of view. These individual viewpoints add to the 'thickness' of how one young Black man traveled alone through the halls of an all-white school during the turbulent times of the civil right's movement. He and the teachers were ordinary people who participated in extraordinary times.

The overarching story of the civil right's movement includes episodes that feature Martin Luther King, Jr., Fred Shuttlesworth, Andrew Young, the NAACP, the SCLC, "Bull" Connor, dogs, water cannon, bombings, and marches. This story was captured in film, photographs, and print. Without the overarching story of the civil right's movement, Richard Walker's story might never have occurred. In the same way, without the Richard Walkers, the Odessa Woolfolks, the Connie Peguess, and the Tina Childs, the civil right's story might never have occurred.

The varied and disparate voices in this narrative permit a glimpse of the multiplicity of interpretations of events which forever changed the lives of the participant, the city of Birmingham, and of the nation. Through this story, the participants' voice their personal experiences of the time. An understanding of the story elevates the commitment and courage of a young Black man willing to risk his life for the right to an education denied him and others solely on the basis of their skin color. For this contribution, Richard Walker's experiences must be acknowledged and not forgotten.

Endnotes

1. Richard Walker, Interview. Birmingham, Alabama, 25 November, 1994.
2. Odessa Woolfolk interview November 25, 1994, Birmingham, Alabama.
3. Tina Childs. Interview November 24, 1994.
4. Connie Pegues, Interview November 25, 1994, Birmingham, Alabama.
5. C. Geertz, 'Thick Description: Toward an interpretive Theory of Culture,' in Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, pp. 3-31.
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An Experiment in Curriculum Reform in Arkansas

Judy D. Butler
The University of Texas at Austin

In 1982, Bill Clinton, Governor of Arkansas, proposed educational reform as the key to solving Arkansas' problems. Shortly thereafter, he appointed his wife, Hillary Clinton, to chair what came to be known as the Arkansas Education Standards Committee. The result of the committee's work was the *Education Reform Act*, passed in the fall of 1983 in a special session of the state legislature. A year later, the State Board of Education adopted a plan to implement the act entitled *Standards for Accreditation (Standards)*. Hidden amidst a multitude of controversial changes was a requirement for a new high school social studies course which was to be called global studies.

Many Arkansas school administrators and teacher educators thought this global studies "thing" would disappear, or be overlooked, in the panic to meet the more dramatic reforms outlined in the *Education Reform Act* , e.g., smaller teacher-pupil ratios, new graduation requirements in fine arts and foreign languages, and elementary school counselors. Those leaders did not calculate the influence and support of Bill and Hillary Clinton. Nor did they anticipate the support of both statewide newspapers, the Danforth Foundation, and the John D. and Winthrop Rockefeller Foundations (WRF).

Curriculum initiatives do not occur in vacuums. To be successful, such efforts must have an element of grassroots support. If classroom teachers are not behind an idea, then it will not become effectively institutionalized. Secondly, although money does not solve problems, it certainly helps. New efforts, such as curriculum or educational reform, require financial, as well as legal, support from the state. Finally, any new endeavor in education such as global studies requires a spokesperson or group with a platform. This paper will provide a narrative history of the development of global studies in Arkansas, from conception to institutionalization. Along the way, readers should look for these key elements to curriculum reform.

A distinguished group of people was selected to represent the state on the Arkansas Education Standards Committee. It contained at least one person from every major professional educational organization in the state. Both the legislative and executive branches of the government were represented, and all of the agencies to be involved in educational reform had non-voting participants who provided information and internalized data as they heard individuals and groups testify before the committee. The success of the work of this committee was insured by the fact that all groups were "at the table" throughout the discussion. Hillary Clinton is to be commended for that.

In what was to prove significant, social studies was somewhat overrepresented. The president of the Arkansas Council for the Social Studies (ACSS) was a member. In addition, a past president of the organization was chosen to represent the National Education Association (NEA) affiliate. The representative of the administrators was certified in social studies. In addition, the vocational education person was also certified in social studies. Not to be overlooked, however, is the fact that both Clintons had keen interest in areas embraced by the social studies, i.e., geography, civics, and history. Both were active in numerous national organizations where education was a frequent topic, e.g., the National Governors' Association and the Children's Defense Fund. In addition, earlier in 1983, Governor Clinton had, at a news conference, announced the opening of the Arkansas International Center (AIC) and introduced its first director, Susan Wilkes, to the media. While they worked to bring international visitors to the state, the AIC became a critical component in the implementation of the new global studies course.[1]

Once the Standards Committee was formed, they, with Mrs. Clinton's leadership, established an agenda. They held hearings in which a multiplicity of people testified. Among those invited were representatives of the various subject area professional groups, e.g., the Arkansas Council of Teachers of English and the Arkansas Foreign Language Teachers Association.[2] The ACSS was, perhaps, one of the weakest of these, organizationally speaking. Certainly it was one of the smallest numerically. However, it had a core of strong leaders.

Gene Manfridini lived and worked in Little Rock. He had regularly attended the annual meetings of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS). He put together a concise, realistic presentation for ACSS.[3] Members of the Standards Committee when asked, "What do you remember about discussions concerning social studies, in general, and global studies, in particular, during the committee's work?" replied that what they remembered about social studies was the representatives of the ACSS "ha[ving] their act together." They presented what they wanted, did not pontificate, and left with each member a clear summary of their presentation. There was, however, no mention of global studies.[4]

Unbeknownst to the ACSS leadership, Wilkes was also invited to address the committee. She discussed international education and the importance of recognizing the connections between Arkansas and the rest of the world. But, she did not make a concentrated push for any special course in the curriculum. At that time, she had not aligned herself with the ACSS, nor they with her. Although she had lived in Arkansas for some years, she had no affiliation with ACSS. She was affiliated with the University of Arkansas at Little Rock (UALR) because that is where the AIC was located.[5]

When the committee was finished with its work, it held public hearings around the state. The legislation was drafted and a special session of the General Assembly was called by Governor Clinton in the fall of 1983. At that time, the *Education Reform Act* was passed. Behind the scenes, Hillary had worked with key legislators to assure its smooth passage. Among other things, it was agreed, at least informally, that the legislature would not hold hearings on specific parts of the bill, but rather it would be considered *in toto*. Had the bill been dissected during a lengthy regular session of the legislature, or had hearings been held on specific sections of the bill, global studies, not to mention many other controversial issues (e.g., mandatory elementary counselors), would have been compromised. The bill, with its curriculum provisions, passed.

Social studies was to be tested on a new mandatory exam, called the Minimum Performance Test (MPT), at grades six and eight. Given the fact that elementary social studies was fragmented at best, having it tested provided an opportunity to focus. Students had to pass the MPT at grade eight, or they could not proceed to high school. And, all school districts had to have 85% of their students pass the MPT to avoid the possibility of a state takeover. Although this never occurred, it was a constant threat from 1987 through 1993.

Under the new requirements, every high school had to offer, at least once every other year, American history, world history, world cultures, civics or government, economics, world geography, contemporary American history, and global studies. After some argument, "offer" was interpreted to mean "teach." By the fall of 1987, every high school had to have someone on its staff certified and/or approved to teach each of those subjects. The *Education Reform Act* also increased the number of credits necessary for graduation. Beginning in 1987-1988, students had to have three credits in social studies to receive an academic diploma from an Arkansas high school.

In the fall of 1984, the Arkansas Department of Education (ADE), as a result of the requirements in the *Education Reform Act*, established its first full-time staff position for the field of social studies. They employed Cheryl Pagan. Pagan came with impeccable credentials, which gave her credibility with state officials, higher education, and the ACSS. Major responsibilities for her were to establish a working definition of global studies, to make national connections with those established in the field, and to explore the directions the ADE should go in instituting this new endeavor.[6] The *Standards* required that a course content guide be written, but questions remained about just how someone should be approved to teach this course. While challenged and personally intrigued with what to do with this new course, Pagan was faced with a plethora of demands upon her time, all of which diverted her energies from the orderly development of a new course.

Under the *Standards* all courses were to have course content guides. They were the basis for the MPT. Within four months of her arrival in the state, Pagan had to put together a state-wide committee to write not only the global studies guide, but also all of the guides for grades nine through twelve social studies courses. That committee met in January of 1985. Along with this committee of 25 high school teachers, a number of college professors and staff people from the ADE also participated.[7]

Arkansas is a rural state. Even in 1995, there were still some 100 school districts with fewer than 200 students in grades kindergarten through twelve. Many districts had only one social studies teacher. Outside of the major cities, in 1985, teachers had little experience writing any kind of curriculum. The chore was ominous. The committee to write the guides for American history debated at length just what the scope and sequence would be. Other committees (e.g., geography and world history) had different problems. For example, how would world history, world cultures, world geography, and global studies be differentiated?

The global studies group wrestled with questions like: What is global studies? What are the appropriate goals and objectives? What is the content? Is there a scope and sequence? In the end, they chose very broad objectives, leaving the specifics to the teachers at the local level.[8] The guide was not changed during a period of revision in 1990. As new course outcomes were identified in 1994, the global themes and objectives designed by the teachers on this committee in 1985 have come to permeate the entire social studies curriculum. When the 1985 document was finished, these teachers received an invitation to visit the governor. This was the first of many such gestures Bill Clinton would afford what came to be called the global studies community.

Arkansas is a textbook adoption state and the cycle for social studies began in 1985. Those who were to choose books for the state list and companies that wanted to bid their books for that process were in somewhat of a frenzy to discover just what global studies was going to be. Bids for the new adoption cycle had been made in December 1984. However, this was before there was any understanding among practitioners about just what global studies was.

When the state committee met in March of 1985 to select texts to be placed on the state list, the ink was hardly dry on the first drafts of the course content guides. Because of a quirk in the law, Pagan, as an ADE employee, was not allowed to serve on the committee or meet with it on a regular basis. Therefore, the committee was left in somewhat of a haze about what the content of the courses was to be. This was especially true of global studies and contemporary American history, since they were new courses. The committee's work was frustrating in that, under the law, they could not add to the state textbook list. They could only subtract. As teachers developed a better understanding of global studies, it became clear that what schools needed to provide in the way of curriculum materials for global studies did not exist on the state list. Even if state committee members knew of books that would be helpful, there was no way they could legally add anything to the list. It was, indeed, a conundrum.

The concept of global studies, a course that was to deal with broad themes, did not lend itself to being taught with a textbook. What teachers needed were reference materials, but they could not purchase reference materials. Consequently, the districts could not get the materials they needed to teach this legislated course because they did not have the spare funds to buy periodicals, resource materials, and other books that would be useful to teachers faced with teaching global studies.

Teacher preparation presented another dilemma. The ADE had decided that teachers who would be approved to teach this new course had to be certified in social studies. However, they also had to have six hours of college credit in teaching global studies.

Arkansas teachers had to be approved to teach this course by the fall of 1987. The directive from the ADE arrived in schools late in 1986. While the requirements seemed appropriate, not much thought was given to the fact that the people who would be teaching those courses at the college and university level, i.e., existing college professors, did not have such preparation themselves. College courses were well-established and are not easily, or quickly, altered. In a concession, the ADE agreed to sponsor two-day workshops around the state. Teachers who attended these could waive the requirement for a methods course, for three of the six hours. They did, however, have to take three hours somehow, somewhere.

In the fall of 1986, Pagan accepted a position with Heifer Project International. In February of 1987, I was employed to fill the specialist position and given the task of conducting the two-day workshops the ADE had promised. The first workshop was scheduled for March. No plans had been made, no locations announced, no materials developed or ordered, and there was no money to pay for consultants, materials, facilities, etc.

I had been on the course content committee and the state textbook adoption committee. Unlike Pagan, I was a native Arkansan, familiar with the schools, universities, and individuals within the profession. Having attended numerous workshops since 1984 about global studies, I felt that the emphasis needed to switch from the conceptual focus to an operational one. I visited with a number of teachers by telephone and simply asked: What do you need to know? What do you want to know? Whom do you want to hear? The responses were, overwhelmingly, practical. Give us materials. Let us know how colleagues are handling global studies. Let us work together to create lessons to use.

The agendas for the workshops focused on three matters: content, process, and production. The staff for each workshop included a professor, a classroom teacher, and the curriculum specialist. The professors dealt with the content. The classroom teachers demonstrated their lessons. The professors, teachers, and specialist worked together to assist the attendees in developing a unit of study. The workshops began in March, as promised. A total of nine were held, with the last one held in June of 1988. At that time, colleges and universities were to have courses in place and the job of teacher preparation moved from its center at the ADE into the hands of academia.

In May of 1986, interested professors from nine universities had joined a number of educational leaders from around the state, including staff from the ADE and AIC, at the Meadowcreek Project in Fox, Arkansas. This group had worked on developing a common understanding about what a global studies course would be. This meeting was funded by the Danforth Foundation. The Danforth grant funded three summer courses reimbursing teachers for travel, food, and lodging but not tuition.The state paid for consultants. Over 100 teachers took advantage of this opportunity.

Those who had been a part of the Danforth grant continued to meet occasionally. In addition, as a result of leadership training sessions held by the Center for Teaching International Relations, a group of teachers formed Global Insights for

Today (GIFT). From this organization came a newsletter and student groups to further the cause of global studies. The most active student group evolved in Elaine, Arkansas, a town of 991, located deep in the Delta region of the state. These students organized special events that supported the social studies curriculum in Elaine, while broadening the global understanding of students and teachers alike. On a number of occasions, they had the opportunity to hear Governor Bill Clinton.

By 1988, there were a number of support groups in existence. In 1984, a Global Education Task Force had been established to help in the development of the new course on global studies. In addition, there was the support of the ADE and the AIC. The teachers who took the first course in global studies in 1985 from Gerald Hanson at UALR had been joined by hundreds of others. There were the professors who had met at Meadowcreek. There was a special interest group within the ACSS. Together these groups merged into one, entitled the Arkansas Council on Global Education (ACOGE). In subsequent years this group held regular conferences.

Because the staff development funds under the *Education Reform Act* failed to be appropriated by the legislature, teachers were faced with paying for college courses themselves. Most veteran teachers did not want to spend a summer session in school. In fact, some were so far away from a college or university, they were faced with moving into a dorm for five weeks. With the help of coordinator Patricia Roach, the AIC, the WRF, and later the Rockefeller Foundation in New York, teachers were assisted financially in taking the required courses. Those courses did then, and do today, vary tremendously.

Dr. Roach was commissioned to put together a guide to be distributed by the ADE to school districts. It was called *Teaching for Global Perspective*: *A Resource Handbook*. It became a "starter kit" for global studies teachers. While many veteran teachers found teaching global studies stimulating because they were allowed to develop their own lessons, many new teachers, as well as experienced ones who had always depended upon textbooks to order their class work, found planning from scratch exasperating. This book gave them models.

Aside from developing courses and offering them in convenient locations, several universities provided support for teachers of global studies. The goals of these institutions were multifaceted. For NCATE (National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education) purposes they all needed to exhibit a relationship with the members of the teaching profession in their respective communities. In some cases, funding was involved. More often, however, it was through the interest and dedication of particular faculty members that effective staff development experiences that could be mutually beneficial were planned and conducted.

The AIC was located on the campus of UALR. Through its programs, numerous professors were involved in conferences, institutes, and travel experiences for teachers. Over the period from 1985 to 1993, an estimated $1.3 million was obtained through grants and used to prepare Arkansas teachers to teach global studies. At least two full-time staff people, and numerous short-term or part-time employees devoted their time to the preparation of teachers, technical support to schools, programs for students, and the development of curriculum materials. The AIC aligned itself with the ACSS for the purpose of providing meaningful programs that centered on global studies. One example of the fruits that union bore was the global education emphasis at the annual fall meeting of ACSS in 1987. Governor Clinton was the guest speaker and a standing-room-only crowd signaled a "coming of age" moment for the ACSS.

With funds from the Rockefeller Foundation of New York, the AIC worked for a number of years with schools involved with school reform measures. Teachers were taken, as teams, to Guadalajara, Mexico, for example, to learn more about Mexican cultures, to study with Mexican teachers, and to prepare innovative curriculum for use in Arkansas schools. The AIC also sponsored similar trips to India and Australia. Teachers and administrators from the schools involved in the school reform programs sponsored by the AIC met in 1989 in Little Rock to discuss their progress.

From 1985 until 1992, AIC sponsored numerous conferences for Arkansas social studies teachers. They published the GIFT newsletter and sponsored annual meetings, as well as newsletters, for the ACOGE. When international visitors were in the state, the AIC would work through the network of global studies teachers to get those visitors into Arkansas schools. A share center was established where teachers could check out information, artifacts, and lesson plans that had been developed via the AIC by Arkansas teachers.[9] Given that the state legislature failed to fund staff development efforts that would have helped to prepare social studies teachers to teach the new global studies course, Arkansas teachers would have been hard pressed to get started and remain committed to the new course, had it not been for the AIC.

It is important to note that the AIC operated from a perspective that it was supporting teachers in what they wanted, or needed, to succeed in teaching global studies. This was especially relevant to funds from the WRF. The WRF tends to support only events or requests that have a grassroots nature. The teachers in GIFT, for example, were able to receive funding from WRF to continue mailing their newsletter to one another.

Deep in the impoverished Delta region of Arkansas, the University of Arkansas at Monticello (UAM) is isolated in the southeast corner of the state. In the late eighties, it was decided that rather than adding a masters program in behavioral sciences, the school would seek grant support to assist social studies teachers in the area in acquiring effective staff development. With a planning grant of $2000 from the WRF, John Short, in 1988, convened a steering committee of local teachers to discuss just what the focus of such an endeavor might be. From that humble beginning, UAM launched a comprehensive program that has included local conferences, guest speakers, summer institutes, and trips abroad.[10]

An additional $2000 was contributed by the Arkansas Endowment for the Humanities (now known as the Arkansas Humanities Council [AHC]). Matching funds were sought, and awarded, from the National History Alliance. Short, and his fellow faculty members, have also obtained some $200,000 in three Fulbright-Hayes grants to take teachers to west Africa and the Middle East to study. In cooperation with the Middle East Policy Council and the National Council on U. S.-Arab Relations, the UAM has hosted annual conferences on relations between the United States and Arab nations-. In 1994, the National Endowment for the Humanities awarded the university $176,000 to hold a summer institute for teachers on Islam and West Africa.

Combining efforts with the Winthrop Rockefeller Distinguished Lectures Series, an annual event on the UAM campus, teachers who participated in the summer institutes and/or travel abroad programs returned to the campus during the school year to hear speakers such as E. D. Hirsch, Stanley Katz, Maya Angelou, and Juan Williams. Most exciting is the fact that the professors involved in these programs have put forth a concentrated effort to be in all of the schools in the area, making themselves available to speak, to provide in-service programs, and to work with students and teachers on a plethora of projects. Through their personal efforts and through the opportunities that have been made available to the teachers in this very poor and isolated region of Arkansas, a global perspective on education in general, and social studies in particular, is thriving.

Governor and Mrs. Clinton succeeded in implementing numerous educational reforms largely because they had become intimately involved in the issues surrounding school reform. In interviewing the members of the Standards Committee, it was evident that they credited the integrity of the program they developed and its successful journey through the legislature to Hillary Clinton. When asked specifically about global studies, members of the committee referred to Hillary's expertise and knowledge as the key to the creation of global studies. Her leadership, coupled with the strong social studies representation, together with the excellent presentation by Mr. Manfridini, secured the role of social studies in their reform movement. Global studies was destined to be a tool of change.

Endnotes

1. Walter Nunn, Director of the Arkansas International Center, telephone conversation with author, 7 June 1995.
2. Cora McHenry, Executive Director, Arkansas Education Association, member of the Education Standards Committee, telephone conversation with author, 7 June 1995.
3. Frank Smith, past president of the Arkansas Council for the Social Studies, telephone conversation with author, 13 September 1995.
4. McHenry, telephone conversation. Bill Shirron, Director of Arkansas Teacher Retirement System, member of the Education Standards Committee, telephone conversation, 7 June 1995. State Senator Charlie Chaffin, member of the Education Standards Committee, telephone conversation with author October 12 1995.
5. Walter Nunn, Director of the Arkansas International Center, interview, 29 June 1995.
6. Cheryl Pagan, telephone conversation, 7 June 1995.
7. Pagan, conversation.
8. Cheryl Pagan "A Short History of Global Education in Arkansas: 1983-1986. *The Arkansas Social Studies Teacher 12* (Fall, 1986): 5-9.
9. Barbara Standford, former Curriculum Specialist, Arkansas International Center, interview, 29 June 1995.
10. John Short, Chairman, Department of Behavioral Sciences, telephone conversation, 13 October 1995.

Aaron V. Cook and the NAACP in Georgia Before *Brown*

Thomas V. O'Brien
Millersville University

In August of 1950, the angry and defiant Georgia political boss Roy V. Harris took the floor at the state Democratic Convention in Macon and announced that Georgia's leaders "will go to jail before [they] will let Negroes and whites go to school together."[1] While pledging to support equalization of school facilities, white Georgia Democrats vowed to oppose any form of racial integration. Within a month, Austin T. Walden, the state's only black civil rights attorney, had conferred with Thurgood Marshall, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) litigation chief, and filed suit in federal court on behalf of 200 black children and their parents alleging that black children "can only secure the educational advantages, opportunities and facilities equal to those afforded white children in the public schools of Atlanta by being allowed to attend the elementary and secondary schools . . . which defendants are unlawfully and illegally maintaining and operating for white children."[2] It was the first suit of its kind seeking desegregation of public schools filed in a major Southern city.*

The suit's filing prompted quite a furor. Well known newspaper editor Ralph McGill accused the plaintiffs of "alienating the support of a great many who worked continuously through the years for equal school opportunities."[3] Governor Herman E. Talmadge offered the Atlanta School Board all the state's resources including the attorney generals' office and his own legal staff to fight the suit. In response to the suit, the powerful racist, Roy V. Harris, penned an inflammatory editorial suggesting that if the courts should ever order desegregation, then whites "ought to do away with the public school system and devise another to take its place."[4] This marked the emergence of the idea of a "private school plan," which in early 1951 was formalized into legislation that required the state to cut off all funds to all public schools in the event of admission of one black to a white school.[5] It also set in motion a paradoxical eleven year state policy that would force Georgians to both strengthen and threaten to abandon the public school system.[6]

Ironically, the suit that sparked such controversy and political action lay dormant on the docket over the next several years. It was eventually dismissed in 1956 for lack of prosecution. It was, in essence, the dog that did not bark. This article, which is part of a larger study funded in part by the Spencer Foundation, examines the *Aaron v. Cook* case and its role in the school desegregation strategy of the NAACP in Georgia prior to *Brown v. Board of Education*. It explores the logic behind the decisions made by the New York based Legal and Education Defense Fund (LDF) and the Atlanta chapter of the NAACP. How did the LDF, which by 1950 had publicly announced it would end racial segregation, develop a litigation plan in a Deep Southern state whose state officials were committed to segregation? What events external and internal to Georgia accompanied any changes in tactics? Why did the LDF file *Aaron v. Cook*, a two-pronged suit in Federal District Court in 1950 that sought equalization and desegregation? Why was the suit never pursued by the LDF or by local black community leaders? This article examines *Aaron v. Cook* as it reflected and impacted on LDF strategy and the demise of *de jure* racial segregation in Georgia. The case and the strong reaction it evoked demonstrates the potency of race and schooling as political issues and illuminates the interplay of both in the formulation of public policy.

A top priority for Southern blacks has always been the provision of a formal education for their children. As James Anderson and others have argued, the belief in the power of education had been a cornerstone in African American culture dating back to the antebellum period. In the wake of the Civil War and for the first third of the 20th Century this belief was matched by black and philanthropic efforts to establish black common and high schools.[7] Notably, there was a disingenuous public effort to provide funding for black schools in the South. The struggle nevertheless continued.

The movement for public support for black schooling in the South began in the 1930s and was largely a result of NAACP litigation.[8] From its inception in 1909 until the Great Depression, the NAACP devoted its attention not to schooling but to the struggle against mob rule and lynching, disfranchisement, and residential segregation ordinances.[9] In the 1930s the association began to focus its campaign for black equality on schooling. To carry out this campaign the association established a legal arm known as the Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDF) that devised a strategy that was twofold. One campaign sought to get qualified blacks into graduate and professional schools in the South where no provisions existed. The second campaign targeted facilities, expenditures, length of school term and teacher salaries, and sought to make progress toward equal education for blacks within the "separate but equal" doctrine that was established in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896. Both educational campaigns experienced some early successes. In 1939 the U.S. Supreme

Court case, *Gaines v. Canada*, cracked open the door for the possibility for an end to the *Plessy* doctrine by ruling that equal protection of the laws required that the University of Missouri either provide a "separate but equal" law school for a black applicant or admit him to the white school. The equalization campaign was most successful in the area of teacher salaries. Yet by the end of the Second World War there was a sense among some LDF staff that a new approach was needed, a more calculated drive to end discrimination by allowing for integration as a remedy and leaving the "separate but equal" relief as a fall-back. As Thurgood Marshall put it in 1947 the idea was to be "constantly hitting on segregation" while allowing for equalization as one type of relief. It was a subtle, but critical strategic change. Ultimately it meant that the LDF would stop seeking enforcement of the "separate but equal" doctrine.[10] To win support for this change, it would take all the political savvy Marshall could muster.

Even before the start of the campaign for educational equality a sharp tactical debate raged within the black community and the NAACP about whether to push for desegregated schools. As the debate ensued, tactical differences began to shape competing ideologies about the merits of race integration versus black self-pride. Two of the most prominent black intellectuals of the day, W.E.B. DuBois, a founding member of the NAACP, and E. Franklin Frazier, saw limitations and problems in desegregating the common schools.[11] Early in his academic career DuBois had acknowledged that "segregation was a menace to democracy and bred misunderstanding and racial hatred." By 1934, however, while supporting the theory of integration, he called for policy that would improve and build institutions which would honor and respect black culture. At a now well-known conference at Howard University which marks his break with the NAACP, DuBois argued that the segregated black community was a fact of life, and all-black common schools, along with these other institutions, provided a means for the proper education of blacks. If blacks attended schools run by whites, they would be "miseducated and crucified" by the dominant white culture, DuBois reasoned.[12]

As long as the LDF worked towards equalization, DuBois's position would not be at odds with the association's strategy. But any move to stop seeking the enforcement of the "separate but equal" doctrine could reignite conflict within the national office. Of particular importance was the fact that another major organizational objective was the building of local branch memberships by appealing to black school teachers, the largest group of black professionals in America. Teachers and principals, who swelled the ranks of the NAACP in the 1940s, actively supported the equalization campaign, particularly the drive for equal salaries, but integration was a different matter. First, it might be rejected by the courts and put equalization in jeopardy. Second, if it was successful, it might put black jobs in jeopardy. Understandably distrustful of white boards of education and other policy-makers, black teachers and principals feared desegregation would mean they would be replaced by white teachers. It was a great risk.

Building teacher membership and gaining organizational support for racial desegregation would not be easy for the NAACP. Adding to the difficulty was the success of the equalization campaign, which was narrowing the gap between white and black schools in the 1940s. After World War II the nation experienced a period of national and regional prosperity, and for the first time Southern blacks were able to gain significant public support for their schools. As *Plessy* required in the South, the gains would be made within the "separate but equal" philosophy. Between 1939 and 1949 the average term length for blacks in the South increased from 153 days to 173 days, only four days short of the white average. Black teacher salaries, which in 1939 were about half that of white teacher salaries ($962 versus $505 per year), increased by 152% to bring them within 90% of white salaries by 1951. During the same period black per-pupil expenditures jumped 43% to 70% of the white average.[13]

It was against this backdrop that Thurgood Marshall began pushing the association and its branches toward an integration strategy. Between 1945 and 1950 Marshall was able to provide the leadership to unite his constituency behind a campaign, that while allowing for a dual strategy, put desegregation in the foreground and equalization in the background. By the summer of 1950 Marshall's plan had borne fruit in higher education. In Texas, Hermann Sweatt, who had been denied admission to the University of Texas Law School on the basis of race, was ordered admitted on the ground that the state failed to offer equal educational opportunity. On the same day in Oklahoma, 68-year-old George W. McLaurin, who had been admitted to that state's flagship institution for study toward a doctorate but was physically separated from his white classmates, won the right to "intellectually commingle" with his peers. In both decisions, the U.S. Supreme Court had clearly required equality, but had side-stepped the issues of segregation. The key holding in both cases was that if there was separation in education, equality "had to be real or the separation was constitutionally intolerable."[14]

While historians and legal scholars agree that Marshall's Legal Defense and Education Fund was successful with this campaign at the national level, there is scant attention paid to modifications of this strategy at the state and local branches, particularly in the Deep South. What the record suggests, at least in the Georgia case, is that the new strategy was accepted in different degrees, used for different reasons, and consequently had different results. The record also suggests that Marshall was aware of these differences, but allowed local chapters substantial autonomy over their cases.

As had been the case since the Civil War, there were a variety of ways that black Georgians had sought to secure educational opportunities for their children. One strategy was to accommodate and be conciliatory with the white power structure in hopes that a pay off would result; it was a tactic associated with Booker T. Washington. The idea was to work within the existing social and economic mores, which for blacks in the South included accepting disfranchisement, political exclusion and separate public facilities. Within Georgia there were black educators who supported the Washington approach and argued for all-black schools at all levels. Dr. Joseph W. Holley, founder and president of Albany State College for Negroes, was the most outspoken black supporter of continued segregation in Georgia. Holley, an extreme accomodationist, disciple of Washington, and an avid supporter of and mouthpiece for both Talmadges, excoriated "northern agitators and radical elements that s[ought] to cause trouble between the races in the South." Holley, who had written a book entitled *You Can't Build a Chimney from the Top* in 1948, referred to the attack on segregation as "the rape of his race by the northern press and other organizations."[15] Holley, though not part of the mainstream black Georgian thought or leadership in the 1940s and 1950s, did represent the conservative position on the issue of segregation. His positions and statements were of course amplified by Southern whites who wished to maintain the status quo.

Notwithstanding Holley's utterances and the patronage he received from the neobourbon oligarchy, the preference for integration and political participation over the concept of black improvement through self-sufficiency and separateness assumed center stage in the NAACP and in the black middle-class thought during the post-war period.[16] Thurgood Marshall and the Legal Defense and Education Fund, in pursuit of integration, received its strongest support in Georgia from William Boyd, State Chairman of the Georgia NAACP and Professor of Political Science at Atlanta University, and from Benjamin Mays, President of Morehouse College. In a speech in Atlanta shortly after *Aaron v. Cook* was filed, Mays explained that the suit attacks segregation not because the initiators of the suit want Negro children to go to school with white children. aHe asserted that mixed schools were not at the heart of the suit. He added the motive behind the Atlanta suit represents the growing conviction, rightly or wrongly, among Negroes everywhere that there can be no equality under segregation.[17] Like Marshall, for Mays, integration meant power. Ostensibly, integration had the backing of Austin T. Walden, the key civil rights attorney in Georgia with ties to the Legal Defense and Education Fund.[18]

For a variety of complex reasons, however, not all of Georgia's black leaders could bring themselves to fully endorse Marshall's edict to pursue the integration prong. A core of black leaders in Atlanta including Walden and Atlanta Urban League head Grace Hamilton, and Charles L. Harper, head of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association (GTEA), though open to the idea of using desegregation as a distant rhetorical threat, privately cringed at the thought of mounting a local challenge to *Plessy*. They were well aware of the strong opposition to "racial mixing" in the Deep South in both its most ruthless forms such as lynching and Ku Klux Klanery and its more subtle manifestations. Moreover, there had been significant progress for blacks within the separate but equal restriction in the second half of the 1940s, particularly in Atlanta. Under Harper's leadership, the GTEA reorganized in 1941 and became a state-wide driving force for teacher-pay equalization, per-pupil spending equalization, abolition of one teacher schools and replacement with consolidated schools, and provision of black graduate and professional school opportunities.[19] Hamilton's Urban League had been working with Walden and others to improve the conditions for Atlanta blacks. Since her appointment as executive secretary to the Urban League in 1943, Hamilton succeeded in getting $4 million of $9 million bond issue allocated to Atlanta's black schools and had helped narrow the gap between black and white teacher salaries. Letters between Hamilton and Marshall between 1944 and 1950 provide evidence that Hamilton worked tirelessly documenting and publicizing inequalities between black and white schools, and her efforts received the direct support of Marshall.[20]

For his part, Walden used his influence with the mayor of Atlanta to win concessions for Atlanta's black community. As one of the city's first black political strategists, Walden, starting in the 1920s, helped organize the black vote which in some municipal elections held a balance of power in city politics. In 1935, blacks were assured a larger school appropriation and supported a bond issue. The Atlanta Board of Education, however, after improving white schools, announced that revenue had run out for black schools. In 1938 and again in 1940 Walden and others helped organize the black vote and defeated both school bond issues. In the 1940s he was also able to get street lights installed in black neighborhoods.[21] Like a powerful ward boss in late 19th century New York City, Walden could not be ignored by city officials.

While not afraid to fight city hall, Walden had grown accustomed to working within the "separate-but-equal" system. Over the years "Colonel" Walden had developed a good relationship with the NAACP's national office, and had won Marshall's loyalty. Born in 1885, the son of former slaves, Walden began practicing in Macon, Georgia in 1911, and was the only black lawyer in Atlanta in 1919. Between 1911 and the 1950s he was one of only a handful of attorneys in Georgia with the credentials and the courage to litigate on the Negro's behalf. By 1949, however, there was some concern among Atlanta's younger black intelligencia that the 64-year-old Walden was not up to the task of coordinating the legal campaign. William T. Boyd and Grace Hamilton wrote Marshall about this concern. "The stakes are high and [Governor Talmadge and his staff] will throw their big guns at us," wrote Boyd. "In light of the above I am requesting of you that you have Walden keep you informed of every move and that you lend us all possible aid." "Frankly, and off the record," Boyd continued, "the people here and throughout the state criticize us for using Walden on such an important case as this. I tell them that Walden has the backing of you and your staff. . . . Don't let Walden let the case drag unnecessarily." In May of 1949 the *Aaron* case was idle due to Walden's inactivity. Grace Hamilton, concerned that her latest survey of the inequities between black and white schools would become out-dated, also advised the New York office to push Walden.[22]

Walden took no action on *Aaron*, but continued to have the backing of Marshall and the LDF, his idleness notwithstanding. Perhaps it was Marshall's deep respect for his past performance as Atlanta's first black political boss, or perhaps it was his priority to attend to another case filed in rural South Carolina that had been moving its way through the courts. By the fall of 1950 Marshall was involved in pretrial hearing on *Briggs v. Elliott*, which would be consolidated into a class-action suit with cases from Delaware, Virginia and Kansas soon to be known as *Brown v. Board of Education*. The *Briggs* case had the advantage of being argued in front of Waties Waring, a disaffected federal judge from Charleston who had made unmistakable signs that he was willing to take on the legal doctrine of "separate-but-equal." With better courtroom chances in South Carolina, Marshall may have left those in Atlanta to their own devices in dueling Jim Crow. Perhaps Marshall thought it hazardous to jeopardize the Georgia connection, regardless of the LDF's new position on integration.

For whatever reasons, Marshall took a hands-off approach in Georgia, opting to maintain a cordial, if not brotherly relationship with Walden.[23] This left *Aaron v. Cook* in the hands of Walden, who ultimately used it as a threat with the intent of forcing state and local school authorities to equalize existing dual systems. For six years the case sat around like a junk-yard dog--creating a credible threat of court enforced mixing. *Aaron* stared out at the white community and power structure and oversaw a massive eleventh hour effort to equalize public schooling for blacks after 54 years of neglect. Four months after the case was filed, Governor Talmadge sheparded an unprecedented 3% sales tax through the legislature, which added an additional $10 million toward the equalization effort. Talmadge also worked with the legislature to launch a massive building campaign. Between 1951 and 1960, about 6,000 schools, nearly all of them one and two room dilapidated wood structures, were replaced with 1,720 new schools. For the first time in Georgia history, the construction of schools for blacks was a top priority. Another measure of this new sense of urgency is in black secondary enrollments. In the 1930s and 1940s one of the most glaring inequities was that high school opportunities for many Georgia blacks simply did not exist. By the end of the 1951-1952 school year black secondary school enrollment had increased 114%, in spite of a slight overall drop of school-age blacks as a percentage of the total population.[24] By the early 1950s, with other dogs barking in the distance--in South Carolina, Kansas, Delaware, Virginia, and Washington D.C.-- the Georgia bull-dog just stared out and watched the equalization effort unfold.

What are we to make of *Aaron v. Cook* from the perspective of Atlanta's black community power structure? Unlike Marshall's achievement of a consensus at the national office, these Georgians were never unified in launching a direct attack on *Plessy* in the five years that preceded the *Brown* decision. What developed in Georgia was a modification of the dual strategy that inverted the LDF's objectives; while Georgia's black political elite were ideologically opposed to segregation, they were able to support desegregation in only a passive way. Their local activities, then, were aimed at full equalization, while the desegregation prong of their position was used as a warning. The dual thrust nevertheless encouraged them to become fiercely active in pursuing the equalization strategy and it was here that public support for black schooling was finally realized.

The evidence suggests that Marshall and other LDF attorneys allowed for these differences in emphasis and corresponded often to maintain contact and to provide legal expertise, but put their best time and energy into the five parallel cases in South Carolina, Kansas, Delaware, Virginia and Washington D.C.-- cases that sought to dismantle Jim Crowism in public education altogether.

Endnotes

1. *Atlanta Constitution* (9 August 1950): 1.
2. Complaint filed in the United States District Court for the Northern District of Georgia, Civil Action Number 3923, paragraph 20 (19 September 1950).
3. *Atlanta Constitution* (20 September 1950): 14.
4. *Augusta Courier* (2 October 1950): 1; *New York Times* (3 October 1950): 24.
5. *1951 Georgia Laws*: 360-385.
6. Thomas V. O'Brien, "Georgia's Response to *Brown v. Board of Education*: The Rise and Fall of Massive Resistance, 1949-1961 (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1992).
7. James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988).
8. Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America's Struggle for Equality* (New York, 1977); Mark V. Tushnet, *The NAACP's Legal Strategy against Segregated Education, 1925-1950* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1987).
9. The exceptions were several battles against school segregation in the north where school officials sought to replace racially mixed schools with segregated systems due to black migration from the South. See August Meier's General Introduction, Papers of the NAACP, Part 3, the Campaign for Educational Equality, Series B Legal Department and Central Office Records, ix, x. University Publications of America.
10. Mark V. Tushnet, "Thurgood Marshall as a Lawyer: The Campaign against School Desegregation" *Maryland Law Review* 40 (1981): 415.
11. Harold Cruse, *Plural but Equal: Blacks and Minorities in America's Plural Society* (New York, 1987): 42-52.
12. Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 165-166; Greenberg, *Crusaders in the courts: How a Dedicated Band of Lawyers Fought for the Civil Rights Revolution* (New York, 1994): 59-60; Mary G. Hector "Racism, Black Nationalism and W.E.B. DuBois: A Study of a Divided Soul" (Masters thesis, Emory University, 1978): 53, 56-57.
13. Ernest W. Swanson and John A. Griffin *Public Education in the South Today and Tomorrow: A Statistical Survey* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1955): 53, 59, 67.
14. Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 284.
15. Joseph W. Holley *You Can't Build a Chimney from the Top* (New York, 1948); Holley was often quoted in *The Statesman*, a weekly newspaper published in Hapeville, Georgia by Herman Talmadge. The above quote was excerpted in *The Statesman* (17 February, 1949): 2.
16. See Cruse, *Plural but Equal*; Hector, "W.E.B. DuBois"; Tushnet, "Thurgood Marshall"; Tushnet, *Segregated Education*.
17. Benjamin Mays, "Why an Atlanta School Suit?" (*New South*, September/October, 1950): 2.
18. Talmadge interview, July 30, 1991; Hollowell interview, July 18, 1991, July 20., 1995; Greenberg, *Crusaders*, 39.
19. Interview with Horace E. Tate, August 1995; Also see *Rising in the Sun, A History of the Georgia Teachers and Education Association, a Half-Century of Progress* (Atlanta, no date): 112.
20. Hamilton to Marshall, 19 December 1944 and 11 December 1945; Marshall to Hamilton, 26 March 1944, Library of Congress, NAACP Files, Group II Series B Box 137, File: Schools, Georgia, Atlanta General, 1944-49.
21. David Plank and Marcia Turner, "Changing Patterns in Black School Politics, Atlanta, 1872-1973" *American Journal of Education* 60 (August 1987): 590-595; Also see *Atlanta Journal* 3/30/61; More influence came about with the demise of the "White Primary" in 1946, which allowed Atlanta blacks to register as Democrats and trade votes for city services. See Grace Hamilton Papers, Atlanta Historical Society, Manuscript Series 597, box 4, folder 4.
22. Boyd to Marshall, 19 August 1949; Carter to Walden, 5 May 1949 and July 5, 1949, Library of Congress, Manuscripts Collections, NAACP Files, Group II Series B box 137, file: Schools, Georgia, Irwin County, 1949-50.
23. Marshall wrote Walden 11 October 1950 and expressed his willingness to support the case and sent a copy to William Boyd. Boyd kept Marshall abreast of developments in the case, explaining in a 24 October 1950 letter Talmadge's "blistering attack on the NAACP, implying it was communistic. He attacked you and Walden." Boyd reported that Georgia would fight the case with all its resources, and would "fight the case in every court, from every city and county." Pointing out how the state officials were reacting to the case, he reminded Marshall that it was "imperative that Walden work closely with you and that you find out whether you should be in Macon on November 10 when the motion for dismissal will be heard. Please look into this at once." Marshall wrote Walden 25 October 1949 and offered to come down to the hearing on 10 November. "From what I read in the newspaper on Sunday, you came out best in the latest scrimmage with Talmadge concerning our school case. If Talmadge wants to make a big affair of this case, we will do the same and for that reason, I will be down to the hearing on November 10 if you believe it is worth my doing." Marshall sent copies to Spottswood Robinson and William Boyd. See Library of Congress, Manuscripts Collections, NAACP Files, Group II Series B box 137, file: Schools, Georgia, Irwin County, 1949-50.
24. See O'Brien, "Georgia's Response," 49-99; Swanson & Griffin, *Public Education*, 19, 43.

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Cultural Diversity at One Habsburg University

Paul Shore
Saint Louis University

The second half of the eighteenth century brought major changes to the universities of the Habsburg domains (Maass 1961, 182-3). Curricular reform, the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the seizure and transfer of wealth from suppressed monasteries and convents, the establishment of normal schools, and the imposition of German as the language of instruction were among the most significant educational developments during this period (Goodwin 1938, 70-71; Havranek et al. 1986, 44). Paralleling structural and financial innovations at Habsburg universities was the arrival of the first significant numbers of Jewish students (Tomek 1849, 341). Although Joseph's successors abandoned many of his reforms, Jews were never again singled out for exclusion from Habsburg universities (O'Brien 1969, 54).

This paper will review the admittedly incomplete data about these students during the first forty years after non-Catholics were first allowed to seek degrees at the oldest of the Habsburg universities, the Charles University in Prague. Charles University was chosen both because of its preeminent place among educational institutions in the Kingdom of Bohemia, and because of the proximity of a sizable and vital Jewish community in Prague throughout the period under consideration. Jewish students had maintained contacts with the university since the fourteenth century (Kisch 1935). Charles University is also an appropriate institution in which to examine the impact of Joseph's reform policies because of the key role of the university in the development of a Czech national consciousness from the 1790s well into the nineteenth century. Charles University was a setting in which issues of national and ethnic identity were given increasing attention, both at the curricular level, and with regard to the actual makeup of the student body and teaching faculty (Havranek et al. 1986, 42-50). Much later, these issues would become irreconcilable tensions resulting in the creation of two universities--a Czech and a German--which would exist side by side until the arrival of Hitler.

Joseph II, Holy Roman Emperor, and hereditary ruler of the scattered dominions of the Habsburgs, initiated major changes in the status of his Jewish subjects (Bernard 1969). During his ten-year reign (1780-1790) he removed many of the civil disabilities that Jews had endured since the Middle Ages (Stein 1904, 91). For the first time Jews were allowed to serve in the Imperial Army, and a handful of Jews and Jewish converts even gained titles of nobility. Starting in 1782, Joseph also issued a series of decrees that made it possible for Jews to pursue degrees in law and medicine, as well as study in the philosophical faculties of universities within the Habsburg lands (Macartney 1969, 121; Shore 1995). The traditional fourth faculty of these universities, the theological faculty, was to remain off-limits to non-Catholics for many more decades to come (*Hofdirekt* 1797).

Research conducted on Jewish students at the University of Vienna shows that many Jews accepted the emperor's invitation and came to study at the university in the Habsburg capital. Similar--but by no means identical--patterns are found in the enrollment of Jewish students at Charles University during the forty years following Joseph's initial reforms. Yet the data available in the Studienkataloge, the enrollment books for courses offered at the University, must be evaluated in the context of both the social and cultural positions of Jews in eighteenth-century Central Europe and the nature of the Studienkataloge themselves (Sorkin 1987). Despite Joseph's attempts to do away with many of the legal and social boundaries between Jew and Gentile, there is abundant evidence that anti-Semitism was widespread throughout the Habsburg lands (Hausler 1990). The admission of Jews to the military produced a wave of vicious cartoons and verses denouncing the Jews as morally and intellectually unfit to serve. The appearance of Jewish aristocrats, wealthy merchants, and more humble Jews, all with the Germanic surnames that Joseph compelled Jews to take, did little to promote respect or acceptance among some segments of the population (Barzilay 1956). Indeed, the loosening of censorship begun by Joseph with the intent of promoting the diffusion of knowledge actually provided a new context for expression of anti-Semitism. Cheaply produced pamphlets and small books attacked Jews as unscrupulous, immoral, and incompetent. Jews undoubtedly made progress in the years and decades following Joseph's reforms, but only in the face of entrenched opposition to their admittance to positions long reserved for Gentiles. Thus circumstantial evidence suggests that some Jews sought to conceal their identity, while others underwent conversion in order to avoid the harshest aspects of anti-Semitism (Chiel 1974).

Viewed in this context, the value of the Studienkataloge, the single most important source of information regarding individual students of Charles University, becomes more ambiguous. The Studienkataloge, as records of student enrollment in each course at the University, were kept by professors, and frequently included information about the place of residence, the age, father's occupation, and religion of each student. However, as late as the 1790s, these records were kept unsystematically, and without any apparent supervision by university authorities. Some professors, for example, recorded a student's place of residence in a Latinate form, while others would use Germanic or even Czech or Magyar forms of the same place names. The same irregularity might extend to the spelling of students' names as well. The decrees that formally admitted non-Catholic students to the universities had not specified that any steps be taken to note how many non-Catholics actually enrolled, so each professor was free to be as assiduous or indifferent to this aspect of record keeping as he wished. The researcher can only speculate as to whether the professor who did not note the religion of a Jewish student did so from a sense of Enlightenment tolerance, or whether he was simply too busy or indifferent to bother. Records from the University of Vienna at the same time period show a wide range in the care with which professors filled out the Studienkataloge forms that were provided to them, with some instructors diligently completing all categories, and others recording almost no data. Later, when similar forms were introduced at Charles University, it appears that the same laxness in record keeping occurred.

The experience of discrimination and the lack of systematic record keeping cautions us to view the following data as incomplete and most probably artificially low in many categories. Nevertheless, these data are suggestive of the significant numbers of Jewish students who enrolled at Charles University during this forty-year period. In compiling these data, the author has included all students who are unambiguously identified as Jewish at least once in the Studienkataloge, as well as those whose name, father's name, place of residence, or combination of these factors strongly suggests Jewish ancestry. One indicator in the Studienkatalog of Jewish identity is the use of Roman numerals to indicate a residential address, a practice common throughout Bohemia (Iggers 1992, 169). Not included are the names of possibly Jewish students that occur in other university records such as discipline proceedings and petitions for the granting of diplomas.

TABLE 1

Numbers of probably Jewish students in the faculties of philosophy, law, and medicine. (*KPFF, KPPF, KPLF)*

Faculty of Philosopy		Faculty of Law		Faculty of Medicine	
1784-1797	34	1787-1797	14	1793-1797	13
1798-1807	45	1798-1807	4*	1798-1807	33
1808-1817	40	1808-1817	6	1808-1817	38
1817-1822	196	1817-1822	7	1817-1822	54
1784-1822	315	1787-1822	31	1793-1822	138

* No records for 1805-1807
Total number of probably Jewish students 484

A brief review of enrollment of 484 Jewish students in the faculties of philosophy, law, and medicine from 1784 to 1822 reveals some patterns. First, the overwhelming preponderance of probably Jewish students in the Faculty of Philosophy reflects this faculty's significantly larger overall enrollment during most of the period under consideration. At the end of the nineteenth century, Charles University had the second largest student population of any Habsburg university (Szogi 1993, 391). In 1789 its Faculty of Philosophy enrolled 349 students, in comparison with 147 in the Faculty of Law and 73 in the Faculty of Medicine (Litsch 1989, 40). The Faculty of Philosophy at Charles University, as at most universities in German-speaking lands, was not only a self-contained academic program, but also the preparatory program for most advanced studies in the other faculties, thus explaining its high enrollment. Students in the Faculty of Philosophy sometimes enrolled when they were no older than fourteen or fifteen, and in many ways the curriculum resembled what came to be known in the nineteenth century as a secondary school program more than a university curriculum (Tomek 1849).

The larger number of probably Jewish students in the Faculty of Medicine is also noteworthy. Throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, medicine was the profession of choice for a significant number of Jewish university graduates. This was in part because medicine was still viewed as a relatively low-status occupation, one in which the highest levels of society seldom were involved. Indeed, it is rare to find a titled aristocrat enrolled in any course in the faculties of medicine at Charles University or the University of Vienna during the eighteenth century. Despite the innovations initiated at the Allgemeines Krankenhaus in Vienna, and the curricular improvements that continued at all Habsburg universities throughout the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, medicine remained too practical, too unsavory, and frequently too disastrously unsuccessful to be a fit calling for a gentleman. Medicine was also a choice for Jews because of their long association with that profession. From the High Middle Ages on Jewish herbal and surgical medicine had been sought out by Gentiles. Jewish women were frequently midwives in rural areas, and at Charles University a handful of Jews had managed to earn degrees as surgeons as early as 1771, or even earlier, although they were frequently enjoined by the authorities to practice their profession only on other Jews.

Among the probably or certainly Jewish students found in the Studienkataloge records of the Faculty of Medicine were a handful of female midwifery students. Midwifery was an important profession for women in the eighteenth century (Towler and Bramall 1986). The small number of these students precludes drawing sweeping conclusions about the experience of female students at Charles University, be they Jewish or Gentile, but the evidence is nonetheless suggestive. First, among those women unambiguously identified by their instructors as Jews are several who would otherwise have escaped detection. These include Maria Dux (enrolled in 1810), Marie Mauntner (enrolled 1815-1816), and Eva Klauber (enrolled in 1815). The given names of each of these students do not suggest Jewish origin, and raise the question as to how many other students whose given names appear to be Christian were in fact Jews or were at least perceived as Jews by their peers and professors. Such an instance is not isolated; in 1812 in Berlin, Jews were reported to have taken Christian names such as Johanna, Elizabeth, Johann, and Ludwig (Bering 1992, 70-71). The presence of women within the university system also raises questions. How was their education financed? Where did they live? Were they married, widowed, or single? It seems likely that many of these women had already been practicing midwives before coming to the university for formal training, but positive evidence is lacking. Of particular interest is the question of language of instruction and examination. By the 1810s when this handful of Jewish women appeared at the University, Latin had been replaced by German as the language of instruction, although Latin may have been used in some university record keeping. We must assume, therefore, that these women, most of whom presumably had received little or no formal education in the communities from which they came, received instruction and were examined in German, a language that may well not have been their native tongue. It is possible that for both male and female Jewish students, familiarity with Yiddish may have helped them deal with German in ways that gave them an advantage over their Czech-speaking counterparts. In the case of village midwives, more research into their educational and cultural backgrounds is needed to evaluate the experience of these women at Habsburg universities.

The majority of students enrolled at Charles University through most of its history have claimed Bohemia or Moravia as their home. This pattern appears to have been repeated in the surviving evidence regarding the place of origin of Jews enrolled at the University. In this respect Charles University differed from the University of Vienna, where Jews and Gentiles from all over Europe congregated to live and study in the *Rezidenz und Hauptstadt* of the Empire. By contrast, Charles University students identified as Jewish were heavily concentrated in Prague and in a few outlying Jewish communities in Bohemia.

TABLE 2
Geographical Origins of Students Identified as Jews, Charles University 1782-1822
(All Czech place names given in the form they appear in Studienkatalog records.) *(KPFF, KPPF, KPLF)*

Faculty of Philosophy		Faculty of Law		Faculty of Medicine	
Bohemia		Bohemia		Bohemia	
Prague	131	Prague	10	Prague	26
Bunzlauer Circle*	15	Eger	2	Pilsner Circle	3
Pilsner Circle	6	Leitmeritz	2	Bidschauer Circle	3
Saazer Circle	6			Rukonitz	2
Elbogen Circle	5			Budweiser Circle	2
Bidschauer Circle	5			Liebosowitz	2
Eger	4			Kolin, Neu Kolin	2
Other Bohemia	28	Other	11	Other	21
Total	200	Total	25	Total	61
Outside Bohemia		Outside Bohemia		Outside Bohemia	
Moravia	17	Austria	1	Moravia	15
Hungary	17	Piedmont	1	Hungary	1
Saxony	3	Bukovnia	1	Saxony	2
Poland & Galicia	2	Saxony	1	Prussia	1
Bavaria	2	Poland	1	Dessau (?)	1
Austria	1				
Prussia	1				
Dessau (?)	1				
Unknown or illegible	8			Unknown or illegible	14
Total	52	Total	5	Total	43
Grand Total	252	Grand Total	30	Grand Total	104

Total of all reported places or origin 386
* A Circle or Kreis was an administrative unit roughly equivalent to a county.

Since well over half of the students identified as Jews reported places of origin, these data may be considered fairly representative. The predominance of Prague, with its large, wealthy, and ancient Jewish community is immediately apparent. Moravia, with a large Jewish community, is also represented, but to a much lesser degree. Noteworthy is the absence of large numbers of Jewish students from the eastern reaches of the Habsburg lands, in particular Galicia, which sent many Jewish students to the University of Vienna during this period. Also, the old and well-established Jewish communities of Hungary, including Buda and Obuda, are not in evidence here.

The earliest reliable statistics on the total number of Jews in what was later the Austrian Empire dates from twenty years after the *terminus ante quem* of this study, but are still useful in conveying the very uneven distribution of Jews in Central Europe. Almost all Jewish students had fathers who were business people.

TABLE 3

Number of Jews in the Austrian Empire, 1843. (*Tafeln* 1847, Tafel 3)

Galicia	303,373
Hungary	255,000
Bohemia	66,892
Moravia and Silesia	38,357
Lower Austria	3,545
Venice	4,482

Further, a dramatic preponderance of Jews came from the Polish province of Galicia. This points to another issue regarding the assimilation and acceptance of Jews into the universities and the professions. Many Galician Jews came from rural or small-town backgrounds, and were culturally and linguistically quite different from the co-religionists in cities such as Prague. Looked down upon by some urban Jews as culturally backward, and despised by anti-Semites as degenerate and "oriental" in their habits, these Jews might have had greater difficulties adjusting to the demands of urban university life, which may explain their underrepresentation at Charles during the period under consideration (Barzilay 1956).

The total number of Jews in Bohemia at the close of the eighteenth century cannot be estimated precisely, but vital statistics give us some picture of the size of Jewish communities in this kingdom. In 1798, 186, or .81% of the total marriages for Bohemia, were between Jews. In 1811, 1108 of the deaths, or .92% of the total recorded, were of Jews. Similar data for Moravia indicate a Jewish population approaching 1% of the total. In 1790, the total population of Bohemia was 2,882,106, and that of Moravia 1,594,558 (*CS* 1978, 138-140). Charles University had over 200 Jewish students, the majority of whom were from Bohemia, enrolled between the years 1817 and 1822 (see Table 1). Assuming that at any given time during this five-year period at least half this number were enrolled simultaneously, Charles University, with a total enrollment of less than 3,000, had a probable percentage of Jewish student enrollment several times higher than the overall percentage of the population of Bohemia identified as Jewish.

When standardized Studienkataloge forms were introduced at Charles University in 1808, a category was included for noting the occupation of the fathers of students. While as often as not professors did not bother to fill in this category, in the case of a large number of students identified as Jewish, this information is available. In some instances the occupation referred to has proven difficult to categorize or translate, but allowing for this difficulty, and the problem of legibility, a significant amount of data remains.

TABLE 4
Occupations of the fathers of Jewish students, all faculties, Charles University, 1782-1822. (*KPFF, KPLF, KPPF*)

Handelsmann or Kaufmann (Businessman)	177	Cloth dealer	11
Brandy tester or manufacturer	5	Wholesaler	4
Bestandmann (trader ? Business repersentative ?)	3	Surgeon (as distinguished from physician)	3
Member of the Jewish Community Council	2	Lawyer	2
Teacher	2	Butcher	1
Leather dealer	1	Dentist (also may be surgeon)	1
Innkeeper	1	Teacher at the Jewish Hauptschule in Prague	1
Master glazier	1	Beer dealer	1
Village judge or Magistrate	1	Economic "Beanter" (employee?)	1
Weaver	1	Shoemaker	1
Partikulter ?)	1	Homeowner	1
Rabbi	1	Brewer	1
Total, all occupations	224		

Since this information was probably volunteered by the students themselves, we must view these data as a self-selected sample. It seems likely that those students whose fathers had highly respected occupations in the community would be more willing to report this information, yet only one rabbi appears on this list. The overwhelming number of reported occupations are associated with trade and commerce; interestingly, two occupations commonly reported in the popular literature of the day, innkeeper and moneylender, are scarcely present on this list. It is possible that the disrepute in which Jewish financiers were held resulted in that occupation simply being reported in the category of Handelsmann (Iggers 1992).

No overall study has been done on the age characteristics of students at any Habsburg university during the period under consideration, so the following data cannot be subjected to any comparative analysis. However, these data on the reported ages of Jewish students at Charles University do help round out the picture of who these students were. The ages reported here are the ages of students when they first appeared in Studienkataloge records; therefore these students were at least several years older when they completed their studies. The date 1811 is taken as a starting point because data before this year are either fragmentary or nonexistent. Data are of course not comparable with previous data cited, owing to the inconsistencies in reporting patterns.

TABLE 5

Reported ages of Jewish students, Charles University, 1811-1822.(*KPLF, KPPF, KPFF)*

Faculty of Medicine		Faculty of Law		Faculty of Philosophy	
Age		Age		Age	
16-19	23	16-19	1	16-19	30
20-21	20	20-21	2	20-21	30
22-23	14	22-23	2	22-23	38
24-27	6	24-27	2	24-27	13
28+	10	28+	7	28+	14
Total	73	Total	14	Total	125

Students of probable Jewish ancestry ranged in reported age from 13 to 35, a range comparable to that of Gentile students. Presumably those students older than approximately 25 were entering the university after having worked for some years. In the instance of midwifery students, it seems likely that they had pursued this occupation previous to their enrollment.

Other scattered references to possibly Jewish students survive elsewhere in Charles University records. Three students whose names suggest Jewish ancestry--Elias Wiener, Elias Hirsch, and David Porges--requested on 1 August 1976, to be granted their D.M. degrees in a private ceremony (*Sitzungsprotocoll* 1796). Wolf Popper, who was not identified as a Jew, but whose surname was almost always associated with Jewish families, was awarded the D.M. degree on 15 August 1798 (*Senat spisy* 1798, c. 35). Also, Lorenz Franz Jonas, whose name and place of origin (Frankfurt am Main) point to possible Jewish ancestry, was reprimanded, along with another student, for his disruptive behavior on the streets of Prague (*Senat spisy* 1799). These accounts, taken with the record in the *Matricula* of twenty-four Faculty of Medicine students (including two women) whose names have not been located in the Studienkataloge, suggest that there were many more Jewish students than could be positively identified in this study (*Matricula).*

The arrival of Jewish students at Charles University was part of an ongoing transformation of the university from a relatively isolated institution dominated by Jesuit teachings, without textbooks, and with only limited contact with the outside world, into a major center of scholarly research and political ferment. Their ability to earn degrees and to establish a lasting presence at the university shows both that a university education was prized in Jewish communities and that prospective university students from these communities were able to acquire the necessary training to succeed in this academic environment. For the remainder of the nineteenth century, Jewish students would be a visible and influential presence at Charles University.

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Major Developments in the Growth of Public Secondary Education in North Carolina

Ellis A. Joseph
University of Dayton

Stuart G. Noble suggests that colonial America had to wait until late in the eighteenth century before she came into the rich heritage of the seventeenth century achievement.[1] Unfortunately, the planter class, who represented agriculture and the clergy, and who comprised the only large learned group, felt no great need for schools. As a result, they prevented the growth of secondary education in this period. The absence of a middle class can perhaps be labeled the greatest hindrance to the development of free secondary education, for it is usually with this class that free public schools originate.

Even without a middle class, educational interests were at least indirectly promoted through the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, an auxiliary of the Established Church. The purpose of education under the Society was "not only to fit the young for the business life, but to make them moral and religious beings."[2] In 1715 the North Carolina Assembly passed a significant act which was concerned with the preservation of the Society's Dr. Brady library. The act encouraged and strengthened the charity schools, paving the way for further philanthropy in state education.

Examples of endowments for educational purposes were those of James Winwright and James Innes, whose funds promoted the emergence of some semblance of free secondary schooling.[3] Politically, the early efforts of royal governor Gabriel Johnston and the Reverend James Reed led the way to public expenditure for a school in New Bern in 1766 and the Liberty Hall Academy in the western portion of the colony in 1775. The revenue for the New Bern school was obtained from an import duty on all rum and liquors brought into the nearby Neuse River. Coinciding with these early efforts was an increase in the public's yearning for culture, which was most glaringly exhibited by the growth of private libraries, the most notable being those of Samuel Johnston and Edward Moseley. Other evidences of increased interest in culture and education in the Old North State were the setting up of the first printing press in 1749, the organization of the *North Carolina Gazette* at New Bern in 1755, and the increase of private tutors in homes. Despite the early beginnings and the increased interest in education, the tint of charity remained on the surface of any educational effort which was the result of public expenditure, and this element of charity was to become a stubborn obstacle to future public secondary educational development.[4]

The apprenticeship system, however, held many implied promises for the future of free secondary education. It was with the formation of this system that people felt the need for training so many in a useful art so that society as a whole could reap an all-round benefit. Among these promises were the notions of compulsory education and the State's increased concern about its obligations and functions in the field of education. While legislation on apprenticeship implied education in North Carolina as early as 1715, this seemingly weak and insignificant legislation is far removed from secondary education.[5] However, the element of an awareness of the people for the need of some instruction is noteworthy.

The Latin grammar school, in which the classics were taught, reached its greatest development in New England and its least in the South. The second type of secondary school, the academy, began to appear around 1750 and rapidly developed throughout the South until the third type of secondary school, the public high school, began to gain importance after the Civil War.[6]

Daniel Defoe's "Essay on Projects" influenced Benjamin Franklin considerably when he formed a plan of public education for the youth of Pennsylvania. It is widely known that Franklin's pamphlet, containing his plan for the academy, had an extensive circulation. There is record of much correspondence between North Carolinians and Franklin concerning the academy. Academies in North Carolina, which at first were religious in character, gradually became nonsectarian because of the obvious difficulties that multi-religious communities presented, and thus a lessened exclusivity and a greater democratic character began emerging at this early stage. The academies, however, were usually privately controlled, and fees were invariably charged, though in a few instances poor children were taught tuition free.

With the growth of a strong democratic spirit in the revolutionary period, the ideal of a liberal education for its own sake and for its value in promoting individual development became dominant.[7] Zion Parnassus at Salisbury (1785), Tates Academy in Wilmington (1760), and Liberty Hall Academy (1775) were some of the more outstanding early academies gaining prominence for maintaining high scholastic standings. An examination of the charter of an academy in Granville County (1779) reveals the felt need for education and the existence of both general and vague objectives to benefit all people.[8] It is interesting to note, in connection with the "beneficial" purposes of the academy, that John Chavis, a Negro of Granville County, was sent to Princeton University to see if a Negro "would take a college education."[9] He was not only successful at Princeton, but he also taught many distinguished whites after leaving the university. His knowledge and ability prompted Professor John Spencer Bassett to say, "This negro was received as an equal socially and asked to table by the most respectable people in the neighborhood."[10]

The curriculum, or course of study found in the academy, often showed a wide range of subjects, which afforded instruction in more subject matter than was offered in the old Latin grammar school of colonial times. Moreover, it was designed to satisfy the constantly increasing demand of those who did not seek a college training or admission into the learned professions.[11] Therefore, the traditional Latin grammar school subjects of Latin, Greek, and mathematics were taken over by the academy. Since the academy existed not only for those preparing for college, courses in practical training, English literature, certain branches of the natural sciences, history, modern foreign languages, natural and moral philosophy, navigation, surveying, bookkeeping, embroidery, and needlework were also offered. Course offerings at the Raleigh Academy allowed students to pursue a range of studies for various fees.[12]

There were thirty-one academies in North Carolina by 1820, and they had considerable influence. The academy movement brought about a change in the courses of colleges, stimulated the training of teachers, encouraged the growth of higher education of women, and served as the nuclei from which numerous North Carolina colleges grew.[13] Around 1850, the academy generally began to decline because of the development of a strong feeling in favor of public control and support of educational enterprises, both elementary and secondary. After the Civil War, when public education received a new meaning and an added impetus under the powerful influence of the Peabody Fund, the South and its public high school began to develop to the point of becoming the dominating institution of secondary education in North Carolina. Between 1860 and 1900, academies began to be replaced by public high schools. This period was largely an experimental period; getting the people to accept the idea that support of secondary education is properly a function of the State was one of the chief difficulties. However, with certain industrial and social changes, this idea became less and less a difficulty, for the populace gradually came to see the need for materially increasing the opportunities for high school education at public expense for the youth of the State.[14]

The North Carolina Experience

North Carolina's historical documents give ample evidence that during the period from 1750 to 1800 there was indeed a heroic and difficult battle being waged among an otherwise busy people for the establishment of some sort of public education. One appreciates the difficulty of this struggle after reading excerpts from S.F.B. Morse's description of North Carolinians during the period of the latter half of the eighteenth century: "They have very little of the bloom and freshness of the people in the northern states. The general topics of conversation among the men, when cards, the bottle, and occurrences of the day do not intervene, are negroes, the prices of indigo, rice, and tobacco. Many of the interludes are filled up with a boxing-match; and these matches frequently become memorable by feats of gouging."[15] Despite Morse's unflattering description of North Carolinians, one contrastingly finds that the constitution of North Carolina of 1776 provides for "all men [to] have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their conscience."[16] The industrious few mentioned by Morse were moved to write about the lack of schools in the State; and Daniel Earl asked the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts to begin some sort of education.[17] It is significant to note that as early as 1758 the General Assembly of North Carolina also felt the urge to address His Majesty for the purpose of creating "regular and proper Schools and Seminaries of Learning," for the members of the Assembly "observed with unfeigned Concern, great Immorality and Profaneness in the Lives and Manners of many of your Subjects in the Province, as well as gross ignorance." It is also interesting to note that Governors William Tyron in 1770 and Alexander Martin in 1785 were among the most vociferous appealers to the Assembly for the cause of a birth of education which would correct the prevailing immorality and reach the people of the "back country."[18]

After the War for Independence, the idea that education is a governmental function and obligation gained immensely in strength, for now the people realized the need for able, intelligent, enthusiastic, and patriotic citizens in a democratic society. Thomas Jefferson, perhaps more than any other leader, aroused attention to this need by instituting reforms and by doing early work for public school education in Virginia, which was widely influential in North Carolina. North

Carolina was the first of the southern states to have a constitutional requirement for schools, but it was the last of the older southern states to enact a public school law. The state constitutional provision adopted in 1776 provided that a school or schools shall be established by the Legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, in one or more universities,[19] but it was not until 1825 and 1839 that legislation was enacted.

Archibald D. Murphey, head of a governmental committee recommending the establishment of a school fund, made a report concerning education in a democratic society which was so significant that it marked the dawn of a new educational era for North Carolina, and became the basis of the school system which was inaugurated in 1839. The proposed system was to include a literary fund and a state board of education to manage the fund and to have supervision over the schools. Murphey's report led to his being known as the "father of public schools in North Carolina."[20] Stuart G. Noble notes, "North Carolina found an intelligent leader in the person of Archibald D. Murphey, who proposed a plan of education similar to that which had been outlined by Jefferson. The state established a Literary Fund in 1825, but was unwilling to finance Murphey's forward-looking program."[21] Briefly, Murphey's history-making report recommended such things as the creation of a fund for Public Instruction, the constitution of a board to manage the fund and to carry into execution the plan of public instruction, the organization of schools, the courses of studies to be prescribed for each, and the modes of instruction.[22] These recommendations, each containing many details, were undoubtedly the foundations for the establishment of a permanent public school endowment in 1825 and for the enactment of the first public school law in 1839, both milestones in the history of North Carolina education.[23]

Despite Murphey's recommendations and the endowment fund of 1825, it was not until Bartlett Yancey, a student of Murphey, presented a bill to the senate that a permanent public endowment for school support was established. The bill passed and became law with no division in either house of the legislature. The need for the education of the masses was so urgently felt that the surplus revenue distributed by act of Congress in 1836 amounted to $1,433,757.40, all of which was used by North Carolina for the cause of education. This increased the literary fund to two million dollars, and at this point steps were immediately taken to establish a system of public schools with the novelty of local taxation as a helping hand, a novelty of which no other southern state could boast.[24] Although the real educational revival began when North Carolina received its portion of the national surplus, shortly after the legislature instructed the Literary Board to submit a plan for public schools at the 1838-39 session. The Board, guided largely by Murphey's report of 1817, recommended: the division of the state into 1,250 districts, estimating an average school population for each district of 108 children between the ages of eight and fifteen; the establishment of normal schools; the holding of an election in each county to vote on the issue of "schools" or "no schools." The law, as finally enacted, was a compromise measure, which carried out most of these recommendations, except those relative to normal schools and the election of a state superintendent, which were to come later.[25]

The constitutional provision of 1776, the endowment fund of 1825, and the public school law of 1839 are the three major factors in the growth of public secondary education in North Carolina. After these three milestones, a setback was experienced in 1865, when the depreciation of securities and properties during and following the Civil War wrecked the banking system of the state, thus causing the state to lose most of its funds for education. It was not until 1917 that permanent public school funds of one kind or another were again reported. Numerous obstacles arose, and many years passed before the principle of free public secondary education for all children, by taxation on all the property of the state, was to be safely established.[26]

One may think of the second quarter of the nineteenth century as a widespread reform movement that was felt throughout the entire state and South. In North Carolina the reforms undertaken for free public secondary education were not unlike the reforms undertaken by other states, and the plan of 1839 and the improvements made in 1852, which made possible a school system, advanced in support and control.

Although North Carolina was the first southern state to make constitutional provisions for schools, it was very tardy in its process of following up the early lead. With the exceptions of the literary fund in 1825 and the first public school law of 1839, no further public education legislation was enacted, but from 1840 to 1860 the state made such steady educational progress that the United States Commissioner of Education in his report of 1895-1896 was prompted to say that "it was able to place on the ground beyond dispute the best system of public instruction in the fourteen southern states east of the Mississippi previous to the outbreak of the Civil War."[27]

Such achievement was by no means easy, for despite the 1839 school law, many tutors and the people themselves were jealous of the new system and felt that the fund was ample without taxation. Fortunately in 1841 legislative improvement was made for the administration of secondary schools, and counties which had failed to adopt the system of 1839 were in 1841 given the opportunity to vote on the issue again. Until 1853, when a state superintendent was appointed, the chief defect of the system was a lack of central supervision and control. Until that time the Literary Board was the executive head of the schools, and the system was left largely to county officials who were not qualified by training or experience to guide the work wisely. Other problems growing out of this fundamental defect were irregular returns of school statistics from the counties, no provision for special reports from the Literary Board, and the different habits developed by different counties in the control of school work. These problems certainly did not contribute to the formation of a coherent state system.[28]

Finally, in 1852 Calvin H. Wiley was appointed to the position of state superintendent, a post in which he distinguished himself nationally until it was abolished in 1866. He was a man who labored with great zeal during the educational revival, and his constant reorganization and improvement of the various educational agencies of the state met with pronounced success. Wiley toured the state at his own expense to campaign and arouse interest in the cause for schools, a factor which he considered to be of paramount importance. Wiley's efforts were not always warmly appreciated, but, as is the case with so many successful persons, failure only prompted him to labor more intensely, and his name truly became synonymous with all North Carolina education from 1852 through 1866. At a time when obstacles hindering public secondary education were great, Wiley's efforts resulted in an increase in the number of teachers. In addition, teaching qualifications were elevated. Moreover, he encouraged women to become teachers, for he felt that their patience and other qualities were all conducive for the task of training youth. His urgings inspired library associations and a state teacher's association to be formed. One of Wiley's most significant and successful operations was that of giving an annual report of the schools, a report which so many times prompted innovations and reforms because it contained specific information about numbers of available teachers and willing pupils.[29]

Wiley was widely recognized, and his services were greatly in demand in other states. Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia sought to copy the educational example of North Carolina. Wiley was invited to appear before the legislature of Georgia for the purpose of aiding that state in improving its school system. By 1860 the scholastic population of the state numbered 221,000. There were 3,000 schools and more than 2,700 teachers licensed in that year, and $100,000 was collected in local school taxes. These are all facts which in some degree materially display the accomplishments of one man.[30] Truly Wiley, Murphey, and Joseph Caldwell, who secured the passage of the first school law of the State in 1839, brought public education in North Carolina to the greatest development it reached prior to the Civil War.[31]

The congressional plan (1867-1876) for the restoration of the South after the U.S. Civil War was not altogether effective, for under its terms native whites, Negro freemen, and men from the North--more familiarly known as radicals and scalawags, easily influenced Negroes, and carpetbaggers--were all jammed into the reconstruction conventions. The other plan for restoration, the presidential plan, which lasted from 1865 to 1867, unfortunately was not pursued long enough. The fact that there was much interest in the efforts to re-adjust secondary education in North Carolina after the war seemed to justify the continuance of the presidential plan, but such was not the case. Congressional reconstruction and the mixed-school question brought about many unintelligent debates and harsh feelings among members of the current so-called legislative bodies. Men in the legislature were not only calling each other "ordinary liars, but damned liars."[32]

Despite the turmoil in 1869, the North Carolina State Senate passed a new school law which contained mandatory provisions for school support. Provision was made for a state board of education similar to the ante-bellum Literary Board mentioned earlier, but with more specific powers, and provision was made for county and township school officers with duties very much like the duties of similar officers before 1860. Township trustees were to establish and maintain, for at least four months in every year, a number of secondary schools at convenient points for the education of all children. They were also required to provide schoolhouses and equipment, employ and dismiss teachers, visit the schools, gather and report school statistics, and give attention to the details of local educational administration. Further, the portion of the state and county capitation taxes applied to public school support was seventy-five percent. In addition, a legislative appropriation was made to assist in maintaining the schools for four months. It is not difficult to see why this school law of 1869 became the basis of the present secondary school system in North Carolina.[33]

A minister from Massachusetts named S.S. Ashley was elected the first superintendent of schools for North Carolina under the reconstruction plan. It has been said that his narrow and prejudiced views and incautious behavior far

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overshadowed his abilities. He took an especial interest in mixed schools for the state, and it was this interest which served to make him very unpleasant to white North Carolinians. His initial report of 1868, the year before the new school legislation had been enacted, showed that almost nothing was being done for public schools and that the income for school purposes was very meager. Despite this, Ashley believed that some schools would be opened in the fall of 1869 and that by 1870 many communities would be supplied with better secondary school facilities. He perhaps expected aid from the school taxes and the outside agencies, which were aiding education in the state. Among these agencies were the Baltimore Association of Friends, the Soldiers' Memorial Society of Boston, the American Unitarian Association, and the Peabody Fund. The secondary education of the freedmen was receiving aid from the Freedmen's Bureau, the New England Freedman's Relief Association, the New York Freedmen's Relief Association, and other organizations.

Despite this help, conditions were far from satisfactory. In the fall of 1871 a new school law was enacted to take the place of that of 1869, with more liberal provisions for public secondary education. Among these provisions were property and special capitation taxes for school support. However, despite the fact that the principle of public taxation for school support was receiving wider acceptance, its application to the needs and conditions of the state was a more difficult task. Moreover, the fear of mixed schools and the agitation in Congress from the Civil Rights Bill added confusion and alarm.

Between 1873 and 1875 only slight improvement appeared, and reconstruction was all but overthrown in the constitutional convention of 1875. The new constitution, which went into effect January 1, 1877, saw two significant educational acts passed by its first legislative meeting. One act established two normal schools--one for each race--and provided for their maintenance. The other gave authority to townships of a certain size to levy special taxes for public secondary schools. At this point conditions appeared more promising, and Dr. Sears of the Peabody Board observed that the tide of public opinion had been turned in favor of education and would thereafter be difficult to resist.[34]

The Peabody Fund was a highly beneficial influence upon education in the South, and its primary object was to promote common school education. The fund was distributed on certain sound principles to the members of the confederacy and West Virginia. The fund's motto was "free schools for the whole people." North Carolina was among the first and largest beneficiaries of the fund, which served particularly to promote town and city school systems and advance educational interests generally.[35]

North Carolina was one of the first states to participate in the distribution of the income from this endowment. On the advice of Calvin H. Wiley, former state superintendent of schools, Reverend Barnas Sears, president of Brown University and director of the fund, visited the larger cities of the State in 1868. Arrangements were made so that compliance with the conditions of the fund would be accomplished. After experiencing many setbacks, Sears, in cooperation with the state superintendent, continued to work to stimulate the growth of free public secondary education in North Carolina. Finally, with the return of so-called "home rule" in North Carolina in 1876, and with the adoption of a new constitution, conditions began to show some change for the better. The legislature of 1877 dispelled many of the fears and suspicions of the people by its enactions, prompting most of the outstanding educational leaders of the period to feel that free public secondary education would be an institution which would indeed be difficult to resist in the time to come.[36]

It should be noted the first public secondary schools for Negroes appeared in North Carolina in 1918, but growth was slow until about 1921. In that year the Division of Negro Education was organized, with a full-time director, as an integral part of the State Department of Education. Shortly afterwards an inspector was appointed to devote full time to supervising secondary schools for Negroes. In 1922 the State High School Supervisor included data concerning secondary schools for Negroes in his annual report.[37]

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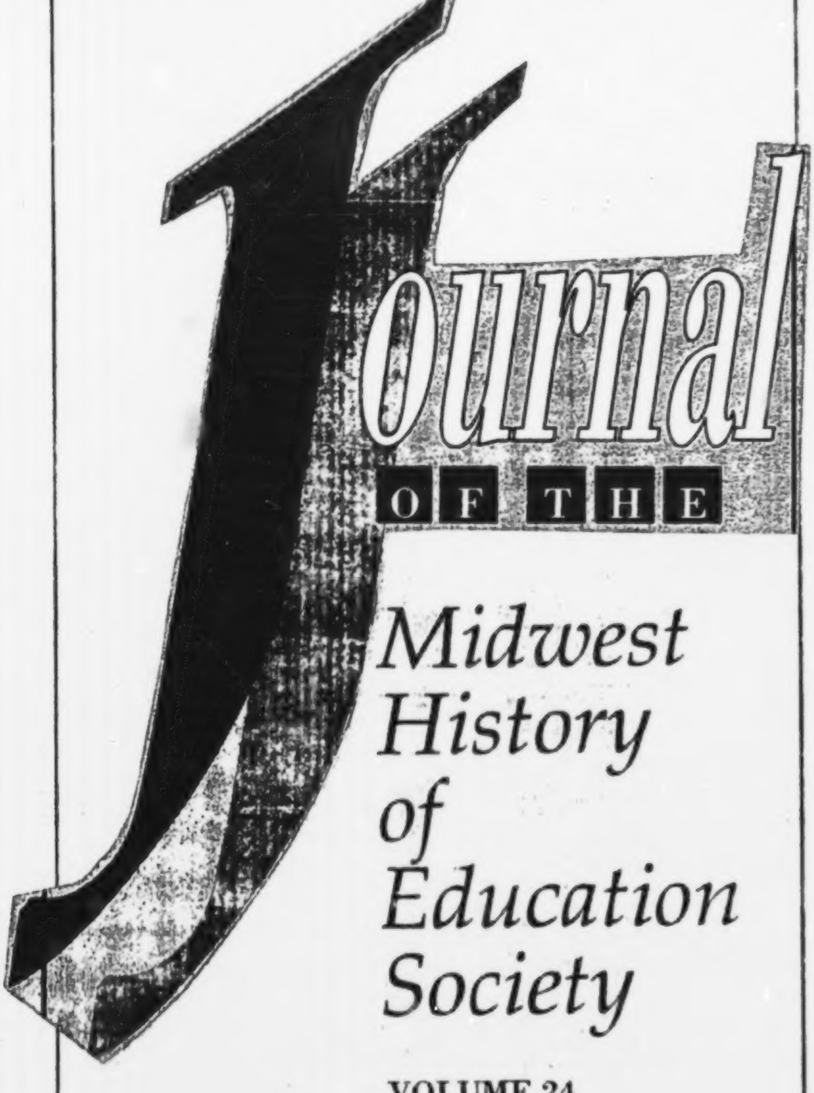

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From the Editor

Several people made possible this issue of the *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society*. The Dean of the School of Education at the University of Dayton, Dr. Patricia First, supported the project generously. The authors whose papers appear in these pages offered work of the highest quality. The editorial board and the associate editors worked diligently and carefully. Anna Victoria Wilson of the University of Texas at Austin set the format of the journal.

The *Journal* offers an important outlet for mature scholars and for students beginning professional careers. In these pages, as at the annual meeting of the Society, papers of all types appear together each reinforcing the other.

Joseph Watras
University of Dayton
Dayton, OH 45469-0525
watras@keiko.udayton.edu
(513) 229-3328

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Indiana and the National Defense Education Act of 1958

Sevan G. Terzian
Indiana University

Historians such as Norman C. Thomas have recognized the passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958 as a watershed in bringing the federal government into the realm of public education. The federal government had repeatedly attempted to increase its limited control over educational matters since the Great Depression with very little success (Thomas 1975, 3-4; Smith 1982). However, the Soviet launching of Sputnik in October of 1957 ushered in a climate of apprehension and insecurity in the United States. This technological feat led many Americans to question the status of their own nation's human capital, and they placed the blame squarely on public schools. Thus, a federal aid to education program became more politically feasible, and within a year, the NDEA was signed into law by President Dwight Eisenhower. Despite the arguments that it would benefit national security, the multi-faceted nature of the bill indicates that, more importantly, the federal government had gained an opportunity to set a political precedent (Clowse 1981; Elliott and D'Orso 1992).

The federal battle had been won, but it would be another matter to secure the cooperation of all states. Education constituted a public arena significantly different from highways and farm subsidies, because it was indicative of deeply held cultural values in various places. This paper examines one aspect of the coming of the NDEA to illustrate the dynamics of public sentiment in the educational policy making process. The case of the State of Indiana and the NDEA marks a curious episode in itself. Local newspapers and the *Congressional Record* reveal that in the late stages of the bill's negotiation in Congress in August of 1958, Indiana appeared exempt thanks to an amendment by Indiana Republican senator, William E. Jenner. This amendment was the only one of its kind. For many years, Jenner had been vocal in opposing a strong federal government, and the pending education bill did not constitute an exception. Why is this example significant? Aside from its entertaining qualities, it also provides a novel vantage point for viewing the growing federal role in education and social policy.

In the months between Sputnik and the passage of the NDEA, Jenner and other public officials in the Hoosier State voiced their objections to the proposed federal-aid-to-education bill. Specifically, they employed a rhetoric of self-sufficiency and state pride to bolster local and state opposition to the measure, because they feared the consequences of losing their cherished control over curricular matters and funding. Such feelings of state independence were not new. Indeed, a strong tradition of self-help and local and state control had flourished for decades in the Hoosier State. By the late 1950s, however, it had become increasingly difficult to isolate oneself from national goals and federal initiatives. Americans, including Hoosiers, had to reconcile state and national identities. The growing presence of the federal government during the Cold War years pressured many Americans also to feel more pride about education as a nation. Therefore, the Jenner Amendment, in its call for regional exceptionalism, constituted a catalyst for shifting feelings of state pride to embarrassment, precisely because of this mounting federal pressure. Indianans abandoned their senator, and this constituted a fundamental shift in the history of Hoosier politics, as the people put a national allegiance before a state one.

In the decades preceding the NDEA, Indiana had voiced objections to some federal initiatives. According to historian James Madison, many Hoosiers subscribed to a tradition of self-help and home rule. Indiana had historically viewed high taxes and the federal government as the two biggest threats to its independent ethos. In 1947, the state general assembly passed a resolution which articulated this position:

> Indiana needs no guardian and intends to have none . . . . We have decided that there is no such thing as 'federal' aid. We know that there is no wealth to tax that is not already within the boundaries of the 48 states. So we propose henceforward to tax ourselves and take care of ourselves. We are fed up with subsidies, doles, and paternalism. We are no one's stepchild. We have grown up. We serve notice that we will resist Washington, D.C. adopting us . . . we respectfully petition and urge Indiana's Congressmen and Senators to vote to fetch our county court house and city halls back from Pennsylvania Avenue. We want government to come home (Madison 1986, 313-314).

Although this statement had no legislative effect, it symbolized the predominant attitude among Indiana politicians.

At that time, Hoosiers felt confident enough to voice such invectives against the federal government, and the resolution continued by urging the other states to make similar proclamations. Indiana even had a history of refusing federal aid for education (Curti and Nash 1965, 244-246). In 1957, for example, Indiana was one of three states which did not participate in the modest six million dollar Library Services Act in which states were to match federal grants. This abstinence reflected the specific priorities of the state government, however, because according to "Books--But Not for Indiana" in *The Gary Post-Tribune*, 17 August 1958, the Hoosier State did not try to exempt itself from federal farm subsidies nor $93 million in federal money for highways. According to Madison, "Hoosiers, though strongly patriotic and nationalistic, were seldom very grateful" (Madison 1986, 313).

Shortly after the Soviets launched Sputnik in the fall of 1957, many segments of the American public blamed schools for the apparent technological inferiority of the United States. Calls for greater federal involvement in education manifested themselves in the NDEA bill to provide assistance in math and science instruction, but also for guidance counseling, foreign languages and even vocational education and financial aid for college. Hoosier state officials, however, were not so quick to condemn the condition of educational affairs. In the fall of 1957, Governor Harold Handley called on the Indiana Department of Public Instruction to create a fourteen-member commission to "'scientifically'" assess five areas: teacher qualifications, high school course offerings, pupil participation, student achievement and finally, "'the need for scholarships for talented pupils'" The ensuing report, often referred to as the Manion Survey (named after prominent Hoosier professor of education, Clarence Manion) and authored by State superintendent of public instruction Wilbur Young, was titled "Mathematics and Science Education in Indiana Schools" (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 17279). It concluded that Indiana schools were doing just fine and did not need outside help or involvement. For instance, the Survey posited that only 53 students in the state needed financial aid for college. As a result, the Indiana State Chamber of Commerce, a powerful educational lobbying group, created a loan fund of $30,000 for the 53 students in the state it found worthy. But the methods used to determine those who deserved financial aid for college were dubious at best, and the committee operated under the assumption that one year of aid for college constituted sufficient educational opportunity. Nonetheless, the committee concluded "'that Federal assistance on this program is neither necessary nor desirable'" (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 17279).

Editorials in Indianapolis newspapers applauded the findings of the Manion Survey. For example, "Uncle Sam, Schoolmaster," in *The Indianapolis Times*, 2 August 1958 and "Indiana Meets a 'Crisis'," in *The Indianapolis Star*, 7 August 1958 urged Hoosiers to resist the federal government's attempts to increase its influence in education at the expense of local and state control. They feared that the proposed federal programs would not be temporary and would create a permanent federal presence in education. Other articles like "Antidote to Federal Aid," in *The Indianapolis News*, 6 August 1958 and "Indiana Points the Way," in *The Indianapolis Star*, 7 August 1958 also praised the involvement of private interests, namely the Indiana State Chamber of Commerce. Such regional support for education, moreover, satisfied local needs, "something that would be impossible in any federal scholarship program operated by bureaucrats on the remote Potomac." Thus, other states needed to follow Indiana's example in opposing federal aid and creating alternative sources of school funding. Furthermore, two Congressional Representatives from Indiana, John V. Beamer and Charles B. Brownson also indicated their opposition to the NDEA and referred to the Manion Survey as evidence that states like Indiana could take care of their own. Above all, Brownson believed that matters of funding boiled down to the question of who was best fit to handle education. The answer certainly was not the debt-ridden federal government (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 16695-16696). Both Representatives Beamer and Brownson appealed to the same sort of rhetoric of state pride in the House, and they anticipated some of the arguments Jenner would employ in the Senate. Thus, a number of prominent individuals and groups supported the optimistic conclusions of the Manion Survey. No one, however, proposed an amendment to exclude Indiana from all provisions.

In her account of the evolution of the NDEA, Barbara Barksdale Clowse notes that Indiana Senator William Jenner produced an amendment that exempted Indiana from all provisions of the proposed bill. Clowse adds that Indiana state officials were adamantly opposed to the issue of federal aid to education (Clowse 1981, 132). In light of the recent history and tradition of self-help, one can understand that many Hoosiers would have opposed the NDEA. However, opposition did not necessarily lead to a dramatic refusal to participate in the program. What led Jenner to present his amendment to the Senate? What was the legacy of the Jenner Amendment? To answer these questions, one can benefit from an understanding of Jenner's political orientation, voting history, and social priorities.

Jenner first served in the Senate briefly in 1944 and then for two six-year terms from 1947 to 1959. He was a "new isolationist" who believed that the United States had to minimize its international involvement and strengthen internally to meet the Soviet threat in war (Poder 1976, ii). He was used to voting in the minority during his Senatorial career (Poder 1976, 309 and 333). Jenner was also aggressively anti-communist, and from 1953 to 1955, he chaired the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee which investigated, among other things, the extent of communist infiltration into American education (Poder 1976, iii). Jenner objected to a strong federal government, favored balancing the budget, and advocated laissez-faire economics (Poder 1976, 22-23 and 107 and 277-279). His actions against the NDEA indicated his opposition to federal involvement in education. For him, educational policy belonged to the states, and he felt that post-Sputnik rhetoric was simply a veil for a federalist agenda (Poder 1976, 281-282). Impact aid, protecting civil rights, and national defense: these constituted the three realms appropriate for federal involvement (Poder 1976, 284). It becomes clear, then, that Jenner was remarkably consistent in his political ideology throughout his career. He was not particularly crafty or even influential, but he was candid and sometimes rabid in his attacks: "'I charge that this country today is in the hands of a secret inner coterie which is directed by the Soviet Union'" (Poder 1976, 90).

On August 13, 1958, the Senate version of the NDEA bill came up for a vote. The House had already passed its version on August 8. In the Senate, Jenner attacked the bill as a ploy to get the federal government involved in education: "It matters not how it is tried to dress the old gal; it may be called a defense program, but it is still a Federal-aid-to-education program" (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 17275). Jenner also suspected that the provisions of the bill did not relate to national defense: "They were thrown together hastily, in an attempt to achieve under the influence of the sputniks, the same tired, old programs for federalization that Congress had withstood again and again" (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 17281). The senator from Indiana objected to the proposed scholarship provision and that the bill did not require students to study math and science in college in order to qualify for financial assistance: "A person can take the money of the Federal Government as a pure gift and study tap dancing or the arrangement of flowers" (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 17275). Perhaps Jenner exaggerated, but one scholar has demonstrated the piecemeal evolution of the NDEA bill in both the House and Senate and has shown the multiple purposes of this measure, one of which was to facilitate the entry of the federal government into the domain of public education (Clowse 1981). Furthermore, the major proponent of the bill in the House, Alabama Democrat Carl Elliott, writes in his memoirs that the bill was intended to establish a precedent for further federal aid to education: "Of course I couldn't admit it at the time. . ." (Elliott and D'Orso 1992, 169). Thus, Jenner accurately recognized one of the primary motivations behind the NDEA bill, and this guided his opposition.

For Jenner, states, local districts, and private corporations had to control education. In the Senate, he voiced the opinions of the Manion Survey (he had it published in the *Congressional Record*), the Indiana Chamber of Commerce, the State Commissioner of Public Instruction, Wilbur Young and Governor Harold Handley, all of whom feared the implications of a strong federal education bill. Jenner flatly rejected the NDEA : "The people of Indiana do not want it; my State does not want it. I shall try to find some way, if the bill becomes law, to prohibit $1 of the money from going to the State of Indiana" (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 17275). The majority of Indiana newspaper accounts opposed the NDEA, and few voices appeared in the public press in favor of it. It is ironic that a state like Indiana, which expressed its patriotism and anti-communism so vehemently during the Cold War years, would oppose a measure meant in part to contribute to the fight. Some Hoosiers argued that greater centralization of power would resemble a Soviet-type system. Jenner communicated this sentiment when he spoke against federal incentives for students to pursue certain careers: "We want no uniform Federal examinations. This is the leftwing pressure for compulsory uniformity" (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 17281). Senator Jenner and his powerful constituents employed the rhetoric of self-help and local/state control to try to cement their influence within the state. Instead, the rest of the United States needed to be more like Indiana and less like the Soviet Union: "That is the way we do business in Indiana, and some of the other states had better start copying it, or we shall all go down the drain together" (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 17281). At the very least, the federal government needed to allow Indiana the freedom to maintain its educational prerogatives. This position led to conclusions that all was well with the existing curricula, funding, methods, and student achievement. This promotion of home rule and state pride by the state government, Department of Public Instruction, the Chamber of Commerce and Senator Jenner also indicated a fear that regional cultural, social, and political priorities expressed in their school policies would be threatened by greater federal involvement.

In the Senate on August 13, 1958, Jenner proposed an amendment to the NDEA bill "[t]hat the State of Indiana be excluded from the provisions of this act" (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 17320). Jenner made no provision to exempt Indiana residents from paying federal taxes to support the bill. The measure was approved by a voice vote and became part of the Senate version of the bill as the House and Senate versions went into conference to hammer out differences. According to "Indiana Omitted From Education Bill By Senate" in the *Indianapolis Star*, 14 August 1958, "The Senate floor and the crowded galleries rocked with laughter when Jenner introduced his amendment." The State of Indiana had voluntarily denied itself any of the program's potential measures, and Jenner confidently proclaimed, according to "Education Bill Excludes Indiana" in *The Indianapolis News*, 14 August 1958, that his amendment would remain in the bill as it went into conference. Jenner's opposition to the NDEA echoed the voices of many influential Hoosier politicians, educators, and others. It is not clear, however, whether any of these constituents anticipated the Jenner Amendment. Indeed, the ramifications of this development may have caused significant anger and embarrassment to Indianans. It was one thing to spout rhetoric in defense of principle; it was quite another to become the laughingstock of the nation. Jenner's Amendment alienated even those who opposed the NDEA.

How did people in Indiana react to the Jenner Amendment in the Senate? On the whole, two main groups of constituents in Indiana voiced their views about federal funding for education in the summer of 1958. On the one hand, Indiana state politicians, state education officials, the Chamber of Commerce, and a number of newspaper editors argued against federal aid to education, because they opposed federal influence in what had traditionally been their domain. These groups often appealed to sentiments of state sovereignty and regional pride in justifying and protecting their positions. On the other, some groups of Indiana teachers, principals, and administrators did not enjoy the existing state spending policies on education. They did not subscribe to feelings of state pride and regional exceptionalism. Some of these people favored the NDEA itself. Others may have opposed the idea of federal aid to education in principle, but found it ludicrous to stand alone. These people may have felt a degree of embarrassment from the whole affair.

The major Indianapolis newspapers generally applauded Jenner's amendment, at least symbolically, for it bolstered regional pride. Editorials such as "Indiana Stands Alone," in *The Indianapolis Star*, 15 August 1958 and "Nice Going, Bill," in *The Indianapolis Times*, 16 August 1958 celebrated the exceptionalism of Indiana and called the amendment "... a gesture that probably will be recalled in Capitol Hill cloakrooms for many a day." Others wrote that "[i]t sets the example that states do not have to tag meekly along while the Federal bureaucratic monster takes over all the functions of government." None of these articles mentioned that the Jenner Amendment did not exclude Hoosiers from having to contribute taxes for the NDEA if the bill became law. The next day, however, an article titled "No Work, No Pay," in *The Indianapolis Star*, 16 August 1958 expressed the realization that the Jenner Amendment might not be so rosy: "Since Indiana is to be excluded from the activities of the aid-to-education program, Indiana taxpayers should also be excluded from paying for it. We'd suggest a bill providing that a sum equal to Indiana taxpayers' share of the cost of this program be set aside and returned to the state, for use as Indiana taxpayers see fit." Indeed, the Jenner Amendment managed to create drama and elicit ridicule in Congress and to reinforce a feeling of pride back home, and although the Indianapolis newspapers praised the measure, they soon realized the pitfalls of this brand of exceptionalism.

Indeed, the proposed NDEA worked on an interstate level. For example, public schools in participating states would receive funding for various programs. But the proposed scholarship (and ultimate loan provision) involved students attending colleges in other states (Clowse 1981). Whether the loans would become available to the student or the institution, the Jenner Amendment was incongruent, because it could hurt out of state students who wanted to attend a University in Indiana, and it could deny out of state universities the chance to enroll a Hoosier student. Thus, the isolation sought by Jenner and many Hoosiers would not be feasible if the bill were to pass.

Meanwhile, editorials in the *Gary Post-Tribune* criticized the Jenner Amendment. "Jenner Takes From

Indiana," 15 August 1958 called the Senator's action "one of those idiotic things that responsible officials do not do. But Jenner, of recent years, has been chiefly a mountebank." The article did not accept the argument that Jenner's amendment constituted principled opposition to federal involvement in state and local affairs and saw it as absurd: "this is not a question of the values of the bill [NDEA] to the country but of whether Indianans are to be made the goat by Jenner's antics. Even if a majority of the people of the state do not favor the measure, and no one knows that they do or not, surely no Indiana taxpayer wants to help pay for education in 48 other states while getting no help from them." According to this view, exceptionalism did not translate into regional pride, contrary to the rhetoric of Jenner and others, because Indiana was accepting federal money for some programs (for example, highways), but resisting aid for education. These contradictory policies indicate the highly charged arena of public education. These groups did not want their influence over schools to diminish.

While the nine Republican representatives from Indiana opposed the NDEA, not all of them applauded Jenner's actions in the Senate. Republican Representatives William G. Bray and John V. Beamer did not like that Hoosiers would have to pay taxes and receive nothing in return. According to "Hoosier Solons Rap Jenner Amendment to Education Bill," in *The Gary Post-Tribune*, 14 August 1958, Beamer felt that most people would agree: "'I don't think people in Indiana would want an exclusion of this kind. If excluded from tax payments, they might be in favor of it.'" Ray J. Madden, a Democratic Representative from Gary, criticized both Jenner and the Governor: "'Handley has been isolating Indiana from the rest of the nation. The taxpayers of Indiana have to pay terrific tribute to go along'" (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 18549). In the House of Representatives on August 19, 1958, Madden objected to the Jenner Amendment while the conference was still negotiating the terms of the federal aid to education bill. He presented roughly 250 letters which he had received ". . . from groups of schoolteachers . . . Principals . . . Superintendents . . . noonday clubs, from individuals extending all the way from the Ohio River to Lake Michigan; small towns and large towns . . ." (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 18549). For example, Mrs. Robert Hill, President of the West Vigo School Improvement Council wrote that "'[w]e represent several thousand citizens who urge you to work to reinstate Indiana and seek passage for the bill.'" (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 18549). H.E. Roberson, Superintendent of Campbellsburg Schools, wrote, "'Senator Jenner's action...[is]...childish. We want Federal aid for schools'" (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 18549). H.F. Schulte, superintendent of Jeffersonville City Schools, countered the conclusions of the Manion Survey: "'. . . I assure you that the school officials do not concur with Senator Jenner's statement that Indiana will take care of the need" (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 18550). Many letters employed similar wording in hoping that "'Indiana be restored on the basis of other States" (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 18549-18551). Indeed, those who actually worked in the classrooms and schools felt that federal aid to education would help where state efforts were not sufficient. This need overtook any sense of regional pride.

Thus, not all Hoosiers were happy with the Jenner Amendment, and some even favored the concept of federal aid to education. These views belonged primarily to teachers, principals, and school administrators. For instance, Robert H. Wyatt, executive secretary of the Indiana State Teachers' Association (ISTA) called for a reconsideration of social priorities: "The expenditures of the American people for automobiles, for highways, for cosmetics, for tobaccos and for a host of other items are so prodigious that the question of 'ability to afford' is trite" (Wyatt Jan. 1958, 205-206). He criticized the tendency of some Hoosiers who preached the virtues of home rule and also dismissed the claims of the state legislature that no teacher shortage existed and that only 53 students in the state needed scholarship aid to go to college. In addition, Dr. Edgar L. Morphet, who had helped to create Indiana's existing foundation program in 1949, pointed out that while Indiana ranked 15th nationally in its ability to pay for schools, it ranked only 37th in actual financing. This bolstered Wyatt's concerns that the priorities among state officials did not favor public schooling (Fraser Sept. 1958, 18-22; Wyatt Oct. 1958, 45-47). Thus, some Hoosier educators, namely members of the ISTA, were critical of existing state education policies and can explain why some teachers, principals, and administrators advocated federal aid to education and voiced their abhorrence at the Jenner Amendment.

A number of college students and other residents expressed their opposition to the Jenner Amendment. Referring to the laughter in the Senate galleries when Jenner presented his amendment, one student wrote in a letter titled "Aid Wanted" in the *Muncie Evening Press*, 21 August 1958, "[i]n my opinion, they should have laughed him right out of Washington." He claimed to represent many others in their willingness to accept aid for educational opportunity. The student also criticized the Manion Survey: "I hope that the senator will be able to explain to the hundreds of students in Indiana who won't be able to attend college because they can't afford it..."' Another student letter in the *Indianapolis Star*, 27 August 1958 favored federal aid, because the state had a poor history of funding higher education: "It is hard to imagine this state spending very much money on any scientific research project which is not designed to make corn grow better or to improve hunting and fishing." Thus, a number of Indiana students felt betrayed by state and Congressional action, and saw greater federal involvement as a viable alternative.

Between August 19 and 21, a Congressional conference committee met to resolve the differences between the Senate and House versions of the NDEA bill. One of the sponsors of the bill, Representative Carl Elliott of Alabama, informed Indiana Representative Winfield K. Denton that the conference had eliminated the Jenner Amendment as one of its first orders of business. This news pleased Denton, because he, too, had received numerous letters from Hoosiers indicating their disapproval of the Jenner Amendment. Denton also expressed his satisfaction that "Indiana is being treated the same as the other States of the Union" (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 19608). Thus, the conference committee had brought Indiana back into the fold despite the contrary predictions of Senator Jenner, a move which pleased many of the Congressmen and people in the Hoosier State.

Ironically, Jenner was not present for the final Senate vote on August 22, 1958 which passed the conference measure by 66 to 15 with 15 abstaining. The House passed the conference version on August 23 by a vote of 212 to 85 with 131 abstaining. President Eisenhower then signed the bill into law on September 2, 1958 (*Cong. Rec.* 1958, 19087, 19618). The federal aid to education bill had become Public Law 864, and Indiana was very much a part of it (Clowse 1981, 140).

Irving Leibowitz writes that Senator William E. Jenner was "the symbol of Indiana" (Leibowitz 1964). But in fact, many Hoosiers were not happy with the Jenner Amendment and the state leadership and even advocated federal aid, because they had become dissatisfied with state funding policies. Jenner acted consistently with his political positions as a "new isolationist." This example also demonstrates how various groups can appeal to sentiments of state pride in order to mask their self-serving motives. Governor Harold Handley, the State Department of Instruction, the State Chamber of Commerce and some Congressional politicians called on Hoosiers to rely on themselves. These influential groups and individuals understood that education can be a powerful and contested terrain. If Indiana opposed federal aid, then state and local authority would remain intact over educational matters. And overseeing the state budget gave some the power to control schools through curricula and other means which would shape outlooks and aspirations of future youth in Indiana. In short, these groups lobbied Senator Jenner, because they did not want to lose the control they enjoyed, but even they may not have predicted his extraordinary initiative to make Indiana an exception.

Ultimately, this story has to do with the need to reconcile multiple allegiances, particularly state and national. Historians Rupert B. Vance and Howard W. Odum have shown that ". . . the region gains its significance only from its relation to a total structure. The relation that regionalism presumes to study is that of parts to wholes" (Vance 1957, 119). In other words, one's identity does not rest in a vacuum: many levels of identity coexist. Although individuals endure a number of contradictions in their lives, moments arise when such conflicts are brought to the fore and reconciliation becomes necessary. In the months immediately preceding the NDEA, many Hoosiers felt able to do this. Some argued that participation in such a federal program would abet a Soviet-type system. Therefore, non-participation would respect both state rule and patriotic goals. This constituted a very crafty and satisfying argument, indeed.

It was the Jenner Amendment, however, that forced the issue. By pushing Indiana into the national spotlight, Hoosiers found it very difficult to reconcile state and national identities, and a choice became necessary. Jenner had raised the stakes by making Indiana a public spectacle and at the expense of humiliation in the nation's capital. By rendering Indiana as an exception, Jenner led many Hoosiers to feel collective embarrassment instead of pride. Philosopher Arindam Chakrabarti observes that "[i]t is the widespread belief that the larger or more inclusive the group with which I identify myself in feeling collectively proud, the less morally objectionable is the pride" (Chakrabarti 1992, 35). This tendency was coupled with specific historical developments which prompted Hoosiers to abandon their anti-federal stances and to urge participation in the NDEA. Indeed, Cold War rhetoric was difficult to counter, and a national mood had emerged that states were seen as incapable of handling changing educational demands. In addition, the interstate nature of the NDEA bill made it difficult for a state to isolate itself from it.

While the Jenner Amendment served as a catalyst to shift public feeling from pride to embarrassment, one must recognize that the jump was a short one. Indeed, the quick move from taking pride in feeling distinct from the rest of the nation to feeling pride as participants reveals the growing federal pressure to conform in the realm of education and social policy. It illustrates the difference between 1947, when the Indiana General Assembly could proclaim its vehemence against the federal government, and 1958, when much greater public pressure to conform existed on the national level. The United States was on the brink of major federal programs such as Civil Rights and the Great Society. Indiana had jabbed in the direction of the federal wall in 1947 and did not hit anything. But by 1958, the federal wall had moved closer and similar jabs, such as the Jenner Amendment, had resulted in a collision. Thus, Hoosiers had to make a choice, and they decided to cooperate. Interestingly, in recent years, many states and Congressmen have renounced federal programs in education and other public realms and tried to regain control. Perhaps this marks the beginning of a reversal of the trends established in the 1950s. For the time being, however, politicians like Jenner seemed suddenly quite out of date, even for many Indianans.

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Fifty Years of Foreign Language Education in Austin, Texas, High Schools

Chara Bohan
Jennifer Deets
The University of Texas at Austin

The past fifty years of foreign language education in Austin high schools has been marked by a large and multi-faceted foreign language program. Austin's foreign language curriculum encompasses several languages taught at many levels and in a variety of ways. In general, foreign language education in Austin evolved from a strict grammar-translation approach in the prewar years to the audio-lingual method afterward. Subsequently, elements of both approaches, combined with further theoretical developments, led to the present focus on communicative competence, both written and spoken. Active exchange and club programs have augmented and strengthened the classroom curriculum.

Certainly, social and political upheaval, international crises, and continual growth of a multi-racial and multi-ethnic population influenced the development of the teaching of foreign languages in Austin high schools. In addition, methodological adjustments, increased access to foreign language courses, construction of new facilities, a growing tax base, and a larger native Spanish speaking population had a substantial impact on foreign language education. In the 1940s, Austin had two high schools, Stephen F. Austin and Lawrence Cecil Anderson High Schools. Today Austin boasts ten high schools. During the past fifty years, schools in the district routinely have offered Spanish, French, German, and Latin, but not necessarily every year at all high schools. Each high school has contributed uniquely to its students' experience with foreign languages by attracting notable teachers, developing innovative club programs, offering less commonly taught languages, organizing exchange programs, and designing advanced placement courses, foreign language symposia, and contests.

Prior to World War Two, the focus of most American foreign language education was on the development of reading skills in the classical languages of Latin and Greek for scholarly purposes (e.g., Kelly 1969, Long 1994, Met and Galloway 1992). With the coming of war and the evident need to communicate in both the written and spoken forms of modern foreign languages, second language acquisition theory experienced dynamic developments. In keeping with the strong behaviorist and structuralist traditions of the 1940s and 1950s, and in response to global sociopolitical developments, the predominant method of teaching foreign languages became known as the audio-lingual method. ALM, as it most often was called, relied heavily on drills, dialogues, and instant correction of errors. Technology (mainly audio tape recorders) could readily bring the second language into the classroom, and use of the first language (English) was strictly prohibited (Brown 1994). ALM was developed by the U.S. Army for intensive wartime training, but teachers quickly learned that high school learners wanted and needed more than drill after drill after drill; they wanted grammar explanations and activities which would enable them to use the second language more creatively (Brown 1994, Omaggio Hadley 1993).

The value of communication in foreign languages, certainly among friends, was important. But the need to understand and to communicate, even with communist adversaries, became critical to national defense. This "Red Scare" led to removal of books sympathetic to Communism from libraries, and to the demand that educators sympathetic to Communism be dismissed (e.g., Richardson, Anderson and Wallace 1993, Carleton 1985). On October 4, 1957, the Soviets launched the first manmade satellite, *Sputnik*. This event sparked a nationwide concern over an alleged "gap" between Soviet and American technology and schooling (Tindall 1988, Adey 1996, Mellenbruch 1996). Shortly thereafter, the federal government increased defense spending and created the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), and Congress passed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA). The NDEA of 1958 was an attempt to strengthen education in science, mathematics, technology, and modern foreign languages (Connell 1980). Through the NDEA the federal government provided substantial funding for research, purchase of equipment, teacher education, and various other teaching programs in these four curriculum areas (Hydak 1996).

In the 1950s, while ALM was touted as the best way to teach foreign languages, few districts were willing to fund the language laboratories and provide other necessary equipment such as listening carrels, tape recorders, headsets, and filmstrips. Nevertheless, three Austin teachers took matters into their own hands. Julia Mellenbruch, a longtime Spanish teacher at Austin High School and the district's first foreign language coordinator, and two other teachers, Margarite Sledge of McCallum High School and Margaret Adey of Travis High School, decided to construct their own language laboratories (Adey 1996, Mellenbruch 1996). They enlisted the help of campus industrial arts (shop) teachers to make booths in their classrooms. Then they attached tape recorders to kitchen carts and wheeled them into the booths. Mellenbruch used her personal funds to purchase the tape recorder used in her classroom. Mellenbruch's cousin, a technician in the local telephone company, helped her to construct multiple listening stations so that two recordings could play simultaneously. With this system, she could better address the varying needs of her entire class, even some of whom were native speakers.

For Mellenbruch, as well as for many theorists of the time, speaking the foreign language needed increased emphasis. Some Austin teachers attended summer language institutes, developed in the wake of Sputnik and funded by NDEA and other programs. In addition, although they had only the old grammar-translation-based textbooks to use, Mellenbruch remembered that teachers had to be flexible: "We had to adapt the materials in the textbooks to get more speaking skills in the classroom"(1996). Technology was one way to bring spoken language in; increasing teachers' own speaking proficiency through workshops, symposia, and conferences was another.

Margaret Adey, Mellenbruch's colleague, taught Spanish at Travis and Crockett High Schools and, in 1981, was named Texas Foreign Language Teacher of Year (Hydak 1996). Adey (1996) remembered that, in the 1950s, foreign language enrollments dropped precipitously and that, for a while, foreign language teachers faced a "sink or swim" situation. Following Sputnik, however, she noted that general interest in languages increased. Also, she remembered a slight shift in emphasis regarding what language learning entailed. Speaking and listening skills subsequently received greater attention than did reading and writing, a reversal of previous teaching practice. In 1960, Travis High School acquired its first real language laboratory to enhance the development of these oral and aural skills. This "real" laboratory came about after Austin's Superintendent visited the makeshift laboratories that she and others had improvised. The Superintendent regarded these portable laboratories as "pitiful." At his insistence, and with the NDEA funds, the district installed laboratories in all of Austin's high schools. In addition, provisions for such laboratories were included in plans for all future high schools (Mellenbruch 1996). The Austin language laboratories included sophisticated audio-visual equipment such as tape recorders, filmstrip projectors, and record players. They enabled students to learn languages through the enhancement of their auditory skills, a major tenet of the audio-lingual method.

The audio-lingual method was based on a dominant theory in psychology, which throughout the 1940s and 1950s was behaviorism. Later, in the 1960s and 1970s, more and more emphasis was placed on inward behavior and, subsequently, meaning and understanding. The shift from a behaviorist approach to a more cognitive orientation had far-reaching effects on many related fields, including second language acquisition. In linguistics in the late 1960s, at roughly the same time that psychologists were thinking in terms of cognition, Noam Chomsky postulated a universal grammar underlying all languages which led to transformational linguistics (Brown 1994, Schultz 1991). Presently, communicative competence holds sway.

With increasing integration and growth in Austin in general, schools experienced changing needs for foreign language education while demand has increased for traditional Spanish classes, today there are also innovative classes such as Spanish for Native Speakers designed to meet the needs of students who may already speak some Spanish. Such classes reflect the present emphasis on communicative competence in foreign language education.

Austin teachers, such as Margaret Adey (1996), firmly believe in the necessity of students being able to use their Spanish skills in authentic communication situations. One of her common admonitions, one that former students have told her they recall vividly, is "Don't teach Spanish. No, *use* it in your chosen career." Of course, she did not intend to discourage future teachers, but wanted students to become aware that languages are useful in all walks of life, not just in school hallways. Adey developed and raised funds for an immersion program, the Spanish Workshop of Monterrey, a program that enabled students to have as much contact with Mexicans and their language and culture as possible. She believed that students' authentic contact with the Spanish language was critical to their success.

Adey remembered that as newer textbooks and other foreign language instructional materials became more self-contained, newer technology was made available, and second language acquisition theory changed, language laboratories, once the hallmark of outstanding language programs, simply became obsolete. Their demise can be attributed to the extra materials, time, and preparation work that was required as well as to the vandalism of the equipment itself, which increased maintenance and repair costs (Adey 1996).

While few laboratories remain today, other district-wide developments have affected the nature of foreign language education in Austin. For example, in the 1980s, AISD created two magnet schools within existing high schools: the Liberal Arts Academy at Johnston High School and the Science Academy at Lyndon Baines Johnson High School. These controversial academies brought together highly-motivated, high achieving students and enabled them to pursue their studies, including foreign languages, at an accelerated pace. By bringing them together, however, the students inevitably are drawn away from other Austin high schools, creating a perception that the students remaining at the regular high schools are somehow less motivated and less able. Reflective of ongoing racial prejudice, too often Hispanic students are among those considered "less able".

Yet Austin has had notably successful Hispanic students. Travis High School, in particular, serves a predominantly Hispanic part of Austin in which many native speakers of Spanish reside. Current and longtime Spanish teacher, Nereida Zimic (1996), has commented that "*native* is a strange category," and that students may have Spanish names and come from Spanish-speaking cultures, but Spanish is not spoken at home. Families perceive the importance of English and encourage their children to adopt it as their first language. However, a more subtle and insidious problem exists, and that is an aura of "shamefulness" in speaking Spanish in this part of the country (Zimic 1996). Zimic tries to overcome this perception and to encourage pride in all students' ethnic and cultural heritages by opening each new semester with the statement that "all of us are immigrants." She assigns students to research their family ancestry to discover where in the world their families originated. She emphasizes that although English is a common language in the United States, people from all backgrounds have much to contribute to society as a whole, including their "old" languages. Her goal is to "help kids live with one another" (Zimic 1996). In fact, at Johnston High School and Keeling Junior High School, the foreign language departments offer separate classes of Spanish for native and non-native speakers and two different textbooks have been designed specifically to meet the needs of these different groups of students (Hydak 1996).

While changing demographics have had a marked impact on foreign language education, by and large, beneficial language learning situations have been in evidence in Austin high schools throughout the past fifty years. The need for, and the offering of foreign language courses has mirrored the changing times as theories have evolved, as political crises have arisen and passed (or lingered), and as the city has continued its relentless growth from 160,000 in 1953 (*The Rebel Roundup 1978)* to 540,000 in a metropolitan area that exceeds 1 million today (Lindell and South 1995).

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Muse and Mettle: Fine Arts Instruction In American Public Schools During W. W. II

Mary Ann Manos
Bradley University

On 7 December 1941, the mounting fear of armed involvement by the United States in a global war was realized. All sectors of society were called upon to do their part to aid the war effort. This included educators and school administrators who were committed to supporting democratic ideals as well as improving American Education (Field 1991, 210). In response to the challenge of those difficult times, teachers promoted a high morale for both school and community and the continuance of a national school reform movement (Cremin 1961, 273, Perrett 1973, 370). This paper describes the increased prominence of the fine arts curriculum during the war years and its relationships to the war effort.

The fine arts offerings in the schools suffered during the depression years due to a shortage of funds and perceived lack of utility. The latter was linked to the educational efficiency movement which increased pressure on schools to cut costs and reduce the "fads and frills" of the curriculum. The notion that education was to be preparation for a utilitarian life justified the elimination of some courses because they were too expensive (Callahan 1962, 6). Furthermore, rural one-room schools, still present in the 1930s, often employed teachers with little or no college education, thus limiting instruction in the fine arts. In addition, it is difficult to know how wide spread the fine arts curriculum was since very little has been written on this topic. For example, although I. L. Kandel (1948), a major educational historian of the period, provided in-depth information about schooling during World War II, the fine arts were not included. These curricular offerings within the public school curriculum have not researched.

Several questions initially guided this research. To what extent and in what ways did the war effect the fine arts offerings in American schools? Did wartime conditions attract increased enrollments? Did the fine arts offerings of curriculum–those most responsive to the emotions-- reflect the isolation, fear and brutality of war events? Were the fine arts too elitist for the "practical" war effort or included even at great cost in the face of rationing and economic restrictions? These and other questions have remained largely unanswered because little research has focused on fine arts in the World War II curriculum. However, evidence of fine arts offerings was found in various sources including professional journals, teacher magazines, governmental reports, newsletters of interscholastic competitions, and meetings of specialized teaching associations. Also, valuable information came through and interviews of teachers working in classrooms during World War II.

The fine arts certainly appear in what Spaull has called "symbolic observances" and "practical patriotism" (Spaull 1990, 5). Symbolic observances gave rich meaning to the terms of freedom, citizenship, and historic lessons, promoting both morale and unity on the home front (Kandel 1948, 21). Practical patriotism offered a wealth of opportunities for fine arts involvement "to provide community service of both wartime and peace time nature"(Kandel 1948, 21). The fine arts in daily symbolic observances were found within the classroom, auditorium assemblies and in after-school programs (Nohavec 1943, 30). Social goals and artistic aims were met by flag ceremonies, school assemblies, patriotic plays and pageants, oratorical declamation, victory sings, art exhibits and other patriotic music. School assemblies provided an important outlet for fine arts instruction within the school day. For example, Dr. Nelson Patrick (1995), a former teacher in Donna High School (Texas) recounted in an interview that assembly programs which involved his 40-member band and 30-voice choir performed regularly to support wartime activities. This was not unusual as Cohen (1992) reported an increased emphasis on patriotic assemblies (50). The N.E.A. Research Bulletin (1943) reported a 25 -50% increase in all-school assemblies and special programs from the 1401 school systems responding to the questionnaire. University professors encouraged teachers to make provision for assemblies, debate, dramatizations, plays, pageants, music and art in order to vitalize our cultural heritage (*Education for War and Peace* 1942, 34).

Many publications for primary teachers–*Instructor, Grade Teacher, Junior Arts and Activities, Progressive Education Journal* and *Plays*–offered entire programs for use by the regular classroom teacher. Most were teacher written and were published with ample pictures, illustrations, and suggestions for production. Along with generous amounts of teacher made materials, publishers offered inexpensive booklets for quick production of professional-level material. One such volume, *Democracy and Patriotism*, included 80 pages outlining 13 separate pageants, five picture features, three choral recitations and four poster ideas. All of this could be purchased for 25 cents (*Instructor* 1942, 10). Fine arts materials with which to blend defense activities and instruction were plentiful and well distributed among primary and secondary teachers of the larger districts. For example, Bonnie Rigby recalled in an interview that while teaching in Abilene High School (Texas) during the war, that the district music supervisor distributed considerable free materials. One such package featured "Any Bonds Today?" a song written by Irving Berlin, a favorite with her students.

School reports reveal small steps taken to increase fine arts curriculum offerings. Districts from across the country reporting in the *Curriculum Journal*, from January, 1942 through December, 1942, reveal their plans to expand music, art and drama offerings. Clearly, certain facets are visible in tracing the development of fine arts instruction during the war years. They include the common use of assemblies, homeroom activity periods, and the use of more supplemental materials.

Symbolic observances, those actions or activities that foster a love for democracy and an appreciation of American heritage, stood as reminders of the dedication of the fighting soldiers. Symbolic observances include: patriotic oaths, murals, flag ceremonies, speech contests, oral declamations, victory sings, concerts of patriotic music, school assemblies for pageantry, plays on patriotic themes or historical drama. Practical patriotism was built on the mooring of pride in the American way of life. Many such activities directly supported the soldier on the front line. Fund raising, informing the community of war programs, sending materials to the war front, entertaining the armed forces and collecting scrap all gave direction for school activities. Schools saw a clear opportunity to combine high quality cultural opportunities with the practical experience of war support (Conn 1943, 17).

Music, art, drama and speech played a large part in these activities. Student activities and projects were filled with references to symbols of American greatness, a belief in democracy, American history and "justice for all." The *Wartime Handbook for Education* offered guidelines for music and singing programs which advocated the "inclusive participation of the student body" (N.E.A. 1942, 25-26). Glee clubs were common in many schools. So numerous were the requests for public music performances, that the editors of the *Music Educators' Journal* reported, "We are fairly overwhelmed with the wealth of contributions made by the school music organizations to the wartime program" (Wartime Program in Action 1943, 25). Ample supplemental materials were available to primary teachers along with how-to-do music instruction from other teaching professionals (Bryant 1943, 10). As the war raged on overseas, many teachers on the home front kept children singing and playing instruments to remind them of their American heritage and to increase their sense of hope as a symbol to the entire community. Clearly, high school choirs increased in public visibility during the war years. Such increased community events seem to signal a period rich in possibilities for vocal programs. Cooperation with other choruses, religious and educational, was commonplace. Music, instrumental, and vocal instructors in high schools and elementary schools enjoyed an increased rate of public performance (Boyle 1943, 15). High school bands and choruses provided music for such things as bon voyage concerts for the departure of men to military duty, Red Cross meetings and USO programs, and school assemblies (N.E.A. 1942, p. 25-27). Music also played a part in fund raising (Kirk 1994, 91). Occasionally the price of admission to school concerts was one war savings stamp. Whenever the need for war support, fine arts departments stood ready for service duty, fund raising, and entertainment.

Art in the classroom during World War II took many forms. Included were handicrafts, folk arts, posters, scale modeling, and classic art appreciation. Lacking in both preparation and adequate materials, teachers of art were often assigned to teach art with neither the background nor supplies. Still the "make-do" spirit was evident in arts activities. Due to rationing, class-produced art tended to resemble handicrafts (Todd 1943, 10). Teachers were encouraged to make their own finger paint and to use cleaning bags, butcher paper, scraps of fabric, pressed crayons, plaster of Paris, and cardboard to create family presents or gifts for servicemen (Todd 1943, 10). Popularized by the WPA Federal One Project, many state and federal buildings contained beautiful, expansive murals of historical tableaux (Cremin 1988, 460). The genre provided great opportunity to place art in the school hallways (Maples 1942, 8). Easily seen by the adult visitor, these murals used large brown paper often available from area merchants, and provided a temporary canvas for secondary and elementary students alike (Todd 1944, 26). This practical use of art provided drawing and painting practice not only for individual students to expand artistic expression but also to encourage group cooperative work skills. Students produced millions of recreational articles for the armed forces ("Wartime Education" September, 1943, 4). Checkerboards, scrapbooks, picture holders, greeting cards and stationary were produced and mailed to soldiers by many of the high school art classes ("School Serves Wartime" 1942, 496).

School speech activities expanded through the World War II years on the local, state and national levels. Radio was a powerful force for the spoken word. Many radio technique projects were extensions of public speaking class (DeLay 1943, 10). Student forums offered a structured format for the presentation of current events, war information and student concerns. Declamation, was a favorite among classroom teachers. Any well-known classic in poetry, literature, or public speaking could be prepared for classroom, school assembly or parent night. A 15 cent newsstand magazine--*Vital Speeches*--provided easy access for students and teachers to enliven political studies. Another form of speech common to World War II years was choral speaking. Poems, prayers, pledges and creeds were favorite subjects for choral speaking at the elementary level. Most out-of-town speech competitions were curtailed by rationing of tires and gasoline (Hammock 1943, 3). Nevertheless, rationing did not stop in-school debates on topics of interest. Topics included "Lowering the Voting Age to 18 Years" and "The Formation of a World Police Force" (*Leaguer* October, 1944, 4). Extemporaneous speech topics include, "Employment of Discharged Army Vets", "Public Work for Post-War Unemployed", "Universal Military Training", "National Radio Control", "Equalization of Educational Opportunity", and "The League of Nations" *(Leaguer* October, 1944, 4). Speech education throughout the war gave life and breath to famous words, uplifting thoughts, historic passions, classic literature and freedom of expression. A Victory Speakers' Bureau was a vital force in school--community relations. The high school supplied prepared speakers for the Community Chest, Red Cross, Sunday church messages and for Fire Department presentations (Livingston 1942, 1).

Theater instruction during the war years used pageantry and simple vignette to further wartime interest. Not an exercise in avant garde theater, simple situation comedy, patriotic themes and fund raising received most emphasis in wartime theater production (Rowe 1943, 1). Often the defense industry employment of older secondary students limited their involvement in after school drama activities (Miller 1988, 179). Play writing by students was encouraged. *Plays* magazine, a major source of low-cost dramatic material for elementary and junior high teachers, sponsored a play-writing contest in 1943. The topic was a biography of a famous American or an event in American history. Westinghouse Corporation provided the $100.00 war bond prizes and over 6000 one-act plays were submitted for consideration.

Large cast shows of historical vignette were given for several national conventions (Dore 1942, 10). Small performances were given in homerooms, at school club meetings, and assembly programs. Exchange programs with other schools and radio programs were also evident (Bravely 1942, 10). High school drama directors were admonished strictly to control the type of theater scripts being written. Satire was discouraged. "Simply written scripts of people doing the right thing and embodying the basic ideal of freedom are best choices for performances" (Rowe 1943, 3). School plays ended in hopeful terms with a post-war peace (Dore 1942, 3). A deeper sensitization of students to their heritage, common brotherhood and enriched social living were the goals of theater instruction in the wartime years.

The use of theater in practical patriotism was lavish and is well documented. The U.S. Office of Education, War boards, the U. S. Treasury department, the National Education Association and theater magazines made scripts available to schools. The scripts were written to encourage blood donations, sale of war savings stamps, sale of war bonds, the entertainment of servicemen, and for raising funds for war services (N.E.A. 1942, 1). Often these shows were used to raise funds. More often they were staged on or near military bases. The Army provided transportation, stage area and often refreshments for the troupe (Gorton 1942, 11). This emphasis on entertainment and not purely instruction led high school directors to consider shows for their entertainment value (Rowe 1942, 1).

The fine arts filled the need to stir hearts, soothe uncertainty and strengthen resolve. The essence of democracy, the energy of group planning and the creative expression of the individual, faceted the fine arts instruction during the war years. Extant sources offer small bits of evidence, details that form pictures only after slow accumulation and study. These colored fragments seem to be supportive of a rich tapestry of school fine arts activities during wartime. The fine arts contributed considerably to the schools overall wartime activities. Even in the worst of conditions, people are capable of high-purposed conduct. The courage and resolve of American education was tested during World War II. The schools were "in this scrap" and provided students as artists, speakers, actors and musicians to strengthen the fiber of America's appreciation of democracy and to provide the determination to see the war to a successful end. The fine arts programs were not excluded at the cost of practical war activities. Actually they blossomed in the war effort. Used as "vehicles" for self-expression, fund raising, reminders of American heritage and home front morale, the fine arts survived the pressure of war. Around the nation, school officials reported an increase in fine arts curricular offerings. Certainly more research will bring distinct clarity and additional detail to this picture.

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The Carl Siembab Gallery, Boston: A Study of the First East Coast Photography Gallery

Keith Armstrong
Northern Illinois University

The Carl Siembab Gallery (1954-1983) was owned and operated by Carl Siembab, who sought the same artistic and humanitarian worth in his artists as he esteemed in himself (Armstrong, 1996). By these means he and his gallery were instrumental in unifying and fostering a new wave of photographic genius into a powerful photographic force. Carl Siembab's attentiveness for humanitarian and artistic worthiness helped him to select consistently exhibitors who continue to gain public recognition to this day.

Admittedly, there were factors which may have independently enhanced the importance of the Carl Siembab gallery and the reputation of the gallery's artists. First, the Siembab Gallery received some notoriety simply because it was the first mainstream gallery on the East Coast to dedicate space to photography. Second, there were fewer artists of photography in the 1950s through the 1970s than there are now, but they were willing to dedicate their life to this uncertain field of art, and they were unique individuals (Hooks 1995). It is these people and their motivation which this paper will investigate.

The Siembab Gallery showed only painting and sculpture in its first two years of operation. It differed from other mainstream galleries only when it opened a room just for photography. Unfortunately, the Carl Siembab Gallery soon discovered that few people valued photography as art in the 1950s and what did sell was sold at low prices. What kept this gallery and its artists going when neither economic gains nor the acceptance into the arts were readily forthcoming? It was due to Carl Siembab and the artist's sense of unity or an effective collective consciousness. "It is a sociological axiom that individuals as members of a community can endure great privation and difficulties" (Roberts 1971). Some writers about the 1950s gave this phenomenon the name *Pour epater les bourgeoisie* [i.e., to shock or "put on" the bourgeoisie] and a list of attributes including the ability to forego economic security. "Perhaps the two most influential pre-communalist movements of recent times revolved around the 'beat generation' of the 1950s. . . The conformity demanded by the larger American community was rejected by the beats' advocacy of artistic integrity, voluntary poverty, and social disengagement" (Roberts 1975).

Although only a small portion of the gallery's artists considered themselves as a formal part of the beat generation, its influence was everywhere evident; it became a means of sounding one's artistic authenticity. Even the gallery's more financially solvent photographers demonstrated these qualities. It is interesting to note that these older artists--those over thirty who had been given recognition by the Museum of Modern Art and The George Eastman House (the first two major American institutions to treat photography as art)--had an element of "shock" or appreciation for poverty or social disengagement about them. Berenice Abbott, Ansel Adams, Dorothea Lange, Brett Weston, and Imogen Cunningham are such examples. Maybe they were the photographic forerunners of the "beat generation" at the Siembab Gallery as they, to some extent, maintained these characteristics before the era existed. And they brought these qualities with them when they exhibited their photography and participated in the community spirit at the Siembab Gallery.

The book *Imogen!* contains an example of Imogen Cunningham's capacity to shock, which appeared early in her career. "In 1915, Imogen married the Paris-trained printmaker, Roi Partridge, and in the same year she made a series of nude studies of Roi on Mount Rainier. . . Photographs of male muses were almost unheard of at the time; they are controversial even today. . . She exhibited the prints once, but they created such a scandal of horror and disbelief that she hid the negatives for over fifty years" (Mann 1974).

Ansel Adams believed that the most photographic places were threatened by America's growth in the 1950s. He espoused that these lands be used by a select group of people, defending such exclusivity in the name of spirituality and writing, "There ought to be remote places accessible only to those willing to walk or ride horseback. There out under the stars people would find spiritual renewal" (Mann 1974).

Berenice Abbott was another colorful example of social disengagement whose work would inevitably show at the Siembab Gallery. She left America for Paris where she worked for Man Ray. There she met James Joyce, Jean

Cocteau, Sylvia Beach, Andre Tardieu, Djuna Barnes, Alexander Berkman, Marie Laurencin and Andre-Gide (Forsee 1968). She spent most of her life advancing the French photographer Eugene Atget (O'Neal 1982). Abbott knew and understood the uncertainty and misunderstanding that was part and parcel of a photographer's life and she had learned it all from Atget. "It was from Atget that Abbott first learned she might have to walk alone . . . she wrote in her diary 'It is not profitable to discuss whether or not photography is an art. Results will speak in due time'" (O'Neal 1982).

Since the Siembab Gallery represented the avant garde and the naturalist, the successful and those yet to be successful, the sacred and the profane, in time it became an effervescent place to exchange ideas and grow metaphysically. Some of the photographers formed common interests which grew into "movements" within the gallery.

Most of the "movement" oriented photographers at the Siembab Gallery were directly influenced by Minor White, MIT professor and "follower of the Russian mystic G.I. Gurdjieff" (Wise 1991). Although he seemed to lack polarity himself, he everywhere caused it. This fact is so evident that today it is difficult to get his closest friends to volunteer information about him. His friends are as protective of him today as they were when he was alive. Why? White's unintentionally countercultural views were ever evolving--even more so as he got older--and his students experienced what no outsider has seemed to fully grasp: transcendence.

While teaching photography during the time of the Viet Nam and Civil Rights era, White's use of photography as an educational tool scared people. The *Boston Sunday Globe* wrote of White: "With his conviction in 'the metamorphosing power of camera' and the pursuit of 'the other' that he believed a photograph could invoke or reveal, White laid a rigorous agenda on his students. Through the study of esoteric books, meditation, Oriental ritual and diet, mime and classical music, they were instructed to live and breathe photography." The article continued: "Under his tutelage, they sought 'a heightened awareness'. . . after the mid-50's, he sought ways through photography to bring himself in contact with 'the Creator, either inwardly or outwardly . . . [and] White received his best local attention at Siembab's stalwart gallery on Newbury Street'" (Wise 1991).

The Museum of Modern Art, New York, presented Minor White's retrospective photographic opening in 1989. After the opening an exclusive, loft party was hosted primarily for White's closest friends. Through Carl Siembab's generosity, the author of this paper was invited and encouraged to meet many of the artists who were influenced by White. One of these was Jerry Uelsmann, who explained that writers have misquoted or misused White's statements and he had become cautious about responding.

In Bunnell's book titled *Jerry N. Uelsmann*, he credits White as one of Uelsman's godfathers (1973). Both White and Uelsmann see photography as a means of transformation. Bunnell puts it this way: "Let us not delude ourselves by the seemingly scientific nature of the darkroom ritual: it has been and always will be a form of alchemy. Our overly precious attitude toward that ritual has tended to conceal from us an innermost world of mystery, enigma, and insight."

Another group of White-influenced artists are also concerned with transcendence and joined under the historical banner of The Association of Heliographers. Although not perceived to be as radically countercultural as White, they were equally as abstract. The group billed themselves as follows: "The Association of Heliographers was organized early in 1963. . . .The word Heliography was first used by J.N. Niepce in 1829 to name the astonishing process he discovered by means of which he was able to focus the sun's rays in a Camera Obscura upon a sensitized surface and obtain a lasting image of his vision." Their works show a clarity of vision that transcends the subject matter photographed and provides a manifestation of the envisioned experience (The Association of Heliographers 1970).

It was Paul Caponigro and Carl Chiarenza from The Association of Heliographers who played the initial role in the photography gallery. They are credited with having channeled Carl Siembab's interests away from painting and sculpture to the singular mediums of his original gallery, forging a way first to add photography to other mediums and then to make it the exclusive medium at the gallery.

Siembab, driven to share his new discovery--photography as a fine art--did not wait for photographers to seek him out, nor did he investigate the public's readiness and keenness for it. Nearly overnight he became dedicated to the dream of making photography speak as loudly as any other art in his gallery, but soon he realized that few listened.

He quickly learned that the public needed first to be educated about photography before they could appreciate it. Consequently, Siembab showed photographs that taught people to appreciate photography. In fact, Siembab often admits that photography was *never* available to the public as it was in his gallery.

In spite of Carl Siembab's progressive notions, he refused to go the direction of the new photographic gallery movement that began in the 60s to grow in nearly every major U.S. city. With Siembab's personal help and advice, galleries grew, but they responded competitively toward the market place. The wealthy galleries offered their already famous photographers a guaranteed income in exchange for the exclusive right to represent their work. Because Siembab had not done this and would not do it because of his personal dislike of the policy, he lost all of his renowned photographers, except Minor White. After losing the photographers, Siembab continued the gallery for ten more years with young, undiscovered photographers. In 1981 even this group of bright photographers ceased to show, and the Siembab Gallery closed.

Today Carl Siembab acts as a photographic consultant, yet he recalls how "in the 50s and the 60s and even in the 70s there was a kind of ferment; and out of the ferment came people with ideas and we had a whole string of young people with them in those days. . . They were coming up with ideas in ways to use the photographic medium to express artistic ideas in the hope of enriching the society" (Siembab 1992). In these ways the Siembab Gallery offered the American people an education.

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Weldon Covington and School Music in Austin, Texas, 1931-1973

Henry Stanton Tuttle
The University of Texas at Austin

On Friday evening, September 13, 1996, more than 125 alumni of the Austin High School Maroon Band gathered for the first-ever reunion of members of the band during the "War Years," 1939-1945. Many of these graying alumni brought their high school yearbooks, copies of band concert programs, and letter sweaters. They hoped to rekindle the intensity of old acquaintances and to share fond memories of their accomplishments both during their school experience at Austin High and afterwards. Perhaps the most common comment overheard that evening was "You haven't changed a bit since 1944."

The primary purpose for the reunion was to pay tribute to their band director, Weldon Covington. "Mr. Cov," as he was and still is warmly known, humbly accepted a commemorative plaque from his former students. In his remarks to "you kids," as he affectionately called them, he reminisced how the band kids were always "classy." He also explained that the band's legacy was a standard of excellence and quality that still existed in the "classy kids" in the current Maroon Band. Earlier in the week, Covington directed the 1996-97 Maroon Band in a performance of *Loyal Forever*, the school song. For the reunion finale, he "directed" as that tape was played for the alumni.

Why would such a group of retirement-age, Social-Security eligible individuals travel from as far away as Colorado, Mississippi, and Michigan to gather for such an occasion? Many reasons exist, but honoring Mr. Cov was paramount for most alumni. Covington directed the Austin High School Maroon Band from 1931 until 1953. For more than a decade, he also served as supervisor of instrumental music for the Austin Independent School District (AISD 1960). He then continued in this supervisory post until his retirement in 1973. During his tenure, Covington influenced thousands of individuals, including students, parents, teachers, and administrators, with his unique talents and abilities. What were these unique talents and abilities? What did this teacher and supervisor do? Accounts of teachers' professional careers generally are uncommon. Especially rare are biographies of school supervisors (Glanz 1995). This essay not only portrays Covington's pivotal role as a music educator, but also contributes to an understanding of music supervision in a growing school district after World War II.

Weldon Covington's love for music is lifelong. He was born in Alvord, Texas, on March 5, 1908. He began his musical career as the pianist in his local church at the age of nine. Teased and bullied by another boy in the congregation for doing a "sissy" thing like playing the piano, young Covington began to lift weights. About the same time, he began to play the trumpet, transposing music written for the piano for the trumpet. After about two years of weightlifting, he invited the other lad to remain after church one Sunday for a one-on-one music appreciation session. Seeing Covington's improved physique probably convinced the other boy that the music sounded great and that it was OK to be a church musician. (Covington 1996).

Covington's love for music continued into his high school days. During his senior year (1924-25) at Alvord High, Covington begged the superintendent to become the band director when the incumbent resigned. The superintendent agreed. During the winter basketball season, Covington's situation became problematic. As a member of the district championship team, he played basketball during the first half of each game, directed the band during its halftime show, then returned to the floor and played the second half of the basketball game. His love for directing bands began in high school.

After high school graduation, Covington enrolled in a junior college, North Texas Agricultural College, now the University of Texas at Arlington. Covington quickly became assistant band director and cornet soloist in the band directed by Colonel Earl D. Irons, a renowned band director in Texas (Barrow 1982). While at North Texas Agricultural College, Colonel Irons encouraged young Covington to attend Ithaca Conservatory of Music in New York. There, he could study under the direction of Pat Conway, an associate of John Philip Sousa and the conservatory's world famous director. Mustering the funds, Covington left Texas for Ithaca, New York, to study music and to play the cornet at Ithaca Conservatory. During that school year, 1926-27, the conservatory band included Les Brown, whose "Band of Renown" became a household name throughout the nation in later years.

Although he received a diploma from Ithaca, Covington did not earn a college degree. After returning home in 1927, he accepted a teaching position in the Marietta, Oklahoma schools.

Covington spent a year and a half from 1927 to 1929 in Marietta. He directed the high school band and the city's band. Furthermore, he directed his church's music program. Even though his life was consumed with music, he remained dissatisfied. He desperately wanted to receive his college degree, but "nobody had any money in the late '20s and '30s" (Covington 1996). Happily for Covington, happenstance intervened in his life.

In the spring of 1929, D.O. Wiley, director of the Cowboy Band at Simmons University, now called Hardin-Simmons University, in Abilene, Texas needed an assistant director and trumpet soloist for the band's scheduled three-month tour of Europe. Covington's younger brother, William, Jr., a member of the band, told Director Wiley about his older brother, his musical background, and his desire to complete the requirements for a college degree. Wiley offered both positions to Covington and also a scholarship that covered all university expenses. Covington promptly resigned his teaching post and "got in [his] car and went right straight out there" to Abilene (Covington 1996).

Covington received his Bachelor of Music degree from Simmons in June 1931. During his two years at the Abilene college, Covington's involvement in the university's program expanded. He played with the band in Europe, and gained valuable experience by directing the Simmons band at West Texas rodeos and fairs in the Abilene area. Director Wiley and Covington alternated band trips and concerts; Wiley directed the band at one event, and Covington led at another. By the time of his graduation, Covington possessed his coveted college degree and almost five years' experience as a band director and leader. In the midst of the Great Depression, he had accomplished much more than many other young twenty-three year old men. A telephone call was about to change Covington's life forever.

In August, 1931, with the school year about to begin, Austin High School still needed a band director and music teacher. Upon D.O. Wiley's recommendation, Austin, Texas school Superintendent A.N. McCallum telephoned Covington and asked him if he might be interested in the position. Covington drove to Austin the next day. Superintendent McCallum interviewed the young music teacher for about ten minutes and offered him a contract that would pay him $1350 for the nine-month school year. Covington immediately accepted the offer and became both the youngest and highest-paid teacher at Austin High School.

Covington moved to the Texas capital and began teaching at Austin High School on September 9, 1931. His predecessors had taken a 1920s award-winning band program (Burdett 1985, 44) and "ran it down to nothing." When Covington arrived on the scene, he met eight band members, six orchestra members, and about thirty choir members. He also taught a music theory class, and "since they thought I wasn't busy enough, they gave me a study hall, too" (Covington 1996).

One particular girl in the choir attracted Covington's attention. A good singer, Verna Young had the lead role in the school operetta that year. She wanted to be in the band, but school regulations excluded girls from the band in the 1930s. After Verna's graduation she and Weldon began to date. Married on August 24, 1933, the Covingtons recently celebrated their 63rd wedding anniversary.

By 1933-34 the band expanded in size and, in Covington's phrase, became "real good" (Covington 1996). During the following school year, the Maroon Band won the top award, first division, in a state-wide contest in Waco. However, Covington realized that to maintain such a high level of performance, the Austin High School band program needed to recruit students from the city's junior high schools. Accordingly, he undertook the development of such a system.

When Covington arrived in Austin, a small orchestra at Allan Junior High School constituted the entire instrumental music program available to the city's white students before they entered high school. In order to develop a junior high school instrumental music program, Covington volunteered to establish bands at Allan and the newly opened University Junior High School in 1933. As a trade-off, he relinquished his orchestra and choir responsibilities at Austin High. The Austin Public Schools' administration approved his suggestion and Covington established these feeder programs. He spent his mornings at Allan and University Junior Highs and his afternoons at Austin High School. He remembers that the program "boomed" after his establishment of the feeder system (Covington 1996).

In 1935, Covington took the bands from Allan Junior High, University Junior High, and Austin High to the state music contest. Each performed on the same day. Still, each band earned a first division ranking, the top award, for their performances (Covington 1996). In only two years, the nascent feeder system was working.

In addition to his teaching and directing duties, Covington also composed music. In 1939, he wrote the musical score for the Austin High School song, *Loyal Forever.* The song was adopted as the school's *alma mater* by vote of the student council in January 1941. This song remains today as the school song, and the phrase "loyal forever" continues as the school's motto.

During this period of intense activity and success in the Austin schools, Covington received an offer to replace D.O. Wiley, his mentor, at his college alma mater (Sandefer 1934). Covington declined the offer and remained in Austin. Additional challenges, opportunities, and success were on his horizon.

As the 1930s drew to a close, Covington continued to direct the bands at the two junior high schools and the high school. However, the band at Austin High grew large and its program claimed increasing amounts of his time and energy. School administrators recognized the situation and altered Covington's assignment. He became supervisor of all band programs in 1940, including that at Anderson High School, Austin's high school for "colored" children.

As supervisor, Covington was involved in every aspect of the instrumental music programs in the Austin Public Schools. He approved both all musical selections for performance and all curricula and methods used by the directors. His supervisory techniques included hands-on demonstrations of rehearsal conducting. Covington recalls, "Instead of just telling them what to do, I just showed them. It worked. It worked for me, it could work for them" (Covington 1996). Still, as he worked with other band directors, he never lost his personal touch with students.

For instance, in the late 1940s, the University Junior High School band faced a stark reality. The father of its director, Frank Phillips, died and Phillips could not accompany his band to the state contest. Covington promptly stepped into the situation and took the band to the contest. He remembered, "The students didn't want to play for a sub, they wanted to play for Mr. Covington" (Covington 1996). He did not know the music the band was scheduled to play, so he sight-read it. At the same contest Verna Covington, his wife, directed the Fulmore Junior High School band "against him" in the same contest. Both of these Austin bands earned first division ratings.

Prior to 1940, Austin Public Schools' regulations excluded girls from membership in the Maroon Band. Girls were permitted to play in the orchestra, but the band was a territorial province of boys. In 1939, Charlotte June Stevenson moved with her family from New York state to Austin. Covington remembered her as a "great" flute player who had been in the marching band at her former school. At Austin High School, she wanted to march in the Maroon Band. Importantly, other girls at the school wanted to be in the band. Covington, significantly, also wanted other talented, qualified girl musicians in the band. Consequently, Covington decided to work to change the exclusionary policy. Covington remembers that he started "raising Cain" about the issue and he ultimately got the superintendent's attention.

To discuss the issue of girls' membership in the band, Superintendent McCallum called a meeting of the two junior high school principals, the Austin High principal, and Covington. McCallum "requested" their attendance, but no one understood the meeting as anything but a command appearance. McCallum presented his views obliquely, but others at the meeting knew that he did not want girls in the band. Subsequently, all the principals voted "no" to the proposal for a changed policy. Covington recalled, "I was real disheartened" (1996). The issue was not settled, however, because another McCallum entered the picture. She was the wife of the superintendent.

Mrs. Jane Legette Yelvington McCallum, who had been Texas' Secretary of State from 1927 to 1933, read an article entitled, "Problem of Girls in Band Is Still Undecided" in that evening's *Austin Statesman* (14 March 1940) . Immediately, she went to work in support of the Austin High School girls, her sisters in the struggle for women's rights. Mrs. McCallum had been a leader in the women's suffrage movement earlier in the century, and her suffrage column, "Woman and Her Ways" appeared regularly in the Sunday newspaper for many years (Duncan 1996). She was unwilling to permit male school administrators, including her husband, to deny to girls this set of opportunities that boys enjoyed exclusively.

Because he was unaware that Mrs. McCallum had inserted herself into the situation, Covington was reluctant to attend a second meeting called by Superintendent McCallum for the same group the next day. Nevertheless, he attended. After voicing virtually the same remarks he presented the previous day, McCallum asked the principals for another vote. When the first principal voted "no," McCallum berated him, saying, "You're old fashioned" (Covington

1996). The votes reversed and the exclusionary policy died. Girls could join the band, but could not do "strenuous physical activities of marching and parading" without written parental permission (APS 1940). Obviously, Mrs. McCallum's influence carried the day. Covington could now use all available talent to showcase the Austin High Maroon Band.

During the war years of 1941-45, the Austin High School band flourished (Tuttle 1996). Overcoming wartime travel restrictions and rationing of all sorts, the Maroon Band continued to excel. It performed at War Bond rallies, in patriotic parades, and at the numerous local military bases. Throughout the period, Covington's reputation grew as well.

In 1943, Covington was offered the prestigious bandmaster position at Texas A&M College, now called Texas A & M University. Attracted by this visible position, Covington resigned his post in the Austin schools and moved with his wife and two young sons to College Station, about ninety miles northeast of Austin. Covington described his arrival in College Station as "no fun at all" (1996).

His offer actually was to serve as an assistant director of the band, with the promise of the director's position after the war. Once at the college, Covington had second thoughts about his decision, and subsequent events increased his uneasiness. When he inquired about the college's willingness to protect him from the military draft because of his children, college officials told him that they would not support his deferral if drafted. Covington immediately resigned from the college and he and his family returned to Austin.

He requested to resume his Austin positions and the district re-employed him. At the time of his "un-resignation," T.N. Porter, business manger for Austin Public Schools, informed Covington that the school district would support his request for deferral because of his two young children and, primarily, because he was the only remaining male music teacher in the district. Although deferred from military service, Covington supported the war effort enthusiastically with his bands' many performances. By the end of the war, he had gained increased recognition from his peers.

Covington joined the Texas Band Teachers Association (now called the Texas Music Educators Association) in 1931. During the 1940s, he served TMEA in various leadership roles, including the chairmanship of the orchestra division of the association. In 1947, he was elected president of TMEA for the following school year (TMEA 1947). As president, Covington led the association in its selection of members of all-state bands, choirs, and orchestras. He also presided over the successful 1948 TMEA convention in Waco. This recognition from his peers was a harbinger of future accolades.

In March 1952, the American Bandmasters Association unanimously elected Covington to its membership (Bainum 1952).This special distinction placed Covington among the nation's elite band directors. Supporting his selection were Colonel Earl D. Irons, Covington's band director at North Texas Agricultural College in 1925 and the current ABA president, as well as D.O. Wiley, former director of the Simmons University band when Covington served as assistant director twenty-two years earlier. At the 1953 ABA convention in Deland, Florida, Covington served as guest conductor of the local high school band. He recalled that his performance before a national audience of his fellow band directors was a highlight of his career (Covington 1996).

1953 was a watershed year for Covington. Soon after his ABA performance and recognition, he conducted the Maroon Band in its final concert as Austin's only white high school band and for the last time as its director. Austin's population was soaring, and two new high schools would open in the fall of 1953. Furthermore, the expanding Austin schools needed a full-time supervisor for its instrumental music programs. The Austin school superintendent and Board of Trustees chose Covington. He was a "natural" for the new post.

Covington accepted the new position with very mixed feelings. He really enjoyed directing the Maroon Band. However, he decided that he must take the supervisory position, since he considered himself to be well qualified by his extended experience in the Austin Public Schools. He also thought that "pretty soon, somebody else would be my supervisor and I don't know whether I would have liked that or not, I don't think I would" (Covington 1996). So he moved from Austin High to the district central office and began his new job. After twenty-two years at Austin High School, he recognized new challenges and opportunities.

As supervisor of instrumental music, Covington quickly became immersed in facility planning, equipment purchase, and employment of music teachers for the instrumental music programs at the two new high schools, named A.N. McCallum and William B. Travis, that opened in 1953. He recommended employment of music teachers, approved curricula and expenditures for equipment, and worked to protect facilities like band and orchestra rehearsal halls and performance halls in the new schools that mushroomed throughout Austin in the decade of the 1950s.

For example, of the fifty-seven Austin schools in service in 1960, thirty-two were constructed during the 1950s (AISD 1960). Of these new facilities, four were high schools. The high school population ballooned from about 2,000 in 1938 to a projection of more than 6,500 in 1960 (APS 1950). To serve the increased number of high school students, the district had five high school campuses: Austin High, which was renamed Stephen F. Austin High School in 1953; A.N. McCallum High School, William B. Travis High School, and L.C. Anderson High School, which was for "colored" students but with a new campus, all opened in 1953; and Albert Sydney Johnston High School that opened in 1960. With these new schools and their feeder junior high schools, Covington stayed very involved with the district's music program.

As a supervisor, he spent as much time as possible in the band and orchestra halls of the schools. He observed rehearsals and offered suggestions and demonstrated techniques to individual directors. He found that his biggest challenge was the criticism of a director who was failing to perform to his high standards. Covington recalls that a few directors became angered by his comments and ignored him. Most, however, listened to and took his advice. Covington's biggest pleasure was to know that he could influence the improvement of both the directors and their bands and orchestras, and that they would recognize this improvement. Not all of his supervisory duties were pleasant, however.

Covington attended the regular weekly supervisors' meetings at the district central office. Most of the agenda items appeared to relate little or only marginally to the arts or instrumental music programs of the district. Covington felt that he could make better use of his time in a band hall or on a practice field. Other district supervisors likely shared his sentiments. Certainly, Covington made important contributions to these meetings and in his presentations to the district's Board of Trustees. He consistently advocated the best possible facilities and equipment for the district's music students and the hiring of the best qualified applicants as teachers and directors of instrumental music.

Covington remembered occasional opposition from district administrators about his employment recommendations. Once, for example, he wanted to hire Bob Foster, a recent college graduate, for an open position. Covington believed that Foster was very talented, but some district officials considered Foster too young and inexperienced for the position. Covington's recommendation prevailed, and Foster performed at a high level. Foster stayed with the district only a few years; today, he directs the very successful and highly regarded program at the University of Kansas. Another example of Covington's keen judgment and persistence involved Paula Crider. Originally employed to direct the Allan Junior High School band, Crider exhibited talent and ability. To fill the position of teacher and band director at David Crockett High School in 1971, Covington selected Crider as the best qualified applicant. The district business manager did not want to employ her. According to Covington, the business manager believed that a woman could not perform the job. Covington insisted that Crider be hired because she was best qualified. Again, Covington's recommendation prevailed and Crider became the band director at Crockett High School. In 1995, The University of Texas at Austin named Paula Crider director of its highly prestigious and renowned Longhorn Band. Without a doubt, Weldon Covington was an influential contributor to her career.

Austin's population continued to increase. During the 1960s, the district opened four new high schools. They were the aforementioned Albert Sydney Johnston in 1960, John H. Reagan in 1964, Sydney Lanier in 1966, and David Crockett in 1968. Covington's many supervisory activities strongly influenced the music programs throughout the district. With instrumental music programs in place at eight high schools and eleven junior high schools, Covington continued to be very intensely involved in program development. He now believes that his greatest accomplishment was the establishment of an instrumental music program at Austin High School, then its expansion throughout the district.

Forced into mandatory retirement in 1973 at the age of 65, Covington did not cease his influence of the music scene in Austin's schools. For example, during the period 1974-1979, an average of forty-one all-state band and orchestra students were selected from AISD, more than from any other district in the state (AISD 1979). Truly, Covington's influence could be felt, even if unknown, by each of these all-state musicians. Covington's influence continued to in other ways as well.

In retirement, Covington actively continued to support instrumental music. He served as a musical selection consultant for numerous contests. He continued to judge many contests as well. He assisted Verna Covington, his wife and band director at T.N. Porter Junior High School, until her retirement in 1977. Honors and awards increased.

During the centennial celebration of Austin High School in 1981, Covington was inducted into its Hall of Honor, a prestigious award given to only a very few special alumni and faculty. Both Weldon and Verna Covington were inducted into the TMEA Hall of Fame in 1991. The crowning moment of honor came in 1986, however, when AISD officially named a new junior high school in honor of both Weldon and Verna Covington. Now called, simply, Covington Middle School, this lasting, living tribute to the Covingtons continues to mean so much to them.

The Covingtons can be seen at their namesake school on a regular basis. They often eat lunch with the students and they attend pep rallies, PTA meetings, and sports events. Occasionally, Covington even guest-conducts the school's band.

The Covingtons also continue to attend most Austin High football games at House Park, scene of many days of glory for the Maroon Band under his direction. From time to time, Covington guest-conducts the band. Now in his late eighties, he remains physically fit by lifting weights, a routine he began early in his life.

When asked if he had any regrets over his life, Covington commented eagerly. Once, he thought he wanted to become a college band director, and had opportunities to move to Simmons and to Texas A&M. He expressed his pleasure that he remained in Austin.

Weldon Covington was Austin's music man. He was proficient technically and professionally. He composed, performed, and directed music as well as organized the logistics necessary to move his bands from their school to performance sites. He also possessed the ability and judgment to select strong individuals for important positions. As he remarked recently, "Good people equal good programs" (Covington, 1996). He also blended compassion with control and students saw him as "the leader" in any given situation. One band alumnus, for example, stated:

> Discipline? No, not like the Navy Chief, but like a loving father who knows how to keep his kids in line and concentrate on the number one thing in [his] life. And what is that? Music, of course (Bible 1996).

All in all, Covington exhibited an uncommon mix of talent, ability, persistence, and hard work throughout his life. His legacy to Austin and to music education is a tradition of excellence. Another band alumnus phrased his feelings about Covington's influence:

> I made many lasting friendships before moving on to college. We were a pretty rowdy bunch but when he picked up that baton and stepped up on that podium, we were all business. He wouldn't have settled for less. I've been through two wars, moved twenty-two times and traveled everywhere but my Maroon Band experience and Weldon Covington have always been among my fondest memories. I should note that I married one of the two majorettes of the band. We celebrated our 53rd anniversary this year. A lot of good things came from my band experience. (Chambers 1996).

Weldon Covington was the catalyst for the growth of instrumental music in Austin's public schools. His influence and advocacy for more than forty-two years of service enabled a feeble program to become a model for emulation by other school districts. In both bright and bad times, Covington's influence encouraged students to achieve, and parents and school administrators to expect high levels of performance in instrumental music. Each time that a school band plays its school song, or that an orchestra earns an award at a state contest, the entire Austin community continues to reap the rewards of Covington's labors.

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Was William Rainey Harper the Founder of the Junior College?

Edward A. Gallagher
Oakland Community College

Historians have perpetuated a myth regarding William Rainey Harper's contributions to the junior college movement. One writer stated that the need for an extension of secondary education upward was the "contribution that is the glory of President Harper." Another historian postulated that the "father of the junior college movement is William Rainey Harper, first President of the University of Chicago." A recent publication updates and extends the myth with the view that "Harper founded the greatest democratic movement in the history of American higher education. Junior colleges would open college classrooms to millions who otherwise would have been denied a higher education" (Smith 1941, Colvert 1974, and Witt 1994).

Much of the myth is based on his alleged efforts to establish the nation's first public junior college at Joliet in 1902. The Harper Papers at the University of Chicago contain no evidence of Harper's efforts at Joliet. Sources do indicate his rather conservative political views were inspired by Social Darwinian ideas rather than Progressivism. Unlike Alexis Lange in California, Harper avoided leading a political movement to establish junior colleges and he never understood the junior college concept as it developed in California (Gallagher 1968).

Harper was the leading promoter and organizer among those educational leaders engaged in the business of university building. The University of Chicago, from its beginning, was intended to be an educational "trust." It served both theoretical and practical interests as a center for scientific and humanistic research. It was also a center for high level professional preparation in medicine, law, engineering, and business, and a site for the popular diffusion of knowledge. Harper hoped that the University of Chicago would become the model for a new kind of American educational enterprise. He desired that other "fit" universities would follow the Chicago pattern (Goodspeed 1916, 26).

Harper attempted to apply organizational ideas of industrial corporations to the University of Chicago. He noted succinctly that his proposed scheme "has more of the character of a railroad company or an insurance company than has heretofore characterized the organization of universities and colleges." Harper indicated his application of industrial principles through the establishment of university departments. He stated that their "work has been arranged on a business basis, with heads of departments, who are held responsible," and within the departments a ranking system was established. There were to be head professors, professors, associate professors, assistant professors, instructors, readers, lecturers, and docents. Departmentalization of the American university also involved the implementation of the concept of specialization . Specialists in history or biology were grouped according to function. Their interests were to be defined like industrial tasks (University of Chicago 1906).

Harper desired to make the University of Chicago the leading producer of scholarly monographs in the United States. This business required stressing research over teaching. Therefore, the basis of promotion in the departments was placed largely on production of tangible scholarship such as publishing books, monographs, and articles. As Harper stated, the "promotion of younger men in the departments will depend more largely upon the results of their work as investigators than upon the efficiency of their teaching" for "it is proposed to make the work of investigation primary, the work of giving instruction secondary." The graduate school constituted the apex of the university while the lower levels were considered preliminary to the work of the scholar or scientist. Though few students would ever become researchers, they would have still benefited from the university spirit which infused the whole institution (Gould 1961, 65).

The undergraduate work of the university was divided into an academic division and a university division. The academic division, covering the freshman and sophomore years, consisted of the colleges of arts, science, literature, and practical arts. The university division covering the junior and senior years contained the same "colleges." Why was the undergraduate work divided? Because, according to Harper,

> . . . the work of the first two years partakes largely of the academic character. The regulations must still be strict, the scope of election is limited. The character of the instruction is still the same as that of the instruction given in the academy (Harper 1892, 145).

The end of the sophomore year, stated Harper, marks the beginning of a new period, for

> . . . the student begins to specialize and in many cases certainly to advantage may select subjects which will bear directly or indirectly upon the work of his chosen calling. Greater liberty is allowed in selection; greater freedom in methods of instruction. The student gradually changes from the college atmosphere to that of the university. Different motives incite him to work (Harper 1892, 145).

In 1896, the names for the separate divisions were changed to "junior college" and "senior college." Harper's designation of the lower division of the university as "junior college" was probably the first use of the term in the United States. Actually, there were four junior colleges within the University of Chicago just as there were four senior colleges. Institutional unity was achieved by organizing the faculties of the junior colleges together under the authority of assistant deans reporting to the dean of the junior colleges. Organizational unity was also to be maintained through the junior college curriculums. No lines of division were permitted among the junior college students no matter what their curriculum—liberal arts, science, literature, or practical arts (University of Chicago 1903).

To help distinguish between the work of the junior and senior colleges, Harper initiated the awarding of the degree of associate upon students who successfully completed their junior college work. The associate degree was intended to encourage "fit" students to enter one of the senior colleges, while for the "unfit" the degree would be terminal, for "many students will find it convenient to give up college work at the end of the Sophomore year" (University of Chicago 1903).

Harper saw the junior colleges largely as aids in elevating the level of the professional schools, for the professional schools might raise their admission standards if junior colleges could guarantee that all preprofessional students would have a minimum of two years of "cultural instruction." The junior colleges could even help upgrade academies and high schools, for the secondary schools would be encouraged to undertake higher level work. Finally, the junior colleges might bring greater order out of American higher educational chaos. Specifically, four-year colleges which could not adequately provide upper division work might honorably drop their junior and senior years and become junior colleges (Harper pamphlet 1900, 4).

Harper took nearly every opportunity to inform other university presidents about the junior colleges within the University of Chicago. For example, late February, 1900, he met with other university leaders to discuss problems of common interest relating to graduate study. Institutions represented included Harvard, California, Chicago, Columbia, and Johns Hopkins. A major accomplishment of the discussions was to distinguish the universities from the colleges. During the discussions Harper presented his idea for awarding the associate degree to students successfully completing junior college work. He was pleasantly surprised to find that some members were already familiar with the Chicago plan. Presidents David S. Jordan of Stanford and Benjamin I. Wheeler of California were most enthusiastic about the associate degree (Harper to Ryerson 1900).

Perhaps Harper's most significant influence in the development of the public junior college idea came from his comments upon the plight of the small liberal arts college in the United States. Harper was not the first educational leader to "attack" the pretensions of small colleges. Henry P. Tappan at Michigan had been an earlier critic. But Harper was the first critic to be taken seriously throughout the nation. The favorable reception of university presidents to his campaign was aided by the strong influence of Darwinian ideas on the American public. Colleges were in a struggle for existence in obtaining students, faculty , and funds. It seemed to some presidents that only the "fit" colleges would survive.

Harper commanded a relatively large audience among educators in discussing the problems and prospects of the small colleges. Pamphlets of his ideas were sent to university and college presidents throughout the nation. On July 10, 1900, he addressed delegates at the National Education Association on this topic. According to Harper, high schools posed a serious threat to many small liberal arts colleges. By small college he meant any institution graduating fewer than forty students each year. About one-third of American colleges were in this category. The threat to such colleges stemmed from the fact that much of the work formerly done in the colleges was now done in the high schools. Harper noted that the scientific equipment of the better high schools was often superior to that of colleges bestowing the degree of Bachelor of Science (Harper nd.).

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The future of the small college seemed dismal to Harper, in large part, because of insufficient financial resources. Small colleges could not succeed in attracting able instructors, for the best young scholars would be looking for "greener pastures." The small colleges could offer salaries only attractive to the "unfit." An equally disturbing weakness of small colleges was their insufficient library and laboratory facilities. As Harper noted, "the number of institutions called colleges with an endowment of less than one hundred thousand dollars is appallingly large, and yet today the income of an endowment of one hundred thousand dollars may be reckoned at only 4 or 5 percent." How much opportunity did this afford for furnishing instruction of a higher grade? (Harper 1900).

Harper noted several changes in the conditions of small colleges which were not only desirable, but inevitable. He considered these changes largely in Social Darwinian terms. The liberal arts colleges appeared to him to be in a "struggle for survival." In this "struggle" the stronger colleges could be expected to survive while the weaker institutions would not. Those institutions which survived the struggle would be strengthened while others would become weaker, perhaps even closing their doors. According to Harper:

> The laws of institutional life are very similar to those of individual life, and in the development of institutions we may confidently believe in "the survival of the fittest." The severe tests, to which the [lives] of many institutions [are] subjected, serve to purify and to harden these lives. The institution which has survived the trials and tribulations of early years and which by this survival, has justified its existence, not only to its constituency, but to the world at large, deserves to live; and its subsequent life will be all the stronger and heartier because of the difficulties through which it has passed (Harper 1900).

Those colleges which could not preserve themselves in the struggle for finances, instructors, and students might survive by limiting their functions. Many weak four-year colleges might become strong academies or preparatory schools for the universities. Harper estimated that about 25 percent of the American colleges ought to concentrate on furnishing secondary work. He suggested that they become private "junior colleges." As most of these weak colleges maintained preparatory departments, they could easily become strong secondary schools, and abandoning the junior and senior years from the colleges would save money, which could be used to strengthen the lower level work.

While Harper hoped that many colleges would drop two years of instruction, he desired that strong high schools would add two. Such institutions should evolve into high school-junior colleges. The high schools and weak colleges would then be instructing at about the same level – an extended six-year secondary level. Such a development, Harper ventured, would be consistent with the "laws of nature," for "nature has marked out the great divisions of educational work, and the laws of nature may not be violated without entailing great waste." Through the proper divisions of educational work Americans would finally have an "educational system" (Harper 1905, 84).

To demonstrate higher academic standards, Harper organized a loosely knit educational "trust" at the University of Chicago. This "trust" was formed through the University of Chicago policy of affiliation and cooperation with lower level institutions, including four-year colleges, junior colleges, academies, and high schools. Some of the institutions accepting affiliation included Stetson University in Florida, Kalamazoo and Alma Colleges in Michigan, and Oak Park School for Girls and the Kenwood Institute in Illinois. Though the University of Chicago was private, this did not stop Harper from attempting to make it the apex of an educational system. He considered the university, extending its influence in all directions, an integral part of public education.

Harper thought affiliation of the University of Chicago with private institutions and cooperation with public institutions would be mutually beneficial. The lower schools would be aided by the university in the acceptance of their graduates for higher work in Chicago. "The whole tone" of such schools would be "made over," as the university inspected the instruction given in the classes of the lower school. Such schools would have their academic level raised. The University of Chicago would be aided thorough affiliation and cooperation by having growing sources of students. Both graduate and undergraduate students would be attracted to Chicago, and the chief aim for Harper was to get hold of the students.

Problems quickly developed in the relations between the university and the cooperating schools. A close connection with them was necessary, but the required visits of university personnel became too demanding. Besides visitations, cooperation included establishing relations with outstanding teachers at the high schools. Such teachers were designated "university deputy examiners" and were delegated the authority to construct and administer admissions examinations.

Affiliation of the university with private colleges was often stormy. The officials of the colleges often disliked the paternalism of the university. "Affiliation" to some seemed like depriving a college of its independent existence. Some colleges rejected Harper's affiliation overture, for such a relationship seemed like a form of educational imperialism. To become an educational "colony" under the supervision of a "mother institution" was to lose independence.

Cooperation was important in the founding of the first public junior college in the nation. Joliet Junior College in Illinois was established in 1902, and Harper had influence in its creation. Harper's actual part in the establishment of the college cannot be clearly determined. His influence at Joliet came through his association with J. Stanley Brown, superintendent of schools. Harper and Brown met at Baptist Church conventions and educational conferences. Harper no doubt used some of these meetings to express his educational ideas to Brown. But more important in the establishment of the Joliet Junior College was the acceptance of its graduates at the University of Chicago. Harper drew upon the Michigan experience of a decade earlier of recognizing high school post-graduate work, but he took a more favorable attitude toward it than had President Angell at the University of Michigan. Angell had been skeptical about high schools being able to satisfactorily undertake such instruction and he had discouraged it in Saginaw and Bay City. He believed high schools should raise their graduation standards rather than attempt more advanced work. Harper, like Angell, was disappointed in high school standards, but he hoped that in time high schools would become stronger. Harper's attitude in encouraging rather than discouraging post-graduate work was an important step in the evolution of the public junior college idea (Gallagher 1974, 435-44).

The establishment of Joliet Junior College, as a department within Joliet High school, represented the implementation of an idea which had been developing for decades. The real inspiration for the founding came from a general desire of Superintendent J. Stanley Brown and others in Joliet to innovate. Harper and other University of Chicago officials encouraged Joliet by granting advanced credit to students transferring to the University. Advanced credits were earned by Joliet pupils upon recommendation of Joliet staff and the agreement of University officials.

Writers on Harper's role in the junior college movement have exaggerated his originality and influence. It has been customary to refer to him as "the father of the junior college," since his efforts indirectly led to the founding of the junior college at Joliet. His reorganization of the University of Chicago into "junior colleges" and "senior colleges" gave the junior college idea national attention. Harper was influential through the conferences held at the University of Chicago during 1902-1904 in which the junior college idea received considerable attention. Harper was also, probably the first person to use the phrase "junior college" to refer to grades thirteen and fourteen. And finally Harper was responsible for the granting of the associate degree at the University of Chicago (Smith 1941, 516).

In spite of William R. Harper's important contributions to the evolution of the public junior college idea, it would be easy to exaggerate his achievements. Harper's conception of the junior college was conditioned largely by the desire for organizational reform, and the organization of the University of Chicago shed little light on junior college functions. Though the university was divided into "senior colleges" and "junior colleges," the lines between the two were very indefinite. Junior college students took senior college courses, and upper division students enrolled in lower division courses. It was not even unusual for 10 percent or more of the students in the junior colleges to enroll in graduate courses. During one quarter 39 percent of the junior college students took advanced courses. Thus students were ignoring the "junior" and "senior" college designations (Storr 1966, 306).

While University of Chicago students largely ignored the distinctions between courses in the colleges, they nearly disregarded the associate degree altogether. To Harper the associate degree was intended to signify that students of lesser ability and desire ought to terminate their studies at the completion of the sophomore year. But this terminal function never worked, as few students took the associate degree and left. Students who could successfully complete two years were ready for two more. The junior colleges at Chicago were really segments of four-year programs. The University of Chicago functioned largely like other universities. Professor Storr stated that "the university did not differ greatly from older institutions in point of essential conformity to the tradition of the four-year college. The university observed a difference between the first and second halves of the undergraduate program, but so did Yale." (Storr 1966, 213).

The emphasis which Harper's university placed upon research even hindered the effectiveness of the "junior colleges." The research aim of the university took away status from the traditional teaching function. The junior colleges at Chicago were staffed largely by new recipients of the doctorate, and they were often inexperienced in teaching. Senior college faculty members had higher status. Junior college instructors desiring higher status concentrated on research also. The cult of research at the University of Chicago resulted in the neglect of undergraduate instruction—a major problem of American universities during the twentieth century. Though Harper had not intended that teaching would be neglected at the university, it resulted anyway.

It is ironic that junior college educators like David Starr Jordan and Alexis Lange would criticize the trend in American universities to neglect teaching. Poor lower division instruction in universities became an argument for establishing separate junior colleges. Harper's university became the prototype for the institution neglecting undergraduate instruction, and this neglect became a justification for the establishment of junior colleges (Gallagher 1995, 1-12).

Harper's interest in the junior college idea was largely related to his greater concern with the complete reorganization of American education, and within this concern for reorganization was the principal aim of founding a "graduate university." Though he revealed an interest in popular education, his concern for the upward extension of the high school was conditioned largely by the desire to build an "empire" for the University of Chicago. Affiliation was a kind of educational "imperialism." It was to assure the university of a steady flow of students more than to enhance educational opportunities for students in communities such as Joliet, Illinois, and Goshen, Indiana. The most important consideration in affiliation was to guarantee a supply of "thoroughly prepared" students who would be capable of "research and investigation." His attacks on the "pretensions" of small colleges and his urgings that they drop the junior and senior years made him unpopular among liberal arts college educators. Harper favored decapitation of "weak" colleges, in part, because he hoped these academy-junior colleges might furnish students for the universities. While most of the early students at the University of Chicago were public high school graduates, he never felt comfortable with public secondary school university preparation.

Harper's reorganization efforts at the University of Chicago and his encouragement of the founding of Joliet college was not the beginning of the junior college era as much as it was the last stage of university presidents urging the abolishing of the four-year baccalaureate college. The public junior colleges later founded in California and elsewhere were distinct products of the twentieth century. Harper never developed a conception of the public junior college related to its purposes and functions. They emerged, in large part, out of the spirit of California progressivism with Alexis Lange as the leading advocate and philosopher of two-year institutions. Under Lange's leadership the junior college was to be an educational institution to provide two years of liberal arts instruction for students desiring to continue their studies at a university. It was to provide middle-level occupational instruction for students not planning to obtain a bachelor's degree. The junior college was to emphasize the instruction of adults and attempt to provide community services consistent with local needs. Though each junior college would emphasize these functions in varying degrees, the seeds for the long-range development of the community junior college were present in Lange's fertile mind. Unlike Lange, Harper was an elitist with little concern for expanding educational opportunities in local communities - the major thrust of community junior colleges in the twentieth century. William Rainey Harper was more "deadbeat dad" than "father" of the junior college (Gallagher 1974, 111-22).

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The Strange Case of Joseph Baldwin

Jared Stallones
University of Texas at Austin

The American university tenure system has long been seen as necessary to the maintenance of academic freedom. On 2 September 1996, University of Texas Chancellor, William H. Cunningham, in the *Austin American-Statesman*, called tenure "an important safeguard for the protection of free inquiry, open intellectual and scientific debate, and unfettered criticism of the accepted body of knowledge." Yet across the country tenure is under fire for protecting incompetence, and education leaders are proposing reforms. Cunningham assures us that under his reform "the faculty member's rights of freedom of association, free speech and due process would be respected." But regents are political appointees subject to political pressures. It was for exercising his right to free speech and freedom of association that politically motivated University of Texas regents a century ago abruptly ended the distinguished career of Joseph Baldwin, their first Professor of Pedagogy.

Teacher education was slow in coming to Texas. In fact, nothing identifiable as a true system of schools existed there before the Civil War. Reconstruction era governments sought to provide public schools, but faced opposition from a disaffected and suspicious citizenry. Post-reconstruction governments battled reactionary and elitist forces uninterested in the general education of the masses. Yet to enter the modern era, Texas needed good schools.

Providing competent teachers in appropriate quantity was the immediate challenge. Governor Richard Coke outlined the crisis in 1874:

> One of the greatest and most pressing wants which, more than any other, impedes the successful operation of our free school system is a sufficient number of educated and trained teachers. . . I urgently recommend, in view of the urgent necessity, that your honorable bodies take measures looking to an early establishment, upon a liberal scale, of a normal school. (Moreland 1916)

Here was a call for the establishment of a state institution specifically for the education of teachers, but the legislature was not ready to act.

The question arose again in the Constitutional Convention of 1875. Progressives in that body laid the foundation for a comprehensive modern school system, but the conservatives scuttled it when the first legislature elected under the new Constitution adopted the School Law of 1876. This landmark legislation left the schools much as they had been before: a diverse array of public and private common schools, ungraded, for primary education; a few, mostly private, academies for teacher education and college preparation; and private colleges, mostly sectarian, for religious education. The quality and availability of education was uneven, to say the least. Any group could organize itself into an 'educational community' and apply for state funds to run a school. Teachers were certified by examinations overseen by "Three well educated citizens of the county." A certificate could mean anything or nothing.

By the 1870's, though, Texas was industrializing and its educational needs were changing. Brenham organized the first public high school in 1875, and other cities quickly followed. Secondary education demanded better prepared teachers, but Texas had no control over the supply or quality of teachers, because it had no public normal schools. Educators vowed to change that.

In 1876, Dr. Barnas Sears toured the state for the Peabody Education Fund with Dr. Rufus Burleson. He reported a growth in enthusiasm for education, but warned that,

> Except with a few teachers educated in Normal Schools in the Northwestern states, and emigrants from Germany, there is a prevailing ignorance of the progress made in recent times in the process of education. . . . Until Normal Schools shall be established, this kind of training in the cities [by the Superintendents], and teachers' institutes in all parts of the state, will be indispensable. Otherwise, the public schools will be but a farce. (Peabody Education Fund 1876)

Teachers realized the problem. An 1879 convention called for state supported teacher education. Governor Oran M. Roberts urged the creation of two normal schools, one for black teachers and one for white. The failed Alta Vista Agricultural College for Colored Youth became Prairie View State Normal Institute, and Sam Houston State Normal Institute opened in Huntsville in October 1879.

Sam Houston's reputation grew when it attracted Dr. Joseph Baldwin as its principal. Dr. Baldwin had already distinguished himself at normal schools in Pennsylvania, Indiana, and as 'the father of normal education' in Missouri. In 1881, he directed the new Summer Normal School at San Marcos. He impressed students with his scholarship. In a report to the State Board of Education, his students related that "at each rest he would advise that all have a good time and be sociable, that a band of teachers be as a band of brothers" (*Texas Journal of Education* 1881, 219). They concluded by commending the organizer of the Summer Normal for "procuring us a leader who, from his many years' experience in older States, was so fully able to arouse interest and give Texas the needed assistance" (*Texas Journal*). Finding itself in need of a principal for Sam Houston Normal Institute, the State Board, led by Governor Roberts, offered the position to Dr. Baldwin, and he accepted. The normally xenophobic Texas education establishment admitted that "while there were many excellent teachers in the State there were not six known to the public as answering the required need" (*Texas Journal*, 220).

The appointment was enthusiastically applauded. Percy V. Pennybacker invited fellow graduates of Sam Houston to write Dr. Baldwin for practical teaching tips. Pennybacker described him as "one of the most pleasant, agreeable and earnest gentlemen I have ever seen. He is thoroughly enthusiastic with his work."

Baldwin rapidly made himself a fixture in Texas education. The following summer, 1882, he was appointed traveling lecturer to the 18 planned summer normals. Baldwin waded into political issues when he felt it necessary. The October 1882 edition of the *Texas Journal of Education* contains his grand plan for a new school system for Texas, a plan which engendered vigorous debate. The same issue contains an editorial in which Baldwin called on educators to donate funds for the endowment of a chair of didactics at the future University of Texas.

Having successfully launched two normal schools, could contemplate its next step toward a comprehensive public education system, a state university. Many saw it as vital for supplying teachers and administrators for the public schools and teacher educators for the normals. A leading Austin newspaper, the *Weekly Statesman* of 28 November 1889, claimed, "The State University can be made the apex of a pyramid embracing the public schools at its base, and constituting a grand educational system in which every Texan can take pride." Ashbel Smith, a longtime Texas leader, wrote in 1881 of "great and most salutary effect of a well-grounded and well-managed State University in our State of Texas on the greater development and bettering of our Common Public Free Schools" (147-8). Governor Roberts included in his arguments for establishing a university that Texas should not be dependent on other states for "statesmen, lawyers, judges, preachers, teachers."

The University's proponents carried the debate, and classes were first held on September 15, 1883. There was no chair of pedagogy among the original faculty, and no education classes offered. It was assumed that a university education by definition equipped one to teach. Pressure soon mounted, though, for the new University to initiate education courses at the earliest juncture. The common schools were increasingly staffed by graduates of the high schools and normal schools. The high schools looked to the normal schools and the colleges. But there was no higher institution in the State to provide the specially trained personnel needed for teacher education and administration.

At the same time, the University's faculty noticed that their students were ill prepared for higher academic work. Professor Mallet (Berry 1980) wrote, "These young Texans were characterized by a great lack of formal school training." Their solution was the Affiliated Schools Program, a system by which the University assessed and accredited high schools. The program did much to promote healthy relations between the University and the schools, but it had unintended consequences. As schools sought to meet the requirements of affiliation, it became clearer that Texas did not have enough teachers equal to the task of raising academic standards. It was equally clear that the smattering of private colleges and normal schools could supply neither the quantity nor quality of teachers Texas needed. Speaking at the first commencement exercises of the University in June 1884, Governor John Ireland asked,

> How and where are students to get their education to fit them for the University? There are but few high schools in Texas . . . I wish again to impress upon the immediate management of the University the absolute necessity of encouragement in some way to preparatory schools. (1884)

How, indeed, would the University help supply the burgeoning need for teachers?

Upon his retirement as State Superintendent in August 1890, O.H. Cooper called for the establishment of a

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Chair of Pedagogy at the University:

> We should have some institution in the State which would prepare high school teachers and scholarly county and city superintendents . . . Such a chair well filled would attract many students of the highest character to our University. (1890)

By the 1890's this was a commonplace at colleges and universities across the country. Cooper's successor as State Superintendent, J.M. Carlisle (1891), reporting to the Legislature in 1894, quoted President A.S. Draper of the University of Illinois, "It [the state university] is to be a student of public school problems. It is to gather up the world's experience and most advanced thought concerning . . . the training of teachers."

There has often been a reluctance on the part of the academic faculty to bring pedagogical studies onto university campuses. The University faculty, though, was unusually receptive to the establishment of a Chair of Pedagogy. One reason is found in the Faculty Report for 1890-91:

> We have been this year, notwithstanding the great pressure on our time as teachers, . . . to re-examine the previously affiliated schools . . . the yearly inspection of these schools is only second in importance to the work done in the lecture rooms of the University itself.

Despite the importance of school visitation, it was clearly a burden.

Other Texas teachers weighed in on the issue as well. The 1890 convention of the Texas State Teachers Association passed a resolution calling on the legislature to establish a Chair of Pedagogy at the University. Jacob Bickler, a long time activist for this cause, was deputized to shepherd the resolution through the legislature. He faithfully executed his charge, and on August 25, 1891, upon a motion by E.J. Simkins, the University's Board of Regents created the School of Pedagogy and hired Dr.Baldwin to fill its chair.

Baldwin had been lobbying for the position since he wrote former Governor Roberts in 1885 asking if he could "secure the Chair of Didactics for me?" (Baldwin). His letter of resignation from the principalship at Sam Houston, tendered to the State School Board on August 27, 1891, revealed his hopes for his new position. He wrote that it would, "relieve me of the care of a large school, and afford me an opportunity to do a work I much desire to do" (Texas State Board of Education 1891).

He had his work cut out for him. In 1890-91, the University subscribed to no education journals. But he threw himself into organizing the new School, beginning with a statement of purpose:

> The object of this School is to prepare students for the profession of teaching . . . in our high schools, academies, city schools, and colleges . . . [and]to carry the highest college culture into the teaching profession. (University of Texas Faculty 1892) The first class in the School of Pedagogy assembled September 23, 1891. Juniors took courses entitled School Management, Applied Psychology, and the Art of Teaching. Seniors took History of Education, Science of Education, and the Art of Teaching. Graduates did seminar work. Those who completed the course of study had the title "Graduate of Pedagogy" printed on their diplomas.

In 1896, the School was recommended for upgrading to Department status, but the Board of Regents voted in favor of the following:

> Resolved, that it is the sense of the Board of Regents that the School of Pedagogy heretofore established in the University of Texas should be discontinued from and after the termination of the present session of 1895-96. (*Minutes*)

The Board relieved Dr. Baldwin of his duties, granting him one year's unpaid leave of absence.

Several explanations have been advanced for this sudden policy reversal. One author contends that the School was discontinued due to Professor Baldwin's failing health (Anderson 1980). Baldwin passed away in 1899, but there is little to suggest any debilitating condition as early as 1896. Indeed, he was vital enough to serve as President of the Texas State Teachers Association in 1897.

Another explanation centers on financial issues. In defending the Regents' action at the time, Thomas D. Wooten, the President of the Board, explained to Jacob Bickler, "They [the Regents] believed that the fund thus expended can be more properly and [unintelligible] utilized along more direct lines of University work" (Wooten 1896). Texas suffered as much as any region from the severe recession of the early 1890's, and it is true that in the summer of 1896 the Regents were searching for sources of funding outside the University to support the School of Pedagogy, but this action is not consistent with others the Regents took in the same period. Throughout the early 1890's, the Regents expended large sums of money to build the Medical School at Galveston. In the same period, the School of Pedagogy requested no funds. The Board appropriated $200 in 1892 to establish a professional library, and no further expenditures beyond Baldwin's salary are reflected in Regents' records. A school that attracts students without requiring additional outlays would seem to benefit, not harm, a university's balance sheet.

Some in the educational establishment expressed doubt as to the stated reasons for the School's closing. J.M. Carlisle, State Superintendent of Public Instruction at the time, spoke for many when he wrote,

> The school of pedagogy has been suspended for the current year, much to the regret of many friends of the University. Whatever may have been the causes that led to this action, and it is assumed that they were most urgent, it was a step apparently backward, and has had a depressing influence upon the good name of the State in educational circles abroad and among some of its best friends at home. (1896)

He went on to relate how the first year of the School of Pedagogy recorded the highest enrollment the University had yet seen, and that since the School was discontinued, enrollment had declined. In practical terms, Texas could not afford to close the school. Official records indicate that for the 1895-96 academic year only 15% of Texas' certified teachers had received their credentials as a result of formal professional instruction. Carlisle called it,

> a sad commentary on the professional standing of the teachers of the State, and when it is understood that our State normal schools and the State University and the Peabody Normal College, which furnishes a few teachers for Texas, cannot furnish more than one thousand trained teachers each year, the imperative necessity for enlarging the facilities for educating our teachers is apparent. (Texas State Teachers Association 1898)

So, if these explanations are problematic, what else could explain the Regents' actions? The 1890's saw a reassertion of 'Southern values' in Texas culture, and it was not uncommon for the Board or the legislature to investigate the political sympathies of faculty members. On March 4, 1893, The Legislature's Joint Committee on State Institutions of Learning reported,

> Unfriendly criticism in circulation concerning the University have [sic] received attention from your committee . . . Some of the professors, it seems are from Northern States, one of them is perhaps a Republican in politics, and one of them is a pensioner of the United States for service rendered and wounds received in the Federal army during the great Civil War. (House Journal 1893)

In the summer of 1897, the issue heated up again. This time, the University Regents, President Winston, Political Science Professor D.F. Houston, and History Professor William Garrison were called before a legislative committee. The charges were:

> there has been employed and included in said University those who are out of touch and not in sympathy with the traditions of the South, but hold our traditions and our institutions in contempt, and circulate and teach political heresies in place of the system of political economy that is cherished by our people . . . [the Regents should] exercise great care hereafter in selecting as members of the faculty only those who are known to be in sympathy with Southern political institutions, and further request them to cancel as soon as possible any existing contract with members of the faculty not so in sympathy. (House Journal 1897, 110)

Apparently, much of the furor surrounded Professor Houston's book, *A Study of Nullification in South Carolina* . "A casual reading would pronounce it to be unacceptable from a Southern standpoint as setting forth principles contrary to Southern teachings" (House Journal, 191-2). To their credit, the Regents answered the charges by saying that "there never has been any desire to employ professors or not to employ professors because of their coming from the Northern States. The sole test has been fitness for the position" (Benedict 1917, 408). The investigation proved to be more smoke than fire, as both Houston and Garrison kept their positions for many years. Still, the committee recommended regular legislative oversight of the University's political sentiments. The Regents further defended themselves:

> There is not now, nor has there ever been, in the University of Texas, any instructor intended or calculated to hold in contempt the Southern people or ridicule their institutions. The Regents believe that all teachers, everywhere, to be successful, must be in sympathy with the people whom they teach; and, while the University of Texas is in no sense partisan, sectarian, or sectional, yet it is in sympathy with the life, character, and civilization of the Southern people. (Benedict 1917)

It was in this political climate that, in the summer of 1895, Dr. Baldwin journeyed north to Denver for the annual meeting at the National Education Association. On July 11, he delivered an address on the theme of the duty and opportunity of the schools in promoting patriotism and good citizenship. Baldwin's speech was entitled "The Study of American History as a Training for Good Citizenship", and it was certainly not intended to give offense, but in the course of his talk he managed to embarrass or offend many in the audience.

Baldwin intended to defend the South against charges of disloyalty when he said, "Nowhere in all our country do the fires of patriotism burn quite so brightly to-day as in our sunny Southland" (National Educational Association 1895, 141). Then to press the point home, he added that "all our Southern people, I think, without exception rejoice to-day that the Lost Cause is a lost cause. . . We love the South, and we love it because it is a part of our common country". No doubt, there were Texans who would disagree with him. In fact the *Galveston Daily News* considered Baldwin's comments on the Lost Cause were the only part of his speech worth relating. The newspaper mistakenly reported on 1 September 1896 that Baldwin's talk was titled "Patriotism of the Southland."

But Baldwin was not done. He went on to disingenuously claim that,

> we are giving the colored people of the South every advantage that we give to the white people. If we have a common school for the whites, we have a common school for the colored people. If we have a high school for the whites, on equal terms we have high schools for the colored people. If we have universities for the whites established by the state, we have colored universities, giving the highest education to the colored people. (N. E. A. 1891, 141)

These statements were demonstrably untrue.

Baldwin's most outrageous statements, though, came as he tried to defend the growing restrictions of the political rights of Southern blacks. He argued,

> Now, you blame us because we have made some restrictions. Before you all to-day I simply state what I believe to be a true position, that intelligence should govern. Senator Foster, a few years ago, at our State Teachers' Association, made a declaration that seems to me to be right: 'Universal education and limited suffrage.' Now, I do not defend many things that seem to have been found necessary, but the whole South is coming to this, to leave the colored man to vote as freely as the white man as fast as he becomes intelligent, able to read and write, able to understand his duties as a citizen. (N. E. A. 1895, 142)

Of course, the trend in suffrage for Southern blacks was moving in the opposite direction.

In the audience was O.M. Roberts, and he took such umbrage at Baldwin's remarks that he wrote Wooten about them. His letter was discussed by the full Board of Regents at its September 6 meeting. Some attempts were made at that meeting to defend Professor Baldwin. An explanation advanced for his indiscretion was that he was speaking extemporaneously in place of another scheduled speaker, but Regent William Prather claimed that Baldwin's remarks were "not entirely impromptu." Prather may have felt a personal animosity toward Dr. Baldwin. In a later note to Wooten, he mentions his discomfort with Baldwin's "overeagerness to please" (Prather 1896). Others had bristled at Baldwin's manner before. State School Board records show that he was repeatedly reprimanded for violating Board policies. At its September 11, 1882 meeting the Board passed a resolution that Baldwin, "be hereby *again* [emphasis theirs] instructed that under no circumstances shall he receive into said institute as State pupils any one who has at any time attended the Institute as a state pupil" (Texas State Board, 181). In the same meeting, the Board ordered that Baldwin, "be referred to resolutions adopted by the Board . . . and that the same be unqualifiedly adhered to and that the school be conducted in reference thereto." The tone of annoyance is unmistakable. In the end, the Regents voted their "concurrence" with Roberts' sentiments, adding that the speech reflected Baldwin's own feelings, not those of the Board.

Unfortunately, Roberts' letter outlining his specific objections to Baldwin's speech has been lost. But it is unlikely that Roberts objected simply to the statement about the Lost Cause. Although Roberts was a leading former Confederate, he advocated reconciliation. Speaking before a reunion of the Mountain Remnants, United Confederate Veterans, at Marble Falls on July 28, 1895, he said, "The object of these reunions is social, to see old friends together that suffered in the lost cause, but not in the spirit of keeping up the antagonisms between the sections of our common country" (Roberts). More likely, he was embarrassed for his beloved University at the generally impolitic nature of Baldwin's remarks.

The education establishment was full of old Confederates, though, and some of them may have been more troubled than Roberts at Baldwin's characterization of Southern feeling. Regents Wooten, Ball, and Prather served in the Confederate army, as did Professors Waggener, Gould, Mallet, Brown, and Proctor J.B. Clark. Professor Dabney had served as a staff officer to Stonewall Jackson, and was known to rail against the "defects of Yankee education and the follies of imitating them" (Dabney 1894). He emphasized the "importance of making it [U.T.] a thoroughly Southern institution for Southern youths." Baldwin had served in the Union army during the war. In fact, in 1863 he organized and led a company of his Kokomo Normal School students. Those less tolerant than Roberts may have objected to a former Union officer filling a chair at a Southern university.

Through indiscreet words, the career of a man termed a great "builder of the free school system in Texas" (*Interscholastic Leaguer* 1934) was over, and with it, a hopeful beginning for university level teacher education in Texas. There were no courses in Pedagogy offered during the 1896-97 school session, but the already acute teacher shortage ensured that the University could not ignore its duty to Texas schools for long. On June 16, 1897, President Winston appeared before the Board of Regents and requested the establishment of a Department of Pedagogy with a full professor and adjunct professor. He said,

> The work of this school is of such importance, not only to a perfect system of University training, but also to the proper development of the public school system of the State, and to the general interests of the University. (*Minutes*)

Professor Baldwin's resignation was accepted, and he was named Professor Emeritus. William S. Sutton and Alexander Caswell Ellis were chosen to lead the new department.

Some might argue that, judging from the subsequent distinguished careers of both Sutton and Ellis, replacing Baldwin was a step forward for teacher education at the University of Texas. But there is no indication that Baldwin had done anything less than a superb job in his post. He was most likely relieved for purely political reasons. Tenure would have afforded Baldwin some measure of protection from spurious dismissal, and might have saved the promising new School of Pedagogy from needless disruption at a crucial time in its development.

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Segregated Students at the University of Illinois, 1945 to 1955

Deirdre L. Cobb
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

African American students at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) had to bear much of the burden their ancestors had endured. They were allowed to attend the University, however enrollment was on a limited basis, and they were not accepted as full and equal participants. The experiences of African American students at UIUC from the end of World War II to the Brown decision (1945 to 1955) were part of a history of overt and institutionalized discrimination dating back to the founding of the University.

African American students were constant victims of discrimination from the start of their enrollment at the University of Illinois. The determination of these students, with the assistance of Albert R. Lee, the unofficial dean of African American students, and the encouragement of African American elected officials, community individuals, the Interracial Committee, and individuals in nearby Chicago and St. Louis, enabled them to fight the discrimination emanating from varying levels.

The University of Illinois was incorporated on February 28, 1867, as the Illinois Industrial University and opened its doors to students on March 2, 1868. At the opening, it was clear the institution was intended for White men, despite its public land grant status. There was nothing in its charter which compelled discrimination against students because of race, sex, or class. Indeed, the U of I was chartered for all the children of the "industrial classes" of Illinois. Nonetheless, the University opened with fifty White males and maintained an all White male population until 1870 when it admitted its first female student, a White woman.

It was clear that women would no longer be excluded from admission to Illinois. The decision prompted by the fact that Illinois was a state school and taxpayers demanded their daughters as well as sons be educated. The Morrill Act established the land grant colleges especially for the sons and daughters of the common people. Although this was the case, it would be quite some time before White women matriculated at Illinois in any significant numbers. In 1887, the University admitted its first African American student, nearly two decades after the founding of the University. The population of African American students at the University remained at a minimum during the first half of the twentieth century, but there were relatively significant increases during the 1930's, 40's and 50's. From 1945-1955 approximately two thousand African American students matriculated at Illinois.

Housing problems that dated back to the founding of the University were exacerbated during the 1940's and 1950's for all students. Black students who faced the additional problem of racial discrimination found themselves in a difficult struggle to cope with living conditions on a Jim Crow campus. Typically, students lived in private housing around campus or if from the area with their parents in town. The first dormitory was erected in 1915. This dorm was for White women only, and was named Laura B. Evans Hall. This alleviated the problem of finding approved housing for many White women on campus, but the problem still existed for African American women. Over the next three decades the University continued to deny African American students the opportunity to live in campus dormitories. The year 1945 marked the first time African American women were allowed to live in the residence halls. The historical record is unclear as to when African American men were first allowed to reside in University dorms (Boarding 1930). It seems reasonable to assume that African American men were first admitted to the University residence halls soon after the admission of African American women in 1945.

African American students were only permitted to live in fraternity or sorority houses or in the African American community. The University housing authorities made virtually no effort to provide housing for Black students, who were expected to live off campus in restricted areas. Realtors used racial covenants to restrict various areas in and around town and thus African Americans were regulated to one corner of town based upon this particular situation. The covenants, although focused mainly on home ownership, also influenced renting to non-Caucasian individuals. The covenants clearly stated that "no part thereof will be sold or leased, either in whole or in part, or to be occupied as owner, or tenant by any person or persons not of the Caucasian race," and this in turn set the stage for the limited choices African American students had for their living arrangements (Tiebout Papers). These covenants characterized the community into which the students were received.

Along with African American students being expected to live in restricted residential areas, housing for African Americans generally in the Champaign-Urbana area in the 1940's was despicable. A study conducted by the League of Women Voter's of Champaign County in 1946 indicated that housing for African Americans was a total disgrace (League of Women Voters). Many families lived in shacks with no indoor plumbing and had to use outdoor privies. In most cases these privies were very unsanitary and caused many people to contract communicable diseases, such as tuberculosis. Furthermore, these were previously used as coal bins (League of Women Voters 1946). In many instances the dwellings' people lived in were barely large enough for their families, not to mention students. It was in these conditions the Black residents of Champaign-Urbana had to live, as well as the African American university students that resided with them.

It is very important to note that many African Americans living in these conditions were able to afford better housing. Despite having the means to afford better, racial discrimination by the city Realtors and landlords prevented them from finding better housing (League of Women Voters 1946). It was clearly a situation where they were forced to live in a racially segregated and impoverished residential area, despite their economic capability to maintain a household in a more inhabitable environment. The condition of housing for African Americans in the community affected the majority of Black students, since most of them were compelled to live in the community. About the only exception were Black students who lived in fraternity and sorority housing.

Early on, the role of Black fraternities and sororities became quite evident in combating the housing needs for African American students. Most of these organizations were founded on the principle of community service, and functioned as a vehicle for African American students to come together under a common bond of struggle. Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority Inc., (AKA) was one of the first organizations at UIUC to fight for housing near campus. This sorority was successful in securing housing in 1928, with the help of outside members, the Dean of Women, and various other African Americans and Whites.

After World War II the influx of African American students rose, due in significant part to the GI Bill. The impact of housing discrimination increased significantly as more African Americans entered the University. African American students were being admitted to the University at increasing rates. However no provisions were made for their room and board, and they were not allowed to eat, live, or interact socially on campus. If they were to attend the University it was an unspoken agreement on the University's part that they were to reside in the African American community. They were not to live on campus except in the rare instance of Black Greek houses located near campus.

The University prohibited students from living on campus through an unwritten policy that contradicted its written rules regarding equality of opportunity (League of Women Voters 1968). The unwritten policy was introduced in the form of a question on the housing application. All students were asked to designate "Race, and National Descent? (Willard Papers)." Individuals were curious as to why this question existed. University officials tried as best they could to explain, but the explanations were unsatisfactory. Lawyer and State Representative Charles J. Jenkins, from Chicago, was very concerned about the structure of the housing questionnaire and contacted the President of the University to inquire as to why these questions appeared on the form and what purpose they served. Consequently, President Willard had S. Earl Thompson, Director of Housing, conduct an investigation. In a letter to A.J. Janata, Assistant to the President, dated 6 August 1945 (Willard Papers), Thompson explained that these questions were of much importance in order to avoid any major errors in room assignments. However the most interesting part about his response is the meaning behind "major errors." In this context major error meant unwittingly assigning students of different races and religions to the same double rooms. Willard forwarded the results of the investigation to Jenkins, omitting the statement issued by Thompson to Janata in the letter dated 6 August 1945 (Willard Papers). It read,

> Almost 90% of our residence hall spaces are in double rooms. It seems essential to us that we have information which we requested if we are to avoid major errors in the assignment of roommates. I know of no University or College which does not request similar information for applications for assignment to residence halls.

In the history of the University, no African American had lived in the dorms, so in 1945 when the letter was written, no presumable "errors" had occurred. It was clear the President did not want any errors being made.

Jenkins began a campaign to ensure that African American females would have the opportunity to live on campus in the dormitories. He submitted several names to the President for consideration and awaited a response. In a letter to A.C. Willard dated 30 July 1945 (Willard Papers), Charles J. Jenkins was almost pleading with the president for consideration of his suggestions. In a letter to Thompson dated 11 August 1945 (Willard Papers), Jenkins provided letters of reference for various women, as well as giving his word that they would be qualified and respectable candidates. It was evident that African American women had to be hand picked for living in the dorms. There was no where on the housing application that indicated categories for respectable and qualified. Furthermore, it was inferred that a candidate might have the grades and still not be considered respectable by the University. In a letter to Charles J. Jenkins dated 2 August 1945 (Willard Papers), President Willard listed several reasons for the refusal of African American women being admitted to University housing. He commented that one woman was on academic probation and her grades were not satisfactory enough to live in the dorms. Of the housing documents surveyed never was it indicated that a particular grade point average had to be maintained for residents of the dorm.

A.C. Willard, realizing this campaign would not end until African American females were permitted to live in the dorms, offered a token measure. In a letter to Charles J. Jenkins dated 2 August 1945 (Willard Papers), Willard wrote ensuring him of his willingness to see African American women housed in the dorms, going so far as to reserve one room for African American females. This gesture was an assurance of the commitment to African American females. It was August 11, 1945, that two African American women were finally agreed upon, Quintella King and Ruthe Cash. These women were the first known African Americans to live in the dorms at UIUC.

In 1950, five years after the first African American females were admitted to the dorms, Vivian Adams experienced what may have been true for many African American female residents, racism. Apparently there had been several thefts in Busey hall, where Vivian resided, which were of great concern for the hall faculty as well as the women that lived there. In January of 1951 the dorm director called for an investigation indicating she had some information pertaining to the recent thefts. In a letter to University investigator R.S. Laymon dated 30 January 1951 (Women's Card Files), security officer J.E. Ewers wrote that it had been brought to his attention by the dorm monitor and some of the women living in the dorms that they had observed Vivian Adams going from room to room suspiciously.

When Vivian was questioned she adamantly denied having anything to do with the thefts in Busey Hall. Furthermore she could not understand why she was being questioned on the matter. During questioning, her room was searched by dorm officials. In a report dated 2 February 1951 (Women's Card Files), Florence B. Ingraham, Assistant Dean of Women, wrote to J.E. Ewers that the end of the search resulted in the finding of several reportedly missing items. Vivian still denied having anything to do with the thefts and refused to talk.

The matter was going to go before the student disciplinary committee, and until a decision was made Vivian was placed on probation. In the interim Vivian was questioned again, and eventually she felt comfortable enough to tell what had happened in regard to the thefts at Busey Hall. In a letter to J.E. Ewers dated 7 March 1951 (Women Card Files), Miriam Shelden, Dean of Women, wrote that Vivian admitted stealing the items from various students in the hall in an effort to hurt them as she had been hurt. She further stated she had not intended on keeping the articles or disposing of them. She merely wanted to cause pain to the women in the hall by taking things they valued highly, as this was her only recourse.

Prior to the thefts in Busey Hall, Vivian had engaged in conversation with some of the other female residents in the hall. These women were Jewish and they indicated how they had never cared for "Colored" people. Very much offended by this statement Vivian questioned them as to why.

In a letter to J.E.Ewers dated 7 March 1951 (Women Card Files), Miriam Shelden described the conversation that occurred between Vivian and the Jewish women, based on Vivian's account. The Jewish women in the dorm described ways in which "negroes are so gullible." Real estate operators seek African Americans to purchase property in an all white area. By purchasing property in these areas, African Americans are being set up to make White residents feel uncomfortable. As Whites began to move, real estate operators began to buy the homes at a reduced rate, and eventually resell the property in smaller units at a much higher price. The Jewish female students characterized the African American buyers as ignorant, implying that they were unwilling dupes of real estate operators, and therefore very easy and willing prey.

In the same letter dated 7 March 1951 (Women's Card Files), Shelden reports Vivian as having said that African Americans were no different from other people who could also be victims of economic exploitation. The conversation ended in a violent argument, with the Jewish girls finally stating that Vivian and her sister were somehow different from the average "colored" person. This statement alone enraged Vivian, and she vowed to herself that she would repay them for their unkind words and thoughts about her race (Women Card Files). Vivian was very clear in her admission of guilt that she had not intended to keep or use the items. She intended on returning the items.

Vivian made an error in judgment when deciding to take items that did not belong to her. It was clear that she felt insulted, rejected and humiliated. Her actions, however inappropriate, constituted a vendetta against racism. Vivian's stealing was her response to one issue of racial discrimination that was present in the lives of African American students. There were many other instances that would require a response as well.

The problem of housing still existed but it was further compounded by a lack of eating places available to African American students. African Americans were discriminated against in dining facilities on campus well until the 1960's. African American students were not allowed to eat on campus or at any of the campus restaurants. Students were forced to carry meals or return to the North End for meals during school days. The trip back to where they resided could consist of an hour or so, allowing thirty minutes to walk home and another thirty minutes to walk back to campus. This did not include the time it would take for them to actually eat lunch. This created a hardship on the students and further demonstrated the University and White community's commitment to making this group of students feel unwanted.

African American students suffered shame and humiliation from being denied the right to eat in public restaurants. Only African American students were refused service, making it known to all that they were uniquely despised and unwelcome in campus town. It was clear that restaurant owners did not want African Americans in their establishment, however they attempted to mask the racially motivated reasons in terms of potential business loss.

Restaurant owners claimed that they did not serve African Americans because of the harm it would do to business. Most restaurant owners claimed if they served "Negroes" their White customers would boycott them, and no longer patronize the establishment (Dean of Women Subject File, Box 4). However, no evidence exists that supports the claim of restaurant owners. While maintaining that they harbored no personal prejudices against African Americans, restaurant owners decided on their own initiative to disregard laws surrounding racial discrimination.

African American students at Illinois decided to take a legal approach to the discrimination they were receiving. The Student-Community Interracial Committee formed in 1946, including African American and White students, embarked on a letter campaign to the State's Attorney and a method of testing campus area restaurants. In a letter to John J. Bresee, State's Attorney, dated 14 May 1946 (Tiebout Papers), a student, Paul Burt, provided a list of restaurants that had openly discriminated against African American students. He also included the date of the discriminatory act, address of restaurant, people that were victims of discrimination, along with any witnesses that were present. It was his hope that Bresee would write these restaurants and call their attention to the violations of Illinois laws that protected citizens against discrimination based on race.

Besides writing to the State's Attorney for assistance, students, as mentioned earlier, both African American and White, embarked upon a testing campaign, in which they documented discrimination found in the various campus restaurants. It appeared as .. they went to campus town restaurants and documented what they either experienced or witnessed. In 1946 Eloise Ellison and Helen F. Wesley, both African American, had gone to Steak-N-Shake Drive Inn for a meal and were victims of discrimination. In their affidavits they wrote:

> I seated myself in the Steak-N-Shake Drive Inn with a friend, also a Negro of dark skin. A waitress took our order and brought our food to us in a bag for us to take the food out. She replied that "Negroes can't eat here on the inside of the restaurant. They can take it out or be served in a car." We asked to see the manger. The waitress stated, "Well the manager is my husband." The manager repeated to us, "We serve Negroes when they are in cars but not in the restaurant." We explained to him that we did not come in a car. Then he said, "Well, since you aren't in a car you can eat here now, but don't ask me to do it again (Tiebout Papers)."

Also dining in the restaurant were White students Verna Volz and Charles Shattuck. They witnessed the incident and reported:

> While seated in Steak-N-Shake Drive Inn, I saw two Negro girls enter and sit down. I saw the waitress take their order and later bring it to them in a paper bag. I heard the Negro girls tell the waitress they did not want to take the food out but wanted to eat it there. The waitress said they would not serve colored people inside the restaurant. The Negroes asked to speak to the manager. I heard him say he would serve colored people in cars but not inside the restaurant. After some discussion, I heard the manager say that he would serve them that time but the Negroes should not ask him to do it again (Tiebout Papers).

Steak-N-Shake was not the only restaurant in Champaign-Urbana to discriminate against African Americans. Melvin Humphrey had a similar experience when he attempted to buy a beer at Bidwell's. The bartender indicated that Humphrey did not look old enough to purchase alcohol. Humphrey commented that he had served fifteen months overseas in the war, but would go home to retrieve his identification. Upon returning to the establishment he stated:

> I gave it to the bartender, manager, or owner, whatever his position was and asked him if he could read. After looking at the card, he then told me that he would sell me a bottle of beer but I would have to drink it in the kitchen. I immediately asked him why. He replied, "That's my policy." I then asked him if he had anything against me. He replied no. Then I asked him again why he was refusing me equal accommodation. He point[ed] to a sign that read "We reserve the right to seat our customers.["] I asked him didn't he [know] that it was against the law to discriminate. He said he knew that or so what (Tiebout Papers).

Todd's cafe was another establishment that refused equal service to African Americans. On May 5, 1946 a young African American woman stated she was refused service,

> Because I am a Negro while at the same time and place that I was denied equal service other persons of the Caucasian or white race were being served without discrimination. Mr. Todd stated that it was not his policy to serve Negroes and if I wanted to be served I would have to eat in the back (Tiebout Papers).

Onlooker Smith Wisegarver was curious as to what was happening to the African American patron and inquired of the manager. The manager replied:

> That he did not serve colored people because it would ruin his business. He said he would lose $50 a day if he served colored people and that no one would repay him the amount lost. Then I said to Mr. Todd that the Negroes there were obviously nice persons and as nice as anyone else in the restaurant. Mr. Todd expressed agreement with my statement but said that if he served them he would have to serve all kinds of undesirable people (Tiebout Papers).

In the cases investigated whites were not treated the same as African Americans. Students would then follow the guidelines set forth by CORE (Committee on Racial Equality). Based on the CORE guidelines, students addressed the issue of discrimination in an organized and non-violent manner. Students were instructed to do such things as plan campaign of testing; contact by letter, explain who we are, what we do, call attention to the incidents of discrimination in which we know about, recalling dates . . . Suggest we help them change policy without injury to their business--Ask for a personal conference with them; and have the Student-Community Human Relations Council committee go down without invitation if they do not offer one. These students were committed to addressing the issue of discrimination in an organized and non-violent manner. So, after each subsequent act of discrimination, African American students would file formal affidavits documenting their experiences. In these affidavits the students would provide a detailed explanation of their experience and have the document notarized to become a part of public record. White students and some faculty showed their support by filing affidavits as witnesses to the incidents.

The result from these tests of discrimination proved what most African Americans already knew, their second class citizenship. Although students were encouraged to exhaust all alternatives prior to legal action, often times the law was their only recourse. De Luxe restaurant continued to discriminate against African Americans in spite of approximately ten years of work by the Illinois Attorney General, States Attorney of Champaign County, the Student

Community Interracial Committee, and particular African American students. Several civil suits were filed during this time. However, evidence only documents two cases appearing in court, and both times the court ruled in favor of the restaurant owner (Tiebout Papers).

African Americans in general and students in particular were discriminated against in all aspects of their lives. Attending college is often considered the best time of an individual's life, and this should include African Americans as well. However, given the racial notions of the country, these students experienced a living hell, one that no one person or group should have experienced. These students attended school under extremely hostile and difficult living conditions.

The cohorts of University of Illinois African American students changed every four to five years. Throughout their difficulties, stability and continuity were provided by the ongoing presence of Albert R. Lee, African American elected officials, the Interracial committee, some University officials, and by the Champaign African American community. These individuals were the backbone to the growth and development of the students during the days of segregation and beyond.

Illinois represented an institution of higher learning situated in the "liberal" North, a place perceived as somehow different from the Jim Crow South. However what students encountered here was very much the same forms of segregation their Southern counterparts experienced. Despite time spent serving their country, and devoting time to studies so they could compete academically at the University, those things meant nothing. They lived by the Jim Crow laws of the North, a set of laws that boasted the inferiority of African Americans.

In essence African American students at the University of Illinois experienced varying forms of discrimination. As their enrollment trends increased so did the discriminatory acts they faced. These students attended school under very antagonistic conditions. Having to find a place to eat and live miles from campus, not being allowed to sit in adequate seats in theaters, or receive hair cuts, to name only a few instances of discrimination, were conditions that no student should have to live under. These various acts of discrimination had an impact on the educational and social environment of these students. Despite the less than pleasant or inviting instances, African American students were able to matriculate, persevere, and achieve.

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Who is "Black" at the University of Illinois, 1965-1975

Joy Ann Williamson
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, the proponents of the Civil Rights Movement encouraged African Americans to petition for the protection of their constitutional rights. Securing equality of social and educational opportunity was seen as a key to success and this was pursed through non-violent means. By the late 1960s, a new development, the Black Power Movement, advocated a more aggressive posture as some Blacks were becoming increasingly frustrated with the slow pace of change. Some African Americans opposed the non-violent strategy adopted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the more moderate Civil Rights leaders in favor of more confrontational methods. Blacks on university campuses across the United States gathered to discuss and plan ways they could more aggressively combat the inequalities Blacks experienced.

This paper describes the impact of the beliefs associated with Black Power at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC). I will draw on various student publications at UIUC in discussing Black UIUC students' conceptions of "Black" and the ideology of "Blackness." While I recognize that not all Black students participated in "Black Power" or agreed with its objectives and ideologies, evidence indicates that a majority of Black UIUC students were involved with the Black Power Movement.

Black UIUC students from 1965 to 1975 participated in the Black Power upsurge across the nation. When asked about their own definitions of Black Power, UIUC Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) chapter President Paul Brady and his friend Rodney Hammond stated in a 5 October 1966 article, "CORE Touches Racial Issues," appearing in *The Daily Illini*, that Black Power was racial pride, Black consciousness, and the development of "political, economic self-determination in the Negro masses." This sentiment was instrumental in organizing the Black Students Association. In 1967, within a month of its inception, BSA initiated a Black student newspaper, *Drums*. The following March the paper proclaimed that *The Daily Illini*, the general student newspaper, was the "voice of the White student on campus," and that Black students needed an outlet to publish articles relevant to their experience. An editorial published in the October 1968 issue of *Drums*, "While Their Parents Waited. . ." revealed the activist nature of the paper. The editorial asserted that the older generation was apathetic, ignorant, and "white-washed." Frustrated by their parents' inaction, the Black students decided to take the reins, "it appears that the days when black students waited for their parents to take action against the racist school policies are over." While their parents engaged in "habitual things" such as cooking, cleaning, reading the newspaper, and watching television their children were "organizing themselves to form a united front against the system to which their parents had become so well adjusted." This view was harsh as many of these parents had fought for freedom and equality decades before the 1960s. Nonetheless, this view of a new generation seemed to be necessary in order to break with the mainstream Civil Rights Movement.

In harmony with their Black Power ideology, Black UIUC students followed the shift from racially integrated civil rights organizations to predominantly or all Black civil rights organizations and from non-confrontational or moderate methods to aggression. By the later 1960s, the NAACP and other integration-minded organizations still existed on campus but faced fierce competition for Black members from newly formed Black Power-minded organizations. As noted earlier, not all Black students joined this movement. However, Black Power-minded organizations gained momentum and claimed a significant part of the Black student population as adherents. By 1967, Black Power was the prevailing ideology among Black students on the UIUC campus.

This does not, however, mean that all Black students in the movement held identical beliefs with regard to tactics and solutions to Black America's problems. One point of contention was "who is Black?" According to those in the Black Power Movement "Black" was more than pigmentation. "It is the soul, heart, mind, physical spirit," stated John Lee Johnson, a Black Champaign community activist closely affiliated with BSA and who had a significant influence on Black students, in an interview published in the 7 December 1968 issue of *The Daily Illini*. Blackness became an ideology--a state of mind--and implied a degree of awareness, appreciation, and celebration of the African/African

American self. BSA students, in their publications, often berated Black students whom they felt were not participating in Blackness. This resulted in a campus split among Black UIUC students. Those who did not follow BSA aims and policies were deemed not "Black" enough or committed to the struggle by the organization. Many BSA authored articles and publications were aimed at convincing the dissenters that their understanding of Black Power was the proper road toward Black liberation.

Like others in the Black Power Movement, Black UIUC students threw off the term "Negro" in favor of Black. While still being used in the general student newspaper, *The Daily Illini*, none of BSA's newspapers used the word "Negro" as a descriptive racial term. Instead, they reinterpreted it, assigning a pejorative definition to the term. Negroes were those who had not embraced Black Power and Black Consciousness. As John Lee Johnson stated in a 17 February 1966 interview published in the 17 February 1968 edition of *The Daily Illini*, "I resent the word 'Negro'; it means second class fool and one who does not want to be free. I am black and black means just the opposite." This statement not only addressed the "Negro" versus "Black" dichotomy but revealed the tone of the Black Power-minded Champaign-Urbana community and Black UIUC students. While some used Negro and Black interchangeably to describe people of African descent (based on pigment), Black UIUC students used the terms to denote particular ideologies of liberation.

Students in BSA embraced this new interpretation of Blackness and adopted the mandate to promote Black consciousness and Black unity. The fundamental beliefs and mission of the BSA was clearly stated in "Goals Are Black Unity and Black Consciousness," appearing in *Drums* (November 1967). Its goal included the establishment of a *racially-based* campus group mirrored after racially-based national groups. An example is that they supporte SNCC when they expelled all Whites from the national organization in 1966. In addition, Black UIUC students declared that Blacks needed to 'stick together' to protect their interests, "If it is logical that we as black students must 'stick together' in order to promote and protect our own interests, it should be equally logical that we as a people must stick together to protect and promote the interests of our people." Furthermore, the Black Power Movement's push for more aggressive means and tactics for liberation was mirrored in BSA's advocation of direct confrontation "with any institution within or outside the University" and the use of "any tool necessary" in fighting against apathy and for liberation. Finally, Black students stated their connection to the larger Black Power Movement and the BSA took it upon itself to insure that all African Americans on the campus and in the Champaign-Urbana community were aware of the Black Power Movement.

Blackness was celebrated and promoted through the student organizations and activities such as *Black* Chorus, *Black* Mom's Day, *Black* Weekend, and *Black* Homecoming. Using Blackness and Black culture as a basis for their organizations and activities demonstrated to the University that Black students valued their culture, heritage, and experiences. No longer would they participate in established organizations that did not cater to Black needs.

Poems and articles indicative of Black UIUC student conceptions of an ideology of Blackness were found in each of BSA's publications. For example, in an effort to convince African Americans to "get serious" about Black liberation, including psychological liberation, former BSA Vice Chairman, Christine Cheatom, berated Black women who used hair straighteners in the December 1967 issue of *Drums*. She stated, "No one with straightened hair is an enlightened Black. You may be militant, you may be intelligent but if you can not see any beauty in the average black woman's unstraightened hair, then you are still brainwashed." This was a statement in favor of Blackness and against assimilation or Whiteness. The use of hair straighteners, "processes," and skin bleaching creams was interpreted as a sign of weakness, desire to assimilate, and denigration of the African heritage. It was viewed as the internalization of standards of beauty consistent with the phenotypic traits of Whites. Students were told to break away from the long-held preference in the Black community for "good hair" and light skin, to stop mutilating their bodies for the sake of Whiteness, and to embrace their African/African American selves.

The October and November 1968 issues of *Drums*, carried "Know Your Black History" quizzes. The questions were designed to help Black students learn about African roots and the diasporic component involved in Blackness. Questions included, "[Name] three old kingdoms of Africa," "[Name] the 'Black Moses' of the Underground Railroad," and "[Name] the Black U. S. Senator from Mississippi during the Reconstruction." Other questions focused on important Black leaders. These included Marcus Garvey, leader of the early 20th century "Back to Africa" movement; W. E. B. DuBois, NAACP founder and Pan-Africanist; Imhotep, the 2nd century Egyptian "father of medicine"; and the Queen of Sheba. The goal was to educate and give a more prominent place to significant Black heroes and heroines.

A second BSA newspaper, *Black Rap*, appeared in 1969. Its pages referred to Black men and Black women as "brothers and sisters", called for "Umoja"–unity within the Black community, declared themselves the "vanguard," and demeaned Black men who dated White women. The paper proclaimed that *true brothers* would never date a White woman or voluntarily choose to socialize with Whites instead of Blacks. BSA member Paul Chandler published a poem calling for Black men to practice what they preached and criticized integrationist practices. Black unity and power were manifest in the relationships between *Black* men and *Black* women, not Black men and White women; the desire for Black liberation and the pursuit of a White woman could not co-exist in the heart of a *real* Black man.

Similar themes and sentiments regarding the ideology of Blackness continued in 1970 editions of *The Black Rap*. For example, in a poem indicative of the era and meant to chastise those who did not fully participate in the celebration of Blackness was published in a 21 October 1970 issue. Blackness was deeper than pigment; it was a commitment to Black liberation, celebration of the Black aesthetic, and immersion in Black culture. Total and full participation in Blackness was required. Having unstraightened hair did not necessarily mean "true Blackness;" one had to fully appreciate one's Afro. This was part of the psychological criteria of true Blackness.

The 2 December 1971 issue of BSA's third newspaper, *Yombo*, contained two poems, "Negro" and "Black". The poems depicted the Negro as an "aged" person afraid to take a step forward and emasculated, "a Negro not a man . . . a Negro, boy, not a man." I believe this characterized the feelings toward those in the Civil Rights Movement. Just as in an earlier edition of *Drums*, Black Power advocates continued to ridicule Civil Rights adherents for being of another generation with outdated methods for gaining Black liberation. Blacks, on the other hand, were no longer seeking an integration based on assimilation with Whites. Underscoring the point that Negroes and Blacks were fundamentally different kinds of people and redefining "integration," Black students cited Don Lee, a Chicago poet and Black activist in the March 1968 issue of *Drums*, "I seek integration of negroes and black people." This was the "correct" manner in which to gain liberation. "Black is like a treasure inside of a chest . . . beautiful, sweet, loving, and strong. . . Black is where it's at, it's about time we should realize that." *Negroes* outlived their usefulness; *Blacks* had to take the reins.

A poem in the 1972 Black student yearbook, *Irepodun*, described the transformation from Negro to Black. Black UIUC students were called to "experience the warmth of belonging to a race of Beautiful Black People."

The birth of Blackness through becoming AWARE;
The killing of the Negro, the birth of Blackness;
The killing of Whitey in your soul and
The birth of Blackness in your mind.

The Negro–the assimilated, complacent, timid, "white-washed," and pre-Black Power advocate--part of the self had to be "killed" before the transformation could occur. One also had to annihilate White influence. The process was like death and rebirth, kill the Negro, kill the White indoctrination and Blackness was possible. The search for and attainment of true Blackness was a resurrection of the mind and soul which allowed for a new political and cultural awarness.

An important question was, who had the authority to determine who was "Black?" Answers varied depending on which person or which group was asked "who is Black." The ingroup-outgroup dichotomy often was falsely (and hurtfully) drawn. BSA often wielded its "thou art Black enough" sword hastily and judgmentally. If a Black student did not fit all the criteria expected of a true "brother" or "sister"--both physical (wearing an Afro, having a Black girl/boyfriend) and psychological (appreciating the Afro, wanting to pull away from White influence and integration)--and fully participate in BSA events, s/he was called a Negro, sell-out, or Uncle Tom. This tactic often pushed away potential allies and alienated others.

Another problem in the Black UIUC student movement was that "Black" often meant Black *man*; "Black" was interpreted as Black men reclaiming their masculinity. Yes, Black women were a target audience (Black women were told to stop straightening their hair) and were critical to disseminating the new Black ideology, but never was the sexism in the Black Power Movement or the emerging definition of Blackness discussed in the Black student publications. Perhaps sexism was discussed outside the publications, but as the primary source of information and the outlet for the Black student voice its omission was glaring. Gender issues, or issues of equity between the sexes, were ignored in discussions of Blackness though Black women played varied and critical roles in the UIUC Black Power Movement.

In Fall 1968, BSA delivered a list of 35 demands to the administration. The demands, published later in the 18 February 1969 edition of *The Black Rap*, included: establishing "a Black Cultural Center large enough to accommodate all Black people which will be run by the Black Students Association," hiring 500 Black faculty within a four year period beginning with 150 by September 1969, and establishing an autonomous Black Studies Department with a major emphasis on Afro-American and African Studies. It was in this list of demands--and their implementation--that the redefinition of "Blackness" began to be tangibly manifest on the UIUC campus through Afro-American Studies and the Afro-American Cultural Program.

In early 1969, a student-faculty Commission on Afro-American Life and Culture moved to recommend the development of an Afro-American Studies Program and the possibility of pursuing minors in the field. Like many Black students at predominantly White institutions, some Black UIUC students voiced dissatisfaction with the development of the Afro-American Studies Program. In a 18 March 1969, *Daily Illini* article, BSA member Michael Wilson pointed to a class bias in the proposed program. In his article entitled "Class Bias," he stated that the focus on teaching Black history, literature, and culture was only relevant to middle-class Blacks. He stated, "A Black Studies Program based on Black history and culture alone will not help the masses of Blacks who are preoccupied with the problems of jobs, housing, and education. . . . More particularly, our Black Studies Program must provide the tools that will enable us to work with the people in our communities." Classes on housing rights of the poor and consumer fraud in low income communities were proposed. This focus on the tangible benefits for a larger number of Blacks was a shift from the Civil Rights Movement of the early sixties, which was seen as a movement for and by middle-class Blacks.

Courses established in Spring 1971 were published in a flyer distributed to students. Some of the courses included Afro-American Lectures, Black Curriculum Methods in Early Childhood Education, Introduction to African Languages, Cultural and Political Revolution, and Police-Black Interaction.

One Black student demand, the establishment of a Black cultural center, was accepted and put to committee in March 1969. This center was called "the Afro-American Cultural Program (AACP)" and was established in the Fall semester of 1969. The AACP was not just a recreation center or meeting place for Black UIUC students and Black Champaign-Urbana residents. Workshops were held; speakers were invited; performances were sponsored. It served as the campus locus for the promotion of Black culture and Black pride. Demonstrating their deep respect for Malcolm X and his teachings, students named the AACP reading room the "El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz Reading Room" in December 1969. By late 1970, AACP weekly activities included three dance workshops, a writers workshop, a drama workshop, and music classes and rehearsals.

Around 1975, Black Power waned. Possible factors in influencing this were that prominent Black Power figures strayed from the cause, the police actively and purposely helped disintegrate the Black Panther Party, and the government effectively declared war on Black Power. At UIUC Black student enrollment decreased which impacted the presence of Black Power on the campus. According to a report, "The Recruitment, Admission, Enrollment, and Retention of Minority Students at the University of Illinois" (University Office of School and College Relations 1985), Black UIUC enrollment rose from 330 in 1967 and peaked at 1,439 (4.2 percent of the UIUC population) in 1972. After 1972, the numbers dropped off. By 1984, the number of Black UIUC students had declined steadily to 1,160--equal to the number of Black UIUC students between 1969 and 1970. After 1975, most registered Black organizations focused on providing academic support. By the late 1970s all three BSA newspapers had folded.

Although I mark the end of the Black Power era in 1975, lasting benefits to Black students are evident. The Black students of the late sixties and early seventies forced the University to seriously commit itself to the recruitment and retention of Black students and faculty. Black residence hall councils, of which the first was formed in early 1969, remain active and chose Swahili names such as Ewezo, Eusa Nia, and Solongo. Black Mom's Day celebrations, which still include a Black Chorus concert and a fashion show, are still held the same weekend as the University Mom's Day celebrations. Black Homecoming activities, including the election of a Black Queen and King, continue to thrive. Black Chorus grew from four students to over one hundred members and now performs in churches and educational institutions around the state of Illinois. The African American Cultural Program continues to provide several different workshops and activities including Omnimov (a dance group), Theatre 263 ("Theatre of the Black Experience), the Griot (a newsletter), and WBML (alias "Where Black Music Lives," a radio station housed in the AACP and run by students). Students may now minor in Afro-American Studies and take a variety of courses on the African American experience in several disciplines. The first dinner to recognize Black graduating seniors was transformed into the Black Congratulatory Ceremony, a more personal event for Black graduating seniors, graduate, and professional students held in addition to the University graduation ceremonies.

A less tangible result of the Black UIUC students' labors was the fact that their struggle was taken up by other ethnic groups. Their push for an autonomous Afro-American Studies Program and more African American professors paved the way for other groups, especially Latino/a students, to follow in their footsteps. The ideas of psychological liberation, cultural nationalism, and self-determination were not unique to African Americans. Several ethnic groups experienced a resurgence of cultural pride and expression in the mid 1960s and early 1970s; but, African Americans led the way. Following in the path of African American UIUC students, Latino/a student groups began to demand courses relevant to their experience, increased Latino/a enrollment, more Latino/a faculty, and a cultural center for student support. Currently, there are University sanctioned efforts to establish a Latino/a Studies Program and an Asian American Studies Program. A Women's Studies Program was established some years after the Afro-American Studies and Research Program. The Black students created a climate conducive to the demands of other ethnic groups.

Whatever their limitations, the Black students' drive to implement programs and policies in line with their own conceptions of Blackness helped shape the UIUC campus. Although all of their demands were not met, Black Power era UIUC students accomplished a broader goal--they enriched the academic and social lives of Black UIUC students for years to come.

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Devaluing Books and the Progressive Era

Mark McKenzie
Reynoldsburg, Ohio

From 1870 to 1920, during the 50-year period considered the heart of the progressive reform era, the popular valuation of both books and the activity of reading books drops dramatically. This devaluation of reading books as meaningful endeavor persists into the present with important consequences. If you believe that reading books is important to education, then the devaluation of book reading has made educational achievement, through formal or informal means, more difficult.

If the progressive reform era is the period when books and book reading become less important, then it is unlikely that the post 1940s development of the modern visual/mass media communications culture is solely to blame. Despite recent arguments (Kozel 1985, Kernan 1990, Rigolot 1993), books and book reading lose their importance as social phenomena too early for media communications culture to act as cause. I do agree that the modern communications culture is continuing and reinforcing an already existing trend, but not that it is the cause of the trend.

So, if the media communications culture develops too late to act as social author, then who or what is the source of the stories that bring down the public valuation of books? What is in place at the critical time is the progressive reform movement. As part of that movement's agenda is a two-prong attack on a curriculum used in schools (Kliebard 1987), stored in books, and learned and accessed through reading. Nothing in the progressive reform program seems to have intentionally worked toward the devaluation of all books and reading. Yet challenges by the progressives to the existing late nineteenth century curriculum appear to have generalized beyond their specific intent of curricular reform to undermine even the progressive's own reformed curriculum.

Characterizing public beliefs, such as the valuation of books, even to the degree of an approximation is not easy (Abel 1980, Gates 1985, Marcus and Fischer 1986, Harding 1986, Lemert 1990). Still, there are techniques available to gain evidence usable in construction of a limited approximation of popular beliefs. For example, evidence may be gathered to support the assertion that books and book reading is given little value in today's society through surveys and interviews.

Examining the responses to recent surveys, it seems enough of us confess to reading either regularly or frequently that of all households, 37.8% may be characterized as having at least one "avid" reader (SRDS 1996). A couple of other authors, however, cast some doubt upon this definition of an avid reader. Alvin Kernan (1990) reports that 60% of adult Americans have never read a book and the remaining 40% read only an average of one book per year. And according to a recent article in *The Economist* (1996), comparing the number of books sold, the time spent reading, and the general state of reading test scores, it seems we spend neither the time nor have the skills necessary to do more than browse the books we buy.

I suppose that it is possible that while all the books are bought with good intentions, many are just browsing so that the really important books may be carefully read. Unfortunately this is not so if Jeff Reid (1994) has properly characterized or identified a "trend" in reading habits. According to Reid, in a satirical article in the *Utne Reader*, it seems that even "literary" people, including authors, do not read the books judged by the people who judge such things as books worth reading.

Additional evidence comes from interviewing students in my classes during the last year I taught "The History of Modern Education." During the first day's class, we examined our expectations and preconceptions of our duties and roles as teachers and students. The topics covered during our cooperative self examinations included our reading habits and our valuation of books. For my sample of 140 students, less than 25% professed to either find reading a valuable use of their time or to routinely read books. Of the remaining 75% who did not value reading, half dismissed the required readings for all of their college classes (including their teaching methods classes) as having no value, meaning or impact even for their future teaching practice.

The popular belief in the valuelessness of reading books is, however, what Roland Barthes (1972) termed a social myth. Reading books is a valuable activity, and I am willing to contend, any time and any place, that books remain just as valuable to the educational process as they were before 1870. To what degree is it possible to become significantly more partially educated without being a reader, and more specifically a reader of books? I do not mean to imply that education is impossible without reading books, but by the simple obstacle of the too limited period representing a human life span, the breath and depth of experiences possible is too small to allow for more than an extremely limited sense of education.

As John Dewey (1938) has said, the hallmark of "maturity of experience" is being able to get through the "dead places" of life. To possess "maturity of experience" is to have a repertoire of experiences that can arouse curiosity and strengthen initiative when life is difficult. And that repertoire of experience can be built through reading books. Whereas personal experiences of life are limited to the here and now, through reading we can interact with the environments of places we have never been or may never get to, with environments that have long since ceased to exist, and when reading literary fiction, with times and places that may never be.

While other modem media can also create environments, that is not to say that these environments are better than those experienced through books. Indeed, because of the more detailed continuity of book narratives, it would be easy to argue that books are the superior pathways to education.

The impracticality of surveys and interviews for investigation of the distant past requires an alternate approach. One approach is poststructural metaphor analysis, here applied to communicative visual metaphors existing before the development of a mass media culture (McKenzie 1995), but still consistent with the poststructural media work of Norman Denzin (1988, 1989, 1992a, 1992b) and the metaphoric examinations of modem narratives by Charlotte Linde (1987) and Naomi Quinn (1987).

An examination of books as visual metaphoric symbols in Medieval Christian religious art shows a connection, a coupling if you would, of capable, competent people and books. Here the book is the metaphoric source (Indurkhya 1993) signifying of the worth of the person. Even when the Medieval European belief system considered the words in books the words of God (Foucault 1972) and not the person (generally a monk, priest or Christ in the Christian iconography) holding the book, the presence of the book still signified that these were people deserving of the viewer's esteem (Snyder 1989).

The archetype of the images of books metaphorically targeting (Indurkhya 1993) value upon the people holding them is actually pre-Christian. This archetype image is a representation of a male "proclaiming" or "delivering" with the right hand while holding a book of "law" in the left. Some of the earliest examples of this archetypal image are the Roman pre-Christian representations of the transference of law. For these images of the imperial *traditio legis*, the "book" representing or containing "law," is clearly identified or marked as such, while the male figure is anonymous (Snyder 1989). The anonymity of the figure holding the book is a characteristic important for this analysis, for it is a characteristic that either disappears or becomes twisted after 1920.

The portrayal of a leader, secular or religious, holding a book (used as a symbol of power) in the left hand continued as a common public image for almost two thousand years (Ferguson 1954, Male 1956, Snyder 1989). This is the same image that is much venerated in Judea-Christian religious visual representation, an image which, whether reinvented or adopted from Roman images, appears in the second century "AD" (Snyder 1989). By the beginning of the fourth century this image, now representing the Christian image of Christ proclaiming from and delivering the book or scroll of law to Peter, is both common and widespread.

As the structure of the Catholic church grows and institutions are founded that encompass books beyond the conventionally religious, this iconographic image is changed to account for differing communicative intent. At this later time, when Christ, Mary, and the apostles hold books in their left hands, the books remain metaphoric symbols of power. When the subject shown holding a book, however, is a saint, the book signifies the figure's authority, usually as the head of an order, for the book shows that this is the writer of the order's rules (Ferguson 1954, 305).

By the thirteenth century, when people associated with structured learning and universities believed that all the knowledge of the world was already known and the task for the scholar was to put that knowledge into better order (Thelin 1982), a new subject is added to the iconography. In the representation of philosophy, mistress of the seven arts, a female figure is shown with a book in her right hand and holding a staff (now the metaphoric symbol of power) in her left hand. This reversal of the image, switching the book to the right hand of an idealized image of a woman (mistress), represented people who were thinkers and creators, people who reordered the knowledge of the world into their own works. This active task of ordering was given to the dextrous hand--the right hand (Van Treeck and Croft 1936).

Beyond this visual statement of the value of books held in a person's hand, there is evidence for the value of books even when not coupled with the human figure. Indeed, evidence exists indicating that books were respected and sacred objects carrying intrinsic value, almost having some slight degree of "humanity." This respect for books as more than mere objects, is exemplified by a Jewish tradition of ceremonially burying books that have aged beyond repair and that includes the name of God--collectively known as the "shemot" (Encyclopaedia Judaica, 1971, vol. 7). As evidence suggestive of the value given to books, the details of the actual burial, including the site of the burial, the cemetery, and how the books are covered for the burial, by a simple cloth, is identical to the procedure for burying a person (Brooks 1995). While the practice, as it survives today, mainly deals with Bibles, volumes of the Talmud, and prayer books, historically, the contents of the "genizah" have also included works of philosophy, science, law and lore, and commentary (Richler 1990, 12).

I assert that the valuation of books evidenced through almost 2,000 years of Western North Atlantic (Carrithers 1992) history persisted in the lives of American citizens at least until the 1870s. While it is a wonderful idea, it is not necessary to go as far as to believe, as did Paul Anderson (1963), that every nineteenth century farm boy read books of literature and philosophy while they plowed the fields.

Less imaginative perhaps, but just as convincing is Karl Kaestle (1983), in *Pillars of the Republic*, retelling the story told by a Wisconsin historian of how nineteenth century Wisconsin school children came to school carrying the books brought by their parents, as part of the family's worldly goods, when the parents set forth into the wild frontiers. These books were not part of an official or set literary canon, for no two children in any class might each have access to the same book in their family library. The books the families owned ran the gamut from grammar books, to literature, to religious texts, none easily classified as having instrumental value to the lives of the settlers who carried them to a new place through great difficulties. Yet these books and the reading of them, as different in subject matter as they were and all inapplicable to the skills of making farms out of untamed land, were still considered the path to education (Tyack and Hansot 1982).

During the nineteenth century, especially on the frontiers, families had little free time, yet time was set aside for what was for them a ritual of reading. To read, whether you lived on the expansive frontiers or in an urban setting in an eastern city, was to be able to participate in the political life of the community (Postman 1985). In addition to the importance of reading in political life, particularly in those eastern cities, reading was a necessary part of business endeavors. This can be seen in how the advertising of products and services (even the most mundane) consisted entirely of textual expositions until the 1870s. Advertising slogans and pictures are both innovations first appearing during the progressive reform period (Presbrey 1929).

As evidence that the public visual metaphor of the potent power and value of books persists through much of the nineteenth century, there is the Statue of Liberty. Admittedly, the statue was not dedicated until 1886, but it still followed the form of our preprogressive era archetypal icon. The statue consists of an anonymous female figure with her right arm extended upright holding a torch, her left arm bent at the elbow, and left arm and hand holding a tablet (book) over the figure's heart. Upon the tablet held in the statue's left hand is inscribed the date of the Declaration of Independence. At her feet is a broken chain, representing the overthrow of tyranny. A tyranny broken by the power of the book.

I assert that it is the authors of the progressive movement who are the authors of the stories that soon were adopted by and communicated through the developing visual mediae that will undermine the popular valuation of books. Two strands of the progressive movement clearly, explicitly wished to reform school's curriculum, the books read. The reformers' success appears to have involved an odd and unintended social transaction in which there was an exchange of values. The unintended exchange in this transaction was the adoption of "right" and "proper" curriculum for a diminished belief in the intrinsic value of books and reading.

If we take the work of Charles Eliot as a limited exemplar of the humanist progressive reformer (Kliebard 1987), a primary function of public schooling was the development of a "taste for good reading" (Eliot 1961). By "good reading," Eliot meant the will and discipline to read only the works that experts judged worth reading. Eliot believed that children and society could be harmed by reading the wrong books. We can see this in Eliot's calls for rewriting (or a "new writing") the imaginative literature for children, including fairy tales, Old Testament stories, and historical romances to reflect the proper moral values of society (Eliot 1961). Eliot's argument for reform of literary books (those books without instrumental value) is one important element in what will become an attack on all books.

The second prong of the progressives' attack upon books is exemplified by the "progressive" views of the social efficiency educators. The social efficiency reformers called for books containing applied knowledge of immediate and practical consequence. This group, including David Snedden and Ross Finney, argued that unless books directly helped prepare children for their places in adult society, those books were at best of no value and at worst potentially harmful to the survival of American society (Kliebard 1987). Add to these two stances on curriculum reform Joseph Mayer Rice's (1893) indictment of teachers and we have all the elements of Stephen Crane's 1898 short story, *The Making of an Orator*.

In this story, Crane criticized the curriculum, eighteenth century literature, the teaching technique, memorization and recitation, and the teacher, who must get her own book to prompt a student unable to recite from memory alone. Crane offered no alternatives for what school ought to be other than to say that schooling crushes the "natural" talent for oration a sensitive child brings to school. This is the earliest example I can find of the rewriting of progressive curriculum critiques into a story, intended for popular consumption, that assaults the idea of the intrinsic value of both books and teachers, whose work is closely associated with books.

These two strands of progressive thinking, each desiring a different curriculum reform, get combined and changed in the broader popular conversations to produce a popular belief that all books are meaningless. The only books to escape this indictment of valuelessness are how-to-books, and then they are of value only for the inept, the incapable, or as entertainment or folly for the intellectual.

The curricular arguments of the progressives become part of the popular culture and appear in the new visual media of the day, the moving picture. In particular, these arguments, although broadened and generalized become part of the stories routinely told through film.

In the opening sequence to a 1921 F. B. Warren production, directed and written by Lois Webber, titled *The Blot*, a college professor is shown in the pose of our archetype iconic image. Professor Griggs is standing on a platform seven steps above his class. With right hand held forward, away from his body, pointing toward the students, open book held in his left hand, he proclaims knowledge to the class. Here, however, unlike earlier versions of the image any markings or texts in the book are invisible, and the class does not listen to what the professor proclaims.

One student holds a notebook open and marks upon its pages, but in a closeup we are shown that he is drawing a disparaging caricature of the professor. Another student reads a newspaper while a third student sleeps and a fourth student plays a practical joke upon the sleeper.

The film, *The Blot*, was intended as an exposé about the low pay provided professors at endowed colleges and to religious ministers, so, in the film, the professor's friend is a minister who just happens to collect books. As the professor is leaving school, he meets the minister, who has just bought a book on the history of ancient civilizations. The pair enters the professor's home, a rented house furnished with threadbare rugs, chairs with split seat coverings and almost empty food cupboards, and begin to examine the book. The professor's wife, a thin, drawn looking woman (and a mother to a thin, frail looking daughter), upon seeing the object of their interest, comments that the minister's money would have been far better spent on a book explaining how to make shoes.

In the 1923 film featuring vaudeville comedian Charles "Chic" Sales as Professor Timmons, titled *The New School Teacher*, an early scene again shows Sales proclaiming to a class with a book held in his left hand. This time, however, the class is a group of small kittens sitting in a chair, and the book, while labeled on the outside cover as "The School Teachers Manual," is shown to be, in a close-up of the inside cover, "The Farmers' Almanac."

In a combining and generalization of the two progressive curriculum reform arguments, at least in the hands of the new schoolteacher, not even the applied knowledge in how-to-books can help Chic Sales' character, Professor Timmons. Because his teacher's manual states that proper schooling practice includes taking his students out into the country, the class goes on a camping trip. Professor Timmons knows nothing about the outdoor life. He does not even know why getting his students into the country is a good thing, he only knows that his book tells him that it is. Professor Timmons, armed with how-to-books on outdoor activities, believes he is ready to lead his class in the great outdoors. Once in the countryside, after studying a book on learning to swim, Professor Timmons almost drowns. The children, however, can swim, and without ever having read a book on the activity. And even with a book on camping for reference Professor Timmons cannot start a fire, find food or make a proper camp. The children, however, although city raised, can quickly start a fire just by rubbing two sticks together.

Continuing the theme of the valuelessness of applied books, at least in the hands of the scholar, is Buster Keaton's 1927 film, *College*. Keaton's character, Ronald, is the star pupil of his high school. The young woman, Mary Haines, who Ronald loves, however, rejects him because he does not have a proper respect for athletic activities. So, when Ronald follows Mary to Clayton college, he takes with him several books on how to play sports. At college Ronald works to make money, studies his sporting books and practices his athletics. Ronald, however, fails miserably at every job and every sport he tries. On the baseball field, despite his scholarly studying of the game, Ronald does not even know the rules or the defensive team's positions.

Because of Ronald's preoccupation with sports, he fails at his academic studies. His academic failure results in a trip to see Dean Edwards, played by comedian Snitz Edwards. After listening to Ronald's tale of romantic woe, Dean Edwards sympathizes and tells Ronald of his own decision to pursue academic study instead of pursuing the woman he loved. Dean Edwards chose the life of scholarship but has regretted the decision ever since. After Ronald has left the Dean's office, Dean Edwards, surrounded by the symbols of scholarship and academic authority, breaks into uncontrollable sobbing. The scene fades out with tears running down Dean Edwards' face.

In the 1924 film, *Braveheart*, directed by Alan Hale and written by William Churchill De Mille, the story is told of the son of an Indian Chief, whose people live on the northwest coast of the United States, and the boy's journey to an eastern college to learn to succeed his father as his people's leader. When Braveheart arrives at the fictional Strathmore college, we are shown scenes of the campus. One scene shows a statue called "The Spirit of the Game." The statue is of two male figures. One figure, kneeling in a submissive position, appears to be reading an opened scroll that he holds in his hands. While what appears to be marks are visible on this scroll, the writing is so stylized as to be unreadable.

The statue's other male figure, standing with football held jauntily in his right hand upon his right hip, has his left hand resting upon the right shoulder of the kneeling figure. I believe that the statue tells an unsubtle story about the limited status of reading in relation to an active, physical life.

Before the progressive era, people valued books. The progressive era made the arguments for curricular reform urging the use of the new visual media communications. Thus, the actions of progressive era schooling reformers to develop a "superior" curriculum undermined the popular valuation of books. The value loss of books was tightly coupled to the progressives' arguments about the right and proper subject matter contained in the books worth reading.

If the progressive arguments are connected to the popular devaluing of books, then besides having an impact upon present education, there are consequences for any attempt to increase the popular valuation of books. Even if we could somehow stop the proliferation of stories of book valuelessness in the modern communications culture, within academic circles the arguments about proper curriculum content continue. And especially unfortunate, the arguments concerning the content of an appropriate curriculum not only continue, but continue using the same arguments (Casement 1996) that were already used to such educational detriment over 70 years ago.

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The Role of Cross-Over Teachers in Desegregation

William E. Segall
Oklahoma State University

Anna Victoria Wilson
The University of Texas at Austin

This paper seeks to address the minimal attention which has been given to the role of teachers in Southern communities' desegregation plans by focusing on the plans in Big Springs, Goose Creek, and Austin, Texas. Understanding desegregation in Austin requires an understanding of two legal cases of *Big Springs* and *Goose Creek*, which graphically illustrate the struggle faced by most Texas communities in the 1950s and 1960s. These cases provide a glimpse of the at times very divisive struggle to meet the new legal standards implemented by the *Brown* decision, which eliminated the 'separate but equal' doctrine. These cases provide the contextual framework within which Austin's desegregation efforts transpired.

The first test in Texas of the Supreme Court's decision occurred in the west Texas ranching town of Big Springs. The local school board discussed the principles of a desegregation policy during the summer of 1955 and developed a written course of action that was to guide the formation of an official desegregation policy which it would then adopt. The official policy recommended the elementary schools be integrated on a voluntary basis during the forthcoming 1955-56 school year. The Board did not recommend desegregation of the white junior high and high schools because they were overcrowded and a new 'colored' secondary school building was scheduled for completion that fall. Thus, junior high and senior high school students were not affected by the Board's desegregation policy. On August 9, 1955, the Big Spring ISD School District Board of Trustees ordered,

> Without changing any of the boundary lines of the areas assigned to these Ward schools . . . grade school students living in these areas be permitted to attend grade school in the district where they reside, regardless of race . . . . Individual students could apply to the superintendent of schools to attend the school of their choice. The applications would be considered on an individual basis and were subject to the long established authority of the superintendent to require the transfer of pupils between grade schools when classes were full in one school and space was available in another (Barbee, 1955, 62).

Reaction to this announcement was swift.

The Texas Citizens' Council immediately filed a lawsuit requesting an injunction against the School Board's implementation of its desegregation policy. Texas Governor Allen Shivers, as well as Attorney General John Ben Sheppard, supported the lawsuit. These officials argued that local school districts should proceed with caution because rushing into integration could cause great harm. They maintained that if Texas laws on segregation were eliminated, the state school laws would disintegrate.

The Texas High Court heard arguments in this lawsuit in September, 1955, and rendered its decision October 12, 1955.

> [The Court ruled that] state funds could be spent for schools where Negro and white students were mingled . . . . the U. S. Supreme's Court's desegregation ruling did apply to sections of the Texas Constitution and laws requiring segregation of white and Negro students in the public schools [and that] these offending portions were unconstitutional and void . . . . [the Court found] that the school laws prohibiting the expenditure of public funds in integrated schools [were] not supported. [The Court declared] we find in the act no language which would deny the use of such funds to integrated schools . . . [while upholding the legality of voluntary integration, the Texas Court also said] the Supreme Court did not direct immediate and complete integration in all schools.

The Attorney General of Texas issued the statement that "the ruling settles the law in Texas on a statewide basis, but the time of integration will still be a district by district matter" (Barbee, 1955). Segregation had been the law in Texas, as in all other Southern states, since Reconstruction. This ruling changed the law but it did not solve the desegregation problems faced by the two thousand school districts across Texas. Attorney General Sheppard then urged Texas to begin immediately to map plans for a substitute to the state's present system of laws on segregation.

> If we do not have a substitute ready when it is not needed, we may be forced by the courts to accept immediate integration. If we wait too long, our school legislation is going to be made by federal courts instead of our own legislature. Texas must take the initiative in solving the problem of desegregation or those nine men are going to solve it for us in a manner we may not like (Moorehead Papers, 1955).

McNair, a community just outside of Houston, Texas, was a part of the Goose Creek Independent School District. Shortly after the 1954 *Brown* decision, the Goose Creek school system closed its Negro schools and assigned Negro students to formerly all white facilities with the exception of the Negro Harlem Elementary School in the community of McNair, Texas. The history of Harlem Elementary School graphically illustrated the struggle between district officials and communities which resulted in a new education system.

Harlem Elementary, built in 1928, received its name in particular to designate it as a Negro school. McNair, the community which developed around the school, was a Negro community. Harlem Elementary School had three rooms with dirt floors and outside bathrooms (Roberts & Nichols, nd). In 1948, some twenty years later, these conditions were unchanged. The toilets remained outside, children served themselves in the cafeteria, and available classroom space remained limited. The school district board appeared to give little thought to the building plans of the school or to the education of the students at Harlem Elementary. Harlem's teachers and students were made to feel like "second-class citizens" (Moorehead Papers 1987). As in other Negro schools, Harlem's students were given secondhand books and supplies. However, the Negro faculty worked diligently to provide the best education possible to the students at Harlem Elementary.

In 1963, the Goose Creek Independent School District decided to build a Negro junior high school next to the Harlem Elementary School, despite the McNair community's strong opposition. The community believed that only total integration would solve its educational problems. When the school board then decided to renovate Harlem Elementary School, the McNair community voiced strong opposition to this plan as well. The McNair parents were willing to have their children bused to all white schools within the district. The school board refused to consider their request. Instead the district renovated Harlem Elementary, built an auditorium, library, five classrooms, and an administration building at a cost of $67,000. In addition, the school district paid $23,000 for air conditioning and a stove on which to prepare the students' lunches (Baytown, 1964: Pendergrass, 1964). Although the conditions at Harlem Elementary improved somewhat, it remained an all Negro school.

In 1965, to comply with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Goose Creek superintendent said that the district could no long maintain segregated schools or faculties or the district would lose Federal funds (Baytown Sun, 1965). Shortly thereafter, a white teacher, Art Coltharp, volunteered to move to the Harlem Elementary School as principal, thereby becoming the first white teacher at Harlem Elementary. Coltharp immediately began to recruit white faculty to 'cross-over' from an all white school to Harlem Elementary School, an all Negro school. Apparently, the term "cross-over teachers" originated with these activities (Baytown Sun, 1966). Coltharp promised the white 'cross-over' teachers that they could leave Harlem Elementary at the end of the school year if they were displeased with their assignment. The community of McNair, although somewhat suspicious, supported the use of cross-over teachers.

In addition to 'cross-over teachers,' the Goose Creek ISD initiated a program designated "Freedom of Choice." It was designed to recruit white students to attend Harlem Elementary School. The "Freedom of Choice" program allowed parents to choose any school within the district for their children to attend as long as overcrowding did not exist within the school or within the grade that the parents requested. If overcrowding occurred, students living closest to the school would have priority over those living further away. The school district did not provide transportation to schools outside of the neighborhood school. Not surprisingly, the "Freedom of Choice" program did not yield an integrated Harlem Elementary School. The Harlem Elementary School was in the midst of a Negro community, and white parents refused to transport their children across the district to an all black school for the same or an inferior education. For the next three years, only the faculty at Harlem Elementary School was integrated (Baytown Sun, 1965).

The desegregation plan which focused on 'cross-over' teachers and 'freedom of choice' did not met the Department of Heath, Education, and Welfare's criteria for legal desegregation. Because Harlem Elementary School remained a Negro school in a Negro neighborhood, despite having white teachers employed, the Goose Creek School ISD was notified by HEW that it would lose federal funds. In 1969, the school district designated Harlem Elementary as a magnet school, which resulted in an enrollment of 59 white students and 289 black students. The Goose Creek School District met legal desegregation standards the following year.

Similar to the school systems of Big Springs and Goose Creek, the Austin Independent School District's desegregation policy underwent several revisions. As with the Goose Creek School System, cross-over teaching was an integral component of Austin's desegregation efforts.

Prior to the *Brown* decision, Negro students in Austin attended Anderson High School, Kealing Junior High School or Blackshear Elementary, Campbell Elementary, Oak Springs Elementary, Rosewood Elementary, St. Johns Elementary or Sims Elementary School, regardless of where they lived. No curriculum transfers were granted to Anderson High School students, although transfer funds were provided to Negro students in order for them to attend segregated schools. Anderson High School and Kealing Junior High School were open residential schools, is that no matter where a Negro student lived within the AISD boundaries, he/she was to attend Anderson High School or Kealing Junior High School (League of Women Voters, 1970). As a direct result of the *Brown* decision, the Austin Independent School District Board adopted a resolution on August 8, 1955, that desegregated the senior high schools in Austin. Thus, Negro students living outside the Anderson School residential zone could choose to attend either Anderson High School or the white high school for their residential zone. On September 6, 1955, 13 Negro students transferred from Anderson High School to the three formerly all white high schools. Only 2 of the 13 students actually lived in the residential zone of Anderson High School (*Austin-American Statesman*, 1955).

In the 1958-59 academic year, ninth grade Negro students were given a similar choice. They could attend either Kealing Junior High School or the all white junior high school in their residential zone. The Austin League of Women Voters (1970) reported that all the senior and junior high schools were now completely integrated in 1960. The League also reported that between 1960 and 1964, one elementary grade per year was integrated until the last four grades were integrated in 1964. In actuality, the Negro elementary schools of Brackenridge and Clarksville remained segregated until the 1965-1966 school year. Apparently Negro students were only given the option of attending the all Negro elementary school or transferring to an assigned white elementary school.

In 164, three Negro teachers were assigned to 'cross-over' to white schools, William Akins at Johnston High School and B. T. Snell and Miss Narvline Drennan at Allan Junior High School (*Austin-American Statesman*, 1964). Despite the reported desegregation of all schools and the cross-over teachers, in 1968, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare found the Austin Independent School District to be out of compliance with federal desegregation guidelines.

In particular, HEW said that the Austin Independent School District's plan had neither effectively eliminated the dual school structure nor had it provided an equal educational opportunity for minority students. Of the 22 reasons HEW listed as supporting its decision, the following six have particular importance for this study.

The first important reason was eight schools constituted visible vestiges of the dual structure in that they were established as traditionally Negro schools, and by 1968 still had enrollments that were totally Negro. The second reason was the only choices offered to elementary students in East Austin involve schools which were 100% Negro, 90% or more Mexican-American, or 90% or more minority. Student teachers from Huston-Tillotson, a Negro college, were assigned exclusively to all Negro schools, the third reason. That the Negro teachers assigned to white schools had more teaching experience than the white teachers assigned to Negro schools and minority schools was the fourth. Fifth, during the 1967-68 school year, only 31 Negroes were assigned as classroom teachers to 28 white schools where the enrollment was predominantly Anglo. Finally, out of a total of 2,393 teachers, only 41 Mexican-American teachers were employed in the 1967-68 academic year (League of Women Voters 1970).

At the beginning of the 1969 school year, the Austin School Board appealed for white students and teachers to 'cross-over' voluntarily. Only a few students and teachers responded to the board's request. The board later abandoned its appeal to the community of students and teachers. HEW and AISD began negotiations which produced two plans, either of which would be acceptable to HEW. The two plans primarily focused on changing school boundaries. On January 10, 1969, the AISD Board rejected both plans offered by HEW and submitted its own plan.

The AISD Board's plan retained the Anderson High School residential area. Non-Negro students could not transfer to another school. The board moved the 9th grade from Kealing Junior High School to Anderson High School and 'freedom of choice' would be available to Kealing Junior High School students (Davis, 1974).

In 1970, the Austin School Board assigned 108 Negro teachers to fulfill the HEW requirements of racial balance in the white schools' faculties. White teachers would fill the vacancies in the Negro schools, again attempting to meet the HEW racial balance requirements in school faculties. However, in the same year the Justice Department filed a lawsuit against the Austin Independent School District on the grounds that it had failed to meet the federal guidelines for the desegregation of its schools. In particular, HEW examiner Leonard Ralton argued that the AISD

> . . . fails and refuses . . . to take prompt and effective action . . . to eliminate its dual school structure and bring about an integrated unitary elementary and secondary school system. Every program and activity in said system is operated and administered directly in a discriminatory manner or is infected by a discriminatory environment (League of Women Voters, 1970).

Further, HEW stressed that Mexican-American students be included in any of AISD Boards desegregation plans. Despite the inclusion of Mexican-American students in previous desegregation discussions, they were never included in the actual desegregation plans. The AISD rejoined that Mexican-American students had never experienced segregated schools. Therefore, the Mexican-American students had not been discriminated against as had been the Negro students prior to 1954. The court still found the Austin Independent School District to be out of compliance and mandated in 1971 the submission of a desegregation plan to HEW as soon as was feasible.

The Austin School Board submitted, for HEW approval, numerous desegregation plans between 1971 and 1979. Not until the 1980-81 school year was the Austin Independent School District found to be in compliance with the federal desegregation guidelines. At this point, the court declared that the Austin Independent School District was finally legally desegregated. Cross-over teachers were a continual part of each desegregation plan submitted to HEW until the Austin Independent School District was found to be legally desegregated at the conclusion of the 1980-81 academic year.

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Austin, Texas, Schools Go to War: 1917-1918

O. L. Davis, Jr.
The University of Texas at Austin

Valerie Long
Federal Way (Washington) Public Schools

Realization of the new war broke slowly over Austin, the small capitol city of Texas. Quickly, however, Austinites joined with other Americans in efforts to mobilize the nation for its first total war. Austin's schools enlisted early, but the 1916-1917 school year was only six weeks from conclusion when the United States entered the war. By September 1917, the city's teachers and administrators were ready to participate as they could to foster the nation's war aims and to involve Austin's school children in learning about the war and contributing to the nation's war purposes. On the other hand, they recognized the importance of normal school operations and the continuance of pre-war plans.

This account of wartime Austin schools differs in details from other case studies of American schooling during the Great War (e.g., Brumberg 1990, Davis 1993, Nelson 1988, 124-126, Palmer 1966). Importantly, it lacks official reports of wartime school activities that are available for a few of the nation's school districts (e.g., Los Angeles City School District 1918, War Work of the St. Louis Public Schools 1919). Also, because this story has remained ignored since the end of the war, its construction rests, in the main, upon contemporary newspaper articles. The resultant account, sketchy and lacking robustness, nevertheless constitutes one of the few available case studies of the impact of World War I on an American city's schools and the only one to date from Texas.

World War I military operations, except for Atlantic submarine warfare, occurred at a great distance from the United States. Still, the nation's involvement in the new war did not assure support of war aims. Many Americans, not just recent immigrants, became reluctant patriots. Nevertheless, the majority of Americans accepted, even if they failed adequately to understand, proposals for national mobilization, even those initiatives that involved the nation's schools. Many of these wartime policies contributed to the long-term reshaping of American life and institutions (Schaffer 1991).

Not unlike their colleagues across the United States, teachers and school administrators in Austin swiftly launched a variety of symbolic and patriotic activities in support of the war. Only later did Austin teachers and administrators respond to war pressures on the curriculum. Significantly, these wartime activities did not disrupt major elements of ordinary schooling, even though wartime spawned a number of heretofore rare intrusions of federal influence on American local schools (Todd 1945, Davis 1994).

In fact, the war did not spoil the immediate pre-war successes of several Progressive era reforms. These developments rode out the war and, likely, became more robust during this national emergency.

Compulsory attendance legislation came late to Texas, but the state's 1916 law took effect in January, 1917, just three months before the outbreak of the war (Eby 1925, 230-231). In Austin, the schools' Board of Trustees and administrators recognized that enforcement of this new legislation would result in an increased student population. Their plans for the implementation of the new law included construction of three new elementary schools, including one specifically for Mexican-American children, and a junior high school. They also employed an attendance officer who was directed to give special attention to the city's Mexican-American children. Even with these developments, however, the Austin schools suffered some overcrowded classrooms during the war (*Minutes* 18 December 1916, *AS* 31 December 1916, 3 January 1917, 25 January 1917).

Several other progressive era educational reforms impacted the wartime Austin schools. They included compulsory vaccination of school children (*AS* 27 February 1917), provision of free textbooks to all pupils enrolled in the state's public schools (*AS* 9 September 1918), the development of a junior high school program and a free public kindergarten (*AS* 3 November 1916, *AS* 7 October 1917), and increased educational provision for Mexican-American children (*AS* 2 November 1916). Perhaps the most politically significant development, however, was the election of two women to Austin's Board of Trustees the day after Congress declared war (*AA* 8 April 1917).

These women, Mrs. A. C. Goeth and Mrs. J. B. Gay, were prominent leaders of the local Mothers' Clubs. Although such organizations were parent-teachers associations, they commonly were called Mothers' Clubs and they wielded considerable influence on school administrators in the pre-war years. Through their fund-raising activities, the Mothers' Clubs provided the city schools with a number of amenities, from trees and shrubs for landscapes and playgrounds to support of a "Penny Lunch" program for Mexican-American pupils at the West Avenue Ward School (e.g., *AS* 2 January 1917, *AA* 14 April 1918, 15 September 1918). Throughout the war, the new women members of Austin's school board provided a vigorous voice "for mothers" in addition to their advocacy of improved school programs for children.

Maintenance of Austin's schools amidst the war's influences was important. Without question, the wartime teacher shortage did not jeopardize schooling in Austin, although it reached crisis proportions elsewhere in Texas (*AA* 26 May 1918). Nevertheless, like its impact across the nation (Evenden 1942), Austin's teacher shortage continued throughout the war. Wartime continuance of Austin's strong schools likely made possible the success of many symbolic and patriotic wartime activities conducted by Austin pupils and teachers.

The social climate during World War I not only encouraged public displays of loyalty, it expected them. National organizations as well as the federal and state governments promoted a great variety of programs designed to instill loyalty and to stamp out dissent (e.g., Breen 1984, Vaughn 1980). The schools, their teachers, administrators, and pupils, were not exempt from these pressures. School children could not win the war, but they could take home from school both information about and enthusiasm for the war effort; they could also influence their parents to better understand and to support the war.

As one of its first acts in response to the outbreak of war, the Austin school board required the reading of President Wilson's War Message on a regular basis "until the children understood its meaning" (*Minutes* 14 May 1917, 332). Perhaps this criterion was reached quickly; no evidence remains about the duration of the requirement. Nevertheless, other speech events promoted the nation's war aims at schools throughout the conflict. By January, 1918, for example, all school children received "ten minute speeches" about the war on a daily basis (*AA* 22 January 1918). Adults from the community often presented these speeches. Soon, however, children began preparing and presenting these near-ritual speeches, a practice which continued throughout the war. Guest speakers spoke at high school assemblies on a number of topics including their experiences in the army, the purposes and accomplishments of the Red Cross, the need to buy thrift stamps, and needed support of the war library fund (e.g., *AS* 3 January 1918, 15 November 1918). Also, adults spoke at elementary schools to encourage younger children to "do their bit" to help the nation win the war (e.g., *AA* 6 October 1918). Wartime interscholastic competitions in debate and declamation highlighted wartime concerns. High school graduation ceremonies especially highlighted patriotic themes. Student speeches focused, for example, on "Our War President" and "Our Present Duty" and audiences sang the national anthem and "America" (e.g., *AA* 9 June 1917, 2 December 1917).

Wartime brought special attention to the national flag. At least two Austin schools did not have flags at the beginning of the war, but they received flags before the end of April, 1917. Ritual pledges of allegiance became commonplace. Special school events prominently featured the U. S. flag (e.g., *AA* 22 April 1917).

School-wide patriotic ceremonies maintained pupils' attention about the war. Pageants and a variety of assemblies featured the Red Cross and its activities, for example. In one elementary school ceremony, children marched in and out of their school building to the tune of the Liberty Loan March. The Austin community recognized that the schools' "patriotic exercises" promoted sentiments of loyalty to the nation. Austin pupils' wartime patriotism, even if it were serious, was not always unsmiling. On April 1, 1918, high school students came to school dressed in overalls, work shirts, and aprons. Their attire was an April Fool's response to their teachers' advocacy of the "simple ways" and "Hooverization," a theme emphasized in preparation for the mid-term graduation ceremony (e.g., *AS* 1 April 1918, *AA* 13 October 1918).

Although ignored or commonly trivialized in many histories, pupil support of the war took a number of practical turns. These practical patriotic activities engaged school children in active work relating to the war as well as they encouraged the larger community to focus on the nation's war aims. High among Austin schools' priorities, like those in cities across the United States, were food conservation and production, thrift and purchase of war savings stamps, and Red Cross activities (e.g., *AS* 10 December 1917, 3 January 1918, *AA* 7 May 1918, 1 June 1918, 13 October 1918).

War gardening became an integral part of the day-to-day time tables in all of Austin's schools. Individual teachers and principals led this work. L. C. Anderson, principal of Austin's Negro high school, for example, personally supervised gardening efforts of students at that school. At least two of Austin's school gardens were cultivated by pupils under the supervision of teachers during regular school hours. At Palm School, the largest elementary school in the city, pupils cultivated a five-acre war garden. Produce raised in Pease School's war garden provided some of the food served in its lunch room. Administrators and public officials encouraged teachers to use war gardening, as well as other subjects, as opportunities to teach about the war and pupils' contributions to the war effort. Moreover, all the Austin schools enrolled in the U. S. School Garden Army, a movement sponsored by the federal Bureau of Education (e.g., *AS* 17 May 1918, *AA* 5 May 1918, 13 October 1918). Their participation in this intrusive federal program (Davis 1995), however, neither defined nor overwhelmed Austin schools' wartime gardening programs.

These gardening efforts received high praise locally. For example, city newspapers published honor roles of pupils for their home gardening efforts. Children who "performed especially well" received special military titles and a star for each month that they maintained a garden. Additionally, city elementary schools were awarded a "war garden decoration," designed to resemble the Congressional Medal of Honor. Several community organizations and businesses donated seeds, slips, and small plants to pupils as well as prizes for the best gardens and the best vegetables and flowers produced in those gardens (e.g., *AS* 25 May 1917, *AA* 14 March 1918, 3 April 1918, 7 April 1918, 5 May 1918).

Typical of the times in Austin and in many states, the gardening contests, exhibits, prizes, and publicity largely excluded Negro pupils and their schools. For example, Austin's first contest was advertised as one "for the children of the white public schools" (*AA* 10 April 1917). Even the city's business community largely ignored the gardening efforts of Negro school children. However, the Chamber of Commerce distributed 450 packets of seeds to Negro children just before the U. S. entered the war (*AS* 21 March 1917). Also, an individual citizen offered the use of some vacant land on which Negro children were assigned garden plots (*AS* 19 April 1917). The city newspapers published many fewer accounts of the gardening efforts of Negro children than they did about those of white pupils. Only two articles specifically praised the gardening accomplishments of Austin's Negro school children, but they did not mention any prizes awarded them for their work (*AS* 26 May 1917, 17 May 1918). Nonetheless, the Negro pupils also "did their bit".

Not only did Austin pupils grow food, they encouraged conservation. In February, 1918, for example, school children observed meatless and wheatless days in their school cafeterias (*AA* 12 February 1918). Primary grade pupils created food posters that depicted themes of conservation, gardening, and the dire agricultural situation in Europe (*AA* 1 June 1918). In addition, Home Economics departments in the junior and senior high schools developed canning centers to which pupils brought excess vegetables to be canned rather than wasted (*AS* 31 May 1918). Teachers and parent volunteers also gave canning and cooking demonstrations at school garden exhibits, at Mothers' Club meetings, and various other gatherings. Canning was a separate course offering in Austin High School's 1918 summer session (*AA* 20 June 1918) and, at Negro schools, pupils and adults canned and dried fruits and vegetables (*AS* 17 May 1918). Unlike schools in other parts of the nation, Austin schools did not encourage high school boys to leave school to work on farms. On the other hand, under the leadership of State Superintendent Dougty, several older Austin boys, including Dougty's son, worked on farms in Oklahoma during the summer of 1917 (*AS* 7 June 1917, *AA* 9 June 1918).

Wartime thrift, particularly that which emphasized the purchase of war savings stamps, developed only slowly in Austin. Like many other wartime school activities, pupils' interest and involvement in stamp and bond sales grew steadily as the war continued. In Austin, this participation did not gain prominent momentum until the third Liberty Loan drive in the Spring, 1918. At that time, all Austin schools organized thrift stamp sale contests and the community responded by offering incentives ranging from banana splits and cash prizes to a trip to San Antonio for winners. Pupils who sold ten subscriptions to war bonds earned bronze Liberty Loan medals. During this and subsequent war savings campaigns, Austin school children participated in great numbers (e.g., *AA* 16 January 1918, 8 May 1918, 6 June 1918, *AS* 27 April 1918). They also bought many thrift stamps. In October, 1918, eighty-five per cent of the white children in Austin forwent attendance at the circus in favor of spending the money on thrift stamps. This decision apparently was not entirely that of the children. One school official earlier was reported to state, "There have been special methods devised to induce the pupils to buy" and [n]early every student in the [Woolridge] school is a stamp holder"' (*AS* 4 October 1918, *Minutes* 17 September 1918, 372, *AA* 3 March 1918). Austin newspapers routinely reported the sales figures of stamps and bonds within individual schools and, also, recognized the special efforts of individual pupils.

Austin's school teachers, despite their low salaries, were not immune to less than subtle coercion to buy war bonds. The school superintendent's wife led the appointment of two teachers at each of the fourteen Austin schools to solicit subscriptions from the faculty members. To reduce or, at least, to eliminate objections to these purchases, the Austin schools announced that teachers would be paid as much as half of their salaries in advance in order that they could buy war bonds(*AA* 4 October 1918, 6 October 1918). Each school had its own war savings society and each was assigned sales quotas by the city war savings committee (*AS* 17 May 1918).

Pupils enrolled as members of special organizations made a number of practical patriotic contributions to the war effort. Notable among this group were troops of Boy Scouts and school chapters of the Red Cross.

The Boy Scouts came to school in their military-style uniforms and became youthful leaders in community service related to the war effort. In parades and ceremonies, Boy Scouts carried the U. S. flag in parades and ceremonies. They actively sought subscriptions of Liberty Loan stamps and bonds. Scouts also maintained their own war gardens. In addition, they were the principal collectors of peach pits which were used in the manufacture of gas masks for soldiers. Scouts also distributed literature and hung posters about Red Cross fund drives (e.g., *AS* 27 April 1918, 20 November 1918, *AA* 24 November 1918).

Junior Red Cross chapters in each Austin school enrolled boys as well as girls. However, in Austin, unlike reports from many other cities, girls were much more involved in Red Cross activities than were boys. In their Red Cross activities, school children made bandages and sewed clothing, planned and conducted fundraising entertainment programs, and collected junk for resale with proceeds contributed to the national Red Cross. Such workers received pins that recognized their devotion to their country and the war effort. In these programs, Negro pupils were accorded the same recognition as that given to white school children (e.g., *AS* 3 January 1918, 29 January 1918, *AA* 27 January 1918, 22 March 1918, 13October 1918.

The war impacted Austin's schools in more fundamental ways than the symbolic and the practical patriotic activities undertaken by school children and teachers. It also affected the school curriculum. Of the war induced curriculum changes, the elimination of German from the American school program was near universal (Moore 1937). This profound change spread unevenly across the nation. Into the war's first school year, no public opposition to the continuance of German in Austin's school curriculum was voiced. Indeed, local schools offered the subject throughout that year (*AS* 9 August 1917). Thus, its precipitous loss was as rapid as it was unexpected.

A. N. McCallum, Austin's superintendent of schools, supported the continued offering of German even as he recognized that schools across the nation dropped it from their programs of studies. He and other Texans had not reckoned with the power of the National Security League and the National Council of Defense and their state and local chapters. By the summer of 1918, their advocacy of the elimination of German instruction in schools began to yield dramatic results. In its 1918 session, however, the Texas legislature overwhelmingly rejected a proposal to eliminate the teaching of German (*AS* 8 March 1918). Nevertheless, the issue was only postponed, not resolved.

Individuals and local groups took independent action. In June, 1918, in the county surrounding Austin, Travis County officials closed two small rural schools taught mainly in German by German ministers (*AS* 12 June 1918). The pressure continued to mount. By September, the Travis County Council of Defense orchestrated an all-out campaign against the German language, not only in schools but in every aspect of public life. This group advocated the abolishment of all foreign language newspapers as well as the elimination of all foreign language (not only German) instruction in public and private schools. Cloaking his actions in patriotic rhetoric, its chairman insisted that everyone speak English and devote themselves to learning Anglo-Saxon ways and customs. Additionally, he used the word "traitor" to refer to anyone opposed to his group's proposals (*AA* 8 September 1918). The Austin school board quickly capitulated to the local pressure and unanimously agreed to bar German from the high school and junior high school curriculum (*Minutes* 17 September 1918, *AS* 18 September 1918). Two days after its decision was made, and much to its dismay, teachers discovered two German songs in the fifth grade music book. Superintendent McCallum, accordingly, ordered that these songs be eliminated from the book, but failed to specify how this purge would be accomplished (*AS* 20 September 1918). The loss of German from the wartime curriculum clearly presaged the dramatic post-war decline in enrollments in all foreign languages in the nation's schools (Davis 1994).

Americanization programs were another wartime advocacy. Ironically, the Austin schools provided free Night School, primarily for immigrant adults (or other non-English speakers) until 1916, only shortly before World War I (Centennial Committee 1954, 91). The Austin school board decided to close this night school because of the impending expenses related to the recently enacted compulsory attendance law. Because of the continuing financial strain on its budget, the school board did not reopen its Night School until July, 1918. To help offset costs of operations, the board set a $2.50 tuition fee and the school emphasized instruction in English and civics. It also offered classes in bookkeeping, stenography, and mimeograph and multigraph operation (*Minutes* 10 June 1918, 368, *AA* 14 July 1918, *AS* 6 October 1918).

Another major curriculum change in Austin's schools was the wartime offering of military training to high school boys. This development ran counter to the nationwide experience, although many schools embraced wartime military training (Ling 1918). At first, enrollment in Austin's High School Cadet Corps was restricted to boys who were 18 years of age or older (*AS* 13 March 1917). The Corps quickly became popular. Within months, the school board required that all tenth and eleventh grade boys must enroll for military training. It also permitted large ninth grade boys to enroll (*AA* 28 September 1918). In the 1918-19 school year, most boys in Austin High School were members of the High School Cadet Corps (*AS* 6 October 1918). Military drills were conducted after school hours, initially, but, by 1918, this military training was inserted into the regular schedule of the high school (*AS* 5 February 1918).

On the day that war was declared, members of the Cadet Corps organized and led a rally at the high school in support of President Wilson and of the decision to enter the war "to obtain an enduring peace" (*AS* 6 April 1918). Throughout the war, members of the Corps were prominent high school leaders of patriotic events and causes. Cadets, for example, organized the Junior Home Guard gardening movement in Austin schools (*AS* 18 April 1917) and developed a minstrel show to raise money for war-related causes (*AA*, May 4, 1917).

Austin schools launched agriculture as a vocational offering during the war. However, its development was a function of the availability of federal funds made available by the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 rather than a wartime advocacy. An agriculture teacher was employed in the summer, 1917, to offer courses at Austin High School and was charged also with the supervisory oversight of all school wartime gardening activities. This teacher began to offer courses in agriculture in February, 1918 (*Minutes* 14 January 1918, 355). Importantly, agriculture courses were not the first vocational courses offered in the Austin schools. A manual training program had operated at Austin High School for more than twenty years before the introduction of agriculture courses (Davis 1995).

Curriculum modifications occasioned by the war appear less in Austin schools than that known in some other cities' schools. In no small measure, this observation likely reflects the evidence that has survived. For example, the school board minutes and local newspapers do not reveal any school use of special history and civics materials such as the *National School Service* designed and distributed by the Committee on Public Information. Elsewhere, these materials featured prominently in wartime instruction (Davis 1996). Nevertheless, wartime loss of German was a significant curriculum casualty. Also important were the addition of military training as a school offering and the introduction of agriculture as a new high school subject.

Without doubt, World War I affected the Austin, Texas, public schools. However, its impact was muted. Austin was a small city at the time and distant from both Europe and Washington, D. C. Thus, the conduct of the war, although of keen interest, remained for most Austinites a sentiment of national loyalty in search of expressions. In Austin schools, continuance of normal schooling even in abnormal months dominated the scene. Secondarily, symbolic and practical patriotic expressions found voice and platform. Austin pupils, teachers, and administrators locked arms in efforts to support national war aims and programs. All the while, they continued to engage in the fundamental activities of schooling.

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Informal Learning in a U.S. Wartime Internment Camp, 1942-1946

Karen L. Riley
Auburn University at Montgomery

When Henry Adams penned his memoirs, which were privately printed in 1907, he intended that they would serve as a handbook for young men. However, his recollections of his travels throughout Europe and his own "higher learning" ultimately reached a far wider audience. According to his remembrances, much of his "real" education had taken place outside of official classroom doors. Official or state-organized education, such as the education system in Germany, insisted Adams, did little to broaden the horizons of intelligent men. Rather, it was rigid and ideologically driven (Samuels 1973).

Adams likely suspected that occasions for unintended learning were the incidents recalled with greater clarity later on in life--perhaps more useful also--than many formal classroom experiences. One profound example of such encounters consists of multiple learning opportunities experienced by former internees, both children and adults, in the United States Justice Department's family internment camp at Crystal City, Texas (Riley 1996). Opportunities for "higher learning," experienced by former internees, were often informal occurrences, or, if regulated, took place outside of formal classroom instruction.

As a result of the United States' enemy alien internment program, developed by the Department of State and the Department of Justice, over 4,000 German, Italian, and Japanese enemy aliens and their children were interned at Crystal City, Texas, during World War II. Throughout internment, nearly all internee needs were taken care of by the Justice Department through its custodial agency, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (Official Historical Narrative 1945, Lunz 1995).

The men, women, and children interned at the United States internment camp at Crystal City during World War II were confined to the barbed wire enclosure of the compound (Official Historical Narrative 1945). There, within the view of guard towers, German, Italian, and Japanese internees were engaged in a variety of learning opportunities, although not necessarily associated with formal schooling. Some participated in purely accidental or unforseen learning occasions, others in extracurricular activities, and still others as a result of extended learning or extension programs.

Events which offered learning opportunities through extracurricular, and internee led activities included joint rallies and commemorations held by the German Youth Corps and Japanese Scouts, both of which were active organizations within the internment camp (Schmitz 1995, Tomita 1995). These ideologically charged rallies consisted of marching and drilling with ample opportunity to display the militaristic spirit of both Germany and Japan, while commemorations reinforced concepts such as bravery and honor with solemn demonstrations of loyalty and allegiance. Aside from these extracurricular activities and accidental or chance opportunities for learning, some students extended their classroom learning by dramatizing what they studied in school later at home. One such experiment involved a middle-grade student, Toni Tomita, who was motivated to replicate a frontier experience studied at school when she held a quilting bee in her internment-camp cottage with classmates (Takeuchi 1995). For Miye Takeuchi, whose hours of evening study with Dr. Mori, a respected Japanese scholar, eventually led to a national literary award from Japan, informal classes and study allowed her to become a writer and poet (Takeuchi 1995, Tomita 1995, Eto 1995).

These accounts of informal learning experiences incorporate oral history testimonies, archival documents, the private papers of one former teacher, and the memoirs of the internment camp's Supervisor of Education. The interpretation of this evidence attempts to render an objective account of educational experiences that normally fall outside of the structure of formal schooling, which often relies on authorized reports for the substantiation of official school programs. The two reported occasions of informal learning which follow, based on oral and written recollections, are representative of others that likely occurred at the Crystal City Family internment camp.

One day, as eleven-year-old Art Jacobs walked through camp, he saw a huge kite flying in the distance. He immediately went over to get a closer look at this unusual kite. Art had made kites in the past, but only in the shape of triangles. He asked its owner, who looked to him to be about sixteen years old, "What is it?" The young man replied, "It's a kite." "That ain't the way to make a kite!" Art answered emphatically. "That's the way we make 'em in Japan," the young Japanese fellow said. Eagerly, Art said, "Teach me how to make that."

Like most second generation German and Japanese children interned at Crystal City, these two conversed with each other in English, their mother tongue. So, Art learned how to make the new rectangular box kite, which he said "went higher than any other kite that he ever built." Kite making was Art's introduction to Japanese culture. From there, his new friend taught him how to make clog shoes, such as Japanese men wear to the bath house, and he even tried *sushi* (Jacobs 1995).

A similar account by a young Japanese girl, Kay Haga, suggests that the rate and degree of cultural interaction and informal learning occasions experienced by both children and adults during internment may well be higher than will ever be documented. Kay, for example, clearly recalled the times that she and her father walked over to the German section of the camp to attend informal German language classes held at the German School. Kay's command of German proved useful when she performed with the German orchestra and needed to take directions in German. As a pianist, she also accompanied German solists in camp concerts and played in a trio at the German section's recreation hall, Cafe Vaterland, where she remembered being paid for performances in cokes (Haga 1993).

The internment camp was divided into two sections, German and Japanese. In the Japanese section of the internment camp, most of the camp's continental Japanese American children walked the three to four blocks each day to either Federal Elementary School or Federal High School (Official Historical Narrative 1945). Latin American Japanese children also walked three or four blocks each day, along with Hawaiian-American Japanese children and a few continental Japanese American students, in order to reach their school, the Japanese School, which stood next door to Federal High School. On the other side of the camp, German American children and Latin American German children prepared for classes at the German School each day. Unlike continental Japanese American children, German Americans overwhelmingly attended the German School (Swiss Legation Report 1943, Schmitz 1995, Jacobs 1995, Official Historical Narrative 1945).

After school, activities such as scouting formed part of the aggregate informal learning experience at the internment camp at Crystal City. As an extracurricular activity, scouting not only fostered discipline, it also provided opportunities for children to learn the ideals valued by traditional German and Japanese parents. In the German section of the camp, for example, the scouting program was known as the German Youth Corps, modeled after the Youth Corps in Germany; the Japanese scouting program was modeled after scouting programs in Japan (Schmitz 1995, Tomita 1995, Eto 1995, Sakarai 1995, Higashide 1993). In addition to the promotion of values, these programs fostered allegiance to German and Japanese educational aims, such as the development of good citizens, through adult/child participation. To those ends, participation in the Youth Corps and Japanese scouts added to the indoctrination process through rallies and pageants, all of which glorified Hitler and Hirohito and elevated Germany and Japan over the United States and her Allies.

One event, Hitler's birthday, serves to illustrate how adult led organizations such as the German Youth Corp facilitated the process of teaching German citizenship. During the week of April 20, 1944, German internees planned a huge celebration honoring their national leader. All patriotic organizations likely participated in the camp-wide festivities. John Schmitz, like other boys his age, prepared for this important event by dressing up in his white shirt and dark pants on the evening of the commemorations. John belonged to the German Youth Corps, as did many of his friends. On the evening of the celebration, excited about the opportunity to carry a small tin can filled with kerosene for the torches carried by marchers, John could hardly wait to participate in the big parade, and to witness the spectacle of dozens of lighted torches (Schmitz 1995). On occasions like the birthday celebrations of Hitler or Hirohito, which fell within nine days of each other, both German Youth Corps members and Japanese Scouts marched together.

John was delighted to be allowed to carry something as important as kerosene throughout the camp; besides, torchlight parades were the hallmarks of great Nazi political productions, and the German section, after all, functioned as a small part of Germany. John recalled that his participation in the Youth Corps made him feel important, as if he were part of something large and meaningful. At times like these, he was proud to be a

German. To young boys like John, the German Youth Corps reflected the pride and vigor of Germany, not to mention demonstrating its national values of power and might.

In looking at the forces within the camp that shaped the German Youth Corps, one event stood out: the Memorial celebration of 1944. A week before the celebration, the German section sponsored a registration for "boys from 7 to 10 years," for its Youth Corps (*The Camp* 1944, a). In less than two weeks, its new members paid tribute to Germany's fallen heros, while proud German parents stood in the recreation hall watching as their children marched in to the rhythm of the drum and bugle corps (*The Camp* 1944, b). Not knowing what they were about to hear, or understanding, these new Youth Corps members, citizen children from the United States and Latin America, dutifully played the role of good German citizens.

Japanese students, like their German counterparts, were "expected to participate in military drills under the guise of belonging to either the Boy Scouts or Girls Scouts" (Uno 1993). Consequently, Japanese students regardless of which internment camp school they attended, enrolled in the Japanese scouting program. Mr. Kashihara organized the Japanese Scouts during the summer of 1943, although Mr. Tate, the camp's Supervisor of Education, was listed as its nominal head. The first registration drive enrolled 100 eager scouts, divided by age and height into five troops.

The Japanese Scouts met three times a week in the Japanese School yard. Its programs were not unlike the Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts of America, whose members learned helpful skills, such as lifesaving, outdoor safety, sewing, health care, handcrafts, and the art of tying rope knots. Japanese scouts also spent part of their time marching and drilling (Yamaguchi 1995, Kanegawa 1995). Several former Japanese Girl Scouts recalled a few educational experiences. Ruby Fukunaga remembered that in her troop, "We had lots of crafts." She also "studied science and learned about plants, bugs." Leaders concentrated on art and calligraphy in addition to science studies (Sakarai 1995). The Japanese scouting program helped to shape traditional Japanese gender roles by channeling girls' interests into areas such as homemaking or crafts, while boys learned such things as rope tying and camping. Japanese scout leaders also accomplished political objectives, such as fostering militarism, obedience, and loyalty to nation and Emperor.

Kazuko Shimahara, like dozens of young *Nisei* girls, joined the internment camp's Japanese Girl Scouts during one of its enrollment campaigns. "It was the first time I belonged to Girl Scouts and it was marching and drilling," she remembered. Several times a week after school, *Nisei* children scurried throughout the Japanese residential section of the internment camp in preparation for their scout classes. Part of their meetings were devoted to absorbing the Japanese value of strict discipline. Scoutmasters achieved this conditioning by requiring scouts to march and drill, and to stand at attention with eyes straight forward. Scouts who changed position or stooped to tie an unlaced shoe, for example, often suffered corporal punishment. Kay Uno well remembers the day that her scout master struck her for not understanding one of his commands.

Not all scout leaders used such severe techniques to instill discipline and pride; some employed methods such as rote memorization. In Kazuko's troop, scouts recited the following phrase: "I am a Japanese, I may be small [meaning young] but I am still a Japanese citizen." Although she repeated this motto each time, she felt confused by its meaning because she was aware of her American citizenship (Kanegawa 1995). Her confusion was exactly what the pro-Japanese *Issei* faction hoped to eliminate through aggressive enrollment drives for scouting and afternoon language classes at the Japanese school.

Adult education programs, in the Japanese section, for post-high school students and older adults, also offered opportunities for casual or informal learning, which attracted scores of internees and their wives. The adult education curriculum included interests of every description, such as flower arranging, judo, fencing, tea ceremony, literature, and world events (Spanish Legation Report 1943, Official Historical Narrative 1945, 170). Japanese teachers offered courses in Japanese language, pattern making, crafts, calligraphy, dressmaking, sewing, and cooking (Ibid). Many Japanese women took advantage of cooking classes and learned to make such exotic dishes as *kuri manju*. Reverend Yamashita, a homeroom teacher and language teacher at the Japanese school, even taught Zen classes in the evening (Yamashita 1995). These classes were held on school grounds after the regular school day.

In "Adult English Class," internees studied English through letter writing, speaking, reading, and translating English to Japanese and Japanese to English. For instructional materials, teachers used word lists, basic English readers, dictionaries, *Learning the English Language*, readers, and mimeographed lessons. One adult learner, Miye Takeuchi, was representative of other adult learners in the camp whose abundant free time enabled them to learn new skills or to seek creative outlets.

Takeuchi enrolled in pattern making, something her children said that she always wanted to learn. The Japanese section contained talented dress makers and tailors from Peru who offered classes in pattern making, dress making, and sewing. Through these adult education programs, she learned how to make dress patterns from a Peruvian tailor. She also studied literature and poetry with Dr. Mori (Takeuchi 1995). Under his tutelage, her gift of writing poetry blossomed into the mature style that won first prize in Japan's New Year's Imperial Poetry contest over a decade later when she expressed her joy at becoming an American citizen yet sorrow at relinquishing her birthright. Decades later, her son, Tak, referred to the internment camp at Crystal City as a "learning Mecca for the uninitiated" (Yakeuchi 1995).

Informal learning in the United States internment camp at Crystal City, Texas, took at least four distinct forms: accidental, school inspired home experiments, youth scouting, and adult education programs. Although not official academic programs, the learning outcomes that extend from these four informal categories were perhaps more profound--and in many cases, certainly better remembered--than formal classroom lessons. For example, Toni's school-inspired experiment with a quilting bee was recalled by her with greater clarity than her in-class lessons or other formal learning experiences she likely encountered, thereby supporting the idea that learning which is student generated is often more meaningful than teacher directed learning. Other significant forms of learning included both the German and Japanese scouting programs. Former students had little difficulty recalling specifics about their scouting experiences, even those who were of elementary-school age during internment recalled events such as marching, drilling, tying knots, studying insects, and numerous joint scouting rallies, as well as the color and style of their scout uniforms.

Adult education and post-high school informal classes, such as the one hosted by Dr. and Mrs. Mori, also offered numerous opportunities for casual learning. Women, whose homemaking chores prior to the war, engaged them full time, found new avenues of interest in the form of casual learning. From cooking to pattern making and literature, informal education enriched the lives of internee men and women. However, for adherents of informal learning as a meaningful endeavor, lessons taught and learned from accidental contacts may prove to be the most enduring. The examples of the German boy who learned how to make boxed kites, clog shoes, and eat *sushi*, and the Japanese girl whose German language lessons allowed her to play with the German orchestra, remain clear memories to these students, despite the distance of fifty years, when formal classroom events are but dim recollections.

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Critical Thought in *Social Education* , Pre-World War II

Frances E. Monteverde
Hanover College

Juxtaposed to the backdrop of noble sacrifice and courageous patriotism, a cloak of negative images shrouds the concept of critical thinking in the World War II era. Fussell claimed the United States experienced a "general flight from complexity, irony, skepticism, and criticism" (1989, 179). Pells (1973, 1985) concurred. As the nation hurtled closer to war's edge after 1939, liberal writers and intellectuals retreated from reasoned social criticism toward emotional slogans, myths, and patriotic icons. Fear of a fascist victory replaced other concerns. Americans did not honestly confront the contradictions, irrationalities, and tragedies generated by the War.

Roeder's study of censored visual images (1995) concluded that official policies and practices fostered a simplistic understanding of the war and its repercussions on society. The "master narrative" described "sane" warfare. Rational contingency plans succeeded with minimal damage, loss, or pain. Cronbach advised teachers that a pupil can plan calmly for the future "when the pupil realizes that his [sic] government is protecting him from runaway inflation, that scientific progress is diminishing the deaths from battle injuries, that his fears about the terror of war are far beyond the realities of living" (1942, 303). Censors hid the errors in judgment, blunders, and war disabilities from public scrutiny. The media and official sources characterized friends and foes as either heroic or demonic, not ambiguous, blurred entities. Wartime mentality could not accommodate complex logic, nuances, or shadings (Fussell 1989). Stories that disrupted traditional values were quashed. The deliberate suppression and distortion of news hindered postwar efforts to improve minorities' socioeconomic status (Roeder 1995). For its lapse of critical mindedness, Fussell declared the United States paid dearly with an impoverishment in the arts, literature, and civic maturity.

In education, the critical research community argues that school systems reproduce the values, knowledge, and ideology of the cultures where they are located (Cherryholmes 1991). In the decade of political experimentation prior to the U.S. entry to World War II, the larger society engaged in intense social and economic questioning. Simultaneously, critical thinking occupied a central position in the educational rhetoric and curriculum projects of the 1930s (Monteverde 1996, Chapter 4). Kliebard commented briefly on curriculum of the war period:

> Once the prospect of a world conflict loomed on the horizon, however, and criticism of American social conditions was no longer in vogue, social meliorism as a force for curriculum change gave way to curriculum thinking more in tune with the times. Those times were no longer right for social reconstructionism. With America's entry into World War Two imminent, criticism of American society slipped out of vogue in favor of a wave of patriotism occasioned by an external threat of aggression (1987, 207-208).

Did social studies educators who customarily focused on the human condition cease to engage students in inquiry and dialogue? To what extent did the official journal of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) substantiate Kliebard's claim? Thus, did *Social Education*, 1937 to 1945, abandon critical thinking as an advocated instructional goal and as a tool for the construction of its discourse?

The term "critical thinking" exemplifies the postmodern idea that meanings of words are not fixed and immutable. They are floating, shifting, equivocal, dependent on the social situation and context where they are used (Cherryholmes 1991). Despite efforts to establish a common definition, a lack of consensus persisted for most of the twentieth century (Parker 1991; Armento 1986; Carroll 1981; and Taba 1942). An exhaustive review of recent literature on critical thinking concluded that writers generally believe it involves the comprehension of issues from various perspectives (Cassel and Congleton 1993, vii-viii). As such, the term implies questioning assumptions and assertions; the requirement of evidence and logic for truth claims; and a skeptical disposition. That abbreviated criteria was used to analyze the journal's discourse and pertinent archival materials. Did *Social Education* present controversial issues? If so, were the discussions simplistic and one-sided, or complex and multifaceted? Did the journal question social norms, beliefs, and practices?

Regarding some topics, the journal *did* follow patterns identified by Fussell, Pells, Roeder, and Kliebard

(Monteverde 1996); however, the advocacy of critical thought continued as a rhetorical focus. Moreover, Editor Erling M. Hunt applied the principles of academic fair play to the treatment of crucial professional challenges and some social issues. This account relates a sequence of editorial decisions just prior the official U.S. entry in the War. Responding to conservative accusations of "treason in the textbooks," the journal published discourses from various primary sources, some contrary to the views of Hunt and the NCSS leadership.

Traced through the first five volumes of *Social Education* (1937-1941), the tale of critical thinking illustrates the influence of curent events and social forces on educational discourse. After President Roosevelt's inauguration in 1933, "New Deal liberalism" became the dominant ideology in the United States. The public generally supported FDR's reforms although a minority of critics resisted the government's intervention in socioeconomic affairs. During the same period, American educators experimented with hybrids of progressive and traditional teaching practices (Cuban 1984). A major impetus for progressivism flowed from the faculty and graduates of Teachers College at Columbia University where Erling Hunt served as a professor (Cremin 1964). New Deal dominance waned at the end of the 1930s. In 1937 a coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans waylaid FDR's legislative agenda and his strategy to name Supreme Court justices who agreed with his programs. The following year, liberal FDR supporters lost elections, and by 1939, the conservatives firmly controlled the U.S. Congress. The business community regained prestige lost in the early years of the Great Depression (Graham and Wander 1985; Kliebard 1986). The United States was locked in a "titanic struggle," with "the interests" pitted against the middle and working classes. Industry, business, and the media wanted minimal government intervention in economic life, while the lower classes sought income security and protection (Newlon 1939). Publications by the Educational Policies Commission deplored partisan political interference in the schools and a growing incidence of censorship (Beard 1937; Stoddard 1938).

Into that sea of transition, the NCSS launched *Social Education* in January 1937. Editor Hunt vowed it would be a readable, practical publication focused on "man [sic], civilization, and society" (1:2). The journal embraced the spirit of intellectual freedom and inquiry. From the outset, it aired controversial topics in both education and the public arena. Contributors reviewed books and magazine articles, analyzed current world events, and reported teaching practices or research in the social sciences. School teachers, college professors, and specialist scholars wove an interesting tapestry of contrasting opinions, values, and beliefs. In short, *Social Education* provoked reflection and dialogue, the essence of critical thought (Monteverde 1996, Chapter 6).

Nevertheless, the journal slanted toward liberal causes. Kimmel (1937) argued for more teaching about government redistribution of wealth and power. In the aftermath of the President's failure to "pack" the Supreme Court, contributors denounced press hostility toward the New Deal (Bradley 1937; Brant 1938). Faulkner (1939) suggested collectivism to redress cyclical laissez faire economics of the 1920s. Articles informed teachers about government purposes and programs, e.g., public welfare, the National Labor Relations Board, the Works Progress Administration, the National Resources Planning Board (NRPB), and the Federal Securities Commission (Koeler 1940; Social implications of the NLR Act 1940; Jensen 1940; and Stein 1941). NRPB consultant Charles Ascher said the nation "was approaching some sort of planned economy, whether we want to admit it or not." He reminded readers that government planning "was not a recent import from Moscow" (1940, 532-533).

Given the journal's advocacy of critical thinking and its penchant for liberal causes, NCSS reaction to conservative criticism came as no surprise. The Seventh NCSS Yearbook, *Education Against Propaganda* (Ellis 1937), railed against special interest groups that indoctrinated for consumerism and ultra nationalist ideologies. The Annual NCSS Conference featured a major address by liberal historian Charles A. Beard, "The High School Teacher and Academic Freedom" (News and Notes 1937). Advertisements in *Social Education* by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (IPA) offered classroom materials to critique the radio broadcasts demagogue Father Coughlin (IPA 1939, iv). Almost half the states required loyalty oaths of teachers. Moon (1939) wrote that to discuss the U.S.S.R., communism, labor unions, government ownership, or socialism was "an occupational hazard for teachers." Van Til (1939) of The University High School at Ohio State described his students' use of IPA materials to study controversy and to think more critically. In November 1939, the journal reprinted an anti-censorship speech by U.S. Commissioner of Education John W. Studebaker.

A closer scrutiny of the journals yielded the surprising discovery of articles expressing conservative views. Erling Hunt's academic background pointed to a commitment to critical thinking, a philosophical imperative to balance viewpoints on crucial issues. His editorial policy and decisions regarding textbook criticisms reflected that stance. He demonstrated courage, intellectual integrity, and political shrewdness as an NCSS leader.

In December 1939, George Sokolsky sounded an ominous note in *Liberty* magazine, one that reverberated in *Social Education*. In his article, "Propaganda in Our Schoolbooks," the Hearst columnist asked, "Does the parent discover whether his child is being brought up in the tradition of America, or in the propaganda of Soviet Russia?" (Platt 1940, 227).

NCSS contributors responded swiftly to the contentious theme. Referring to articles in *Forum* and *Reader's Digest*, Ellis countered charges that consumer education was a "communistic attack on the American economic system." He retorted that "vested interests denounc[ed] education in order to keep citizens ignorant so they can be exploited" (1940, 5). Brownlee (1940) reported tactics by the Chamber of Commerce, the American Federation of Advertisers, and Hearst's *Good Housekeeping* magazine to manipulate consumers and disparage social studies textbooks. In April 1940, Platt directly challenged Sokolsky's innuendo that schools and school books were overrun with "subversive Reds." Teachers defiantly described lessons and units on propaganda analysis and critical thinking (McNutt 1940; Cherry 1940).

Notably, Editor Hunt chose an article describing the American Legion's "Boy's State" program in New York State. The report began with an unsubstantiated charge: "At present there is unanimous agreement that citizenship education is not acceptably done in schools" (Marble 1940, 262). As alternatives, the writer described simulations of local and state government enacted at annual Boy's State conferences. Perhaps Hunt's selection was simply a shrewd move to mollify superpatriotic critics. Or, perhaps he chose to follow the principles of intellectual fair play that he learned early in his undergraduate career at Dartmouth College. In a later interview, April 1977, he decried the one-sided portrayal of Germany as "rank propaganda" in a government-required course during World War I (Hunt 1977, tape 1 side 1, hereafter cited as Hunt tape, OHEC). Whatever his motive, the article commended the work of an organization generally opposed to NCSS values.

In the wake of Hitler's 1940 Blitzkrieg victories in Western Europe, the October editorial pages reaffirmed the importance of critical thinking in classroom activities. NCSS President Howard R. Anderson and Editor Hunt (1940) hinted of future sacrifices to meet the wartime crisis, but they argued for the goals of open, rational inquiry and propaganda analysis. Despite claims that such instruction produced cynical youth, social topics such as unemployment, labor relations, general welfare, class hatreds, and bigotry, were standard fare in classroom dialogue. Loyalty to the nation should not be built on blind patriotism, they asserted.

In January 1941, Anderson took up the gauntlet Sokolsky had thrown down a year before. The battle now raged over O. K. Armstrong's "Treason in the Textbooks," published in the *American Legion Magazine*, September 1940 (cited in Anderson 1941). Armstrong charged that social studies education and its textbooks undermined loyalty to the nation, free enterprise, private ownership, American political traditions, and religious faith. To teach socio-economic problems and international topics would establish "socialistic control" in the United States. Offering a progressive, fusionist rationale for social studies education, Anderson refuted Armstrong point for point. By maligning the competence and patriotism of educators, as well as school programs, the Legion's attacks could ultimately destroy American public schools, Anderson argued. He admonished the NCSS to stand fast in its advocacy of critical thinking and "warm loyalties" for the democratic way of life.

The textbook controversy resurfaced the following month in a discussion between the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) and professors at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Hunt's direct quotations from primary sources and detailed explanations revealed his scholarly approach (Hunt 1941a; Manufacturers' Association Abstracts Textbooks 1941, hereafter cited as NAM abstracts). The following summarizes those reports.

In December 1940, the NAM proposed a review of some 800 social studies textbooks to be conducted by Dr. Ralph W. Robey, a professor of banking at Columbia University. The investigation would produce "abstracts" of direct citations to reveal the authors' beliefs about government and the free enterprise system. The Association intended to disseminate the abstracts to all its 8000 members, as well as school boards, teachers' colleges, libraries, education associations, and the Congressional Library. The objective was to improve education and preserve the "democratic way of life"(NAM abstracts, 134). Educators and laymen would have a "factual basis upon which to judge . . . whether the attack on the books [were] warranted" (NAM abstracts, 138). Similar to the American Legion, the Manufacturers believed citizenship education had been neglected, and specifically, the free enterprise system, indispensable to the American way of life, had been misrepresented.

Robey's lack of specialization in education alarmed the Harvard professors. They objected to the destructive potential of the proposed abstracts, which, devoid of constructive criticism, could be misused. Would the tracts show whether books explored the advantages and disadvantages of the free enterprise system? Would the abstracts consider responsibilities as well as rights in a democracy? Would the quotations reveal whether the books addressed the social needs of the whole society? The professors harbored doubts about Robey's capacity for objectivity. In a rejoinder, the NAM alleged a "growing apprehension" over textbooks, but especially three or four authors. The Association reassured the Harvard committee that Robey's assistants would prepare "factual, unbiased accounts." Only quotations from the books, not opinions from the abstractors, would appear (NAM abstracts, 136-137).

Other elements of the article revealed Erling Hunt's sense of academic evenhandedness, or perhaps simply his political acumen. Citing the *New York Times*, he reported the Association's intention to mobilize its membership against "those prejudiced to our form of government, society, and system of free enterprise" (NAM abstracts, 139). Professor Robey, an outspoken critic of socialism and the New Deal, had been hired to provide academic credibility to the cause. NAM President H. W. Prentis, Jr. distinguished between democracy and republic: "Hope for the future of our republic and for the correction of its shortcomings does not lie in more democracy. It hinges on the resurgence of individual patriotism and religious faith" (cited in Hunt 1941a, 88). Significantly, the "News and Notes" column of March 1941 listed teaching aids--pamphlets, motion pictures, sound slide films, and posters--produced by the NAM for social studies classes. The author published the ordering addresses and the names of the authors, President H. W. Prentis, Jr., George Sokolsky, and the Robey's Research Assistants.

In April 1941, however, Hunt's evenhanded approach vanished, and with justification. Despite earlier assurances, Robey wrote sweeping, negative appraisals of texts and authors in the *New York Times*. Hunt pilloried Robey for his breach of trust. Newspapers in various parts of the country followed suit. Ultimately, the NAM disassociated itself from Robey and repudiated the accusations: "Subversiveness in textbooks had been immensely exaggerated" (cited in Hunt 1941b, 289). Belatedly, the American Historical Association denounced the NAM attack and argued that U. S. history must include controversial struggles for socioeconomic justice as well as heroic tales of glory. Teachers and scholars themselves were competent to evaluate schoolbooks for history instruction (reported in "Freedom of Textbooks" 1941).

By year's end, the textbook controversy subsided, but irreparable damage had occurred. Two battle fronts engaged the attention of social studies leadership in 1941. On one side, the tides of the European war rose menacingly to engulf the United States. Those events demanded reflective reassessment of educational priorities. On the domestic side, conservative organizations demanded unquestioned faith in free enterprise and the nation. Instead of unifying the society, the critics portrayed progressive educators as a cynical, subversive, unpatriotic fifth column. That open confrontation required immediate responses. The textbook episode was a prelude to the future debates over the adequacy of American history instruction in the nation's schools. An upshot of the textbook accusations was the swift removal of Harold Rugg's popular, socially critical texts from the nation's schools (Kliebard 1987, 207). Clearly, the conservative critics posed a formidable threat to individuals and organizations that fostered critical thought about social issues.

Although unnamed in the NAM replies in *Social Education* , Teachers College professor Harold Rugg was a major target of the attacks (Nelson 1982; Robinson 1983; Kliebard 1987). Rugg's best-selling series focused on current social, economic, and political problems. The American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the publishing organizations of Hearst, Forbes, and Luce had campaigned to eliminate his materials, *Man and His Changing Society*. Nelson related the laborious steps Rugg took during 20 years to produce the controversial books. In *That Men May Understand* , Rugg stated his purpose: Youth needed the full story of their society if democracy were to survive (1941, 239-249). Rhetorically, he asked, "Which brand of the American Way are we to hold and teach?" (Rugg 1941, 125). His answer: "Thinking ability [that] comes only from confronting problems and choosing between alternatives" (Rugg 1941, 126). Throughout this volume, Rugg argued for critical thought as the core for school curricula.

Mehaffy's taped interviews of Wilbur Murra and Erling Hunt in 1977 shed additional light on the drama of critical thinking in *Social Education*.. Murra served as NCSS Executive Secretary and Assistant Editor of the journal from 1940 to 1943 (Murra 1977, hereafter cited as Murra tapes, OHEC).

Murra recalled that Rugg and his brother, Earl, favored a "fusionist approach" to social studies education. They, as well as Edgar B. Wesley and Murra, opposed the traditionalist views of Hunt and his mentor, Henry Johnson. The Johnson-Hunt faction at Teachers College advocated separate disciplines, whereas the fusionists sought direct application of the combined social sciences to the study of contemporary issues. The fusionists would have eliminated the study of ancient civilizations as irrelevant. The traditionalists believed students should learn history for its own sake, as a body of knowledge and a process of inquiry, but not as a useful subordinate to current social problems. (Murra tape 5 side 10; tape 2 side 4; tape 3 side 6, OHEC; Wesley 1968; Johnson 1915).

Acknowledging his debt to Johnson, Hunt explained his pedagogy in terms similar to his mentor's 1915 text (Hunt tape 1 side 2; tape 3 sides 5 and 6; tape 2 side 4, OHEC). Students needed primary sources to augment textbook summaries. Instead of memorization, they should evaluate documents and artifacts, and draft well-written conclusions. Teachers needed competence in historical criticism and map work before teaching pupils to establish facts and to interpret events. Regardless of their abilities, students could develop higher order thought either through study of concrete narratives or the analysis of abstract ideas. He recommended the examination of various sources and critical book reviews. As with Rugg, critical thinking formed the heart of Hunt's educational philosophy. Rugg focused on present problems; Hunt on the lessons from the past.

Apart from their pedagogical differences, Erling Hunt admitted his personal dislike for the Ruggs, especially Harold whom he characterized as arrogant and self-promoting. "[They] took great credit for [founding the NCSS] and were involved until they couldn't get control. They didn't have much of a following." Hunt recalled that Earl served as Assistant Secretary from 1921 to 1922, but that Harold had never accepted an office. "If they couldn't run the show they'd be out" (Hunt tape 1 side 1; tape 2 side 3, OHEC). Murra claimed Hunt "detested" the Ruggs on pedagogical grounds, but also, he hinted, because they were of lower social origins. Other NCSS leaders reluctantly defended Rugg because he had not been active in the organization. Furthermore, open support for Rugg might have jeopardized the Council because of his radical stance against business (Murra tape 5 side 10, OHEC). Thus, for philosophical, personal, and organizational reasons, Erling Hunt might have withheld support for Harold Rugg during the textbook controversy.

Nevertheless, Hunt backed Rugg in various ways. The journal carried a favorable review of the 1937 edition of *Man and His Changing Society* (Cordier 1937). Publicly, Hunt defended the rights of teachers and textbook authors to work without interference from non-professionals. In 1977, he recalled a Town Hall debate with the New York City Chairman of the Board of Education and Professor Robey (Hunt tape 2 side 4 OHEC). Hunt opened the journal's pages to writers with whom he disagreed; Rugg was no exception. Three years before the NAM announced its veiled threat against Rugg, Hunt stated his editorial policy in a memorandum to the NCSS Executive Board. Dated 26 February 1938, it declared:

> *Social Education* is not the organ of radicals or of those who have called themselves Progressives. It is not pro-Rugg; it is not anti-Rugg. It is open to all who have something of importance or interest to teachers. The social studies area is vast, it is controversial. . . frankly experimental. . . . Thought and ideas are also important--they are the bases on which [teaching] devices are founded. Thus broadly interpreted, the articles [in the journal] are practical (Special Collections, Millbank Memorial Library).

In accordance with that stated policy, Harold Rugg addressed the question of censorship in March 1941 (176-181) with an excerpt from his book, *That Men May Understand*: "To keep issues out is to keep thought out." His self-appointed censors, a minority of six "liberal baiters," began a "witch hunt" in 1939. They condemned controversy and change in the schools. They deplored skepticism about American historical figures, negative comments about

American history, and discussions of contemporary social problems. The problem with censorship, Rugg reasoned, was that it withheld data needed to carry on cooperative, efficient social life. If the censors succeeded, he predicted fascism and prejudice would reign freely.

Rugg's self-defense failed to repel the conservative onslaught. The popularity of his texts diminished considerably by the end of 1941. The series was never revised (Kliebard 1987, 207). The scandal created fear, embarrassment, suspicions, and confusion for teachers and administrators (Hunt 1941c; Rugg 1941). Rugg had epitomized the liberal threat in U.S. education that conservative forces feared. The NAM had created an object lesson for teachers, curricularists, and textbook authors who advocated instruction about public controversies (Robinson 1983). Certainly, the postwar "life adjustment curriculum," which stressed conformity rather than questioning, impoverished the spirit of social criticism espoused a decade earlier (Jennings 1950).

To summarize from the inception of *Social Education*, Editor Erling Hunt permitted criticism of the powerful forces that re-emerged from the ideological right at the end of the 1930s. Journal articles tended to agree with New Deal socioeconomic changes. In the textbook controversy that began in 1939 and culminated in 1941, the journal predictably condemned censorship and the attacks on the loyalty of teachers and authors. At the same time, Hunt published information and viewpoints from the very same critics of social studies education and its textbooks. Significantly, he defended a major target of the textbook campaign, Harold Rugg, with whom he disagreed on personal, organizational, and pedagogical matters.

The conservative critics, who forced Rugg's best-selling books from the market, possessed the potential to destroy other thought-provoking institutions. Hunt's strategy to include conservative views perhaps contributed to the survival of the NCSS. By applying the principles of academic fair play to his editorial tasks, he gave the critics less justification to turn their sights on the Council and its outspoken journal. *Social Education* retained vestiges of critical thought, despite the trend toward simplistic thinking in the larger society. On the eve of the official U.S. entry to World War II, the journal not only exhorted its readers to teach critical thinking; it modeled the dialogue in its own pages.

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Did the "Great Debate" in the 1950s Really Change Anything?

Jeffrey E. Mirel
Northern Illinois University

David L. Angus
The University of Michigan

During the 1950s and early 1960s, controversy about American education generally and the high school curriculum specifically generated more national attention than at any previous time in history. Many historians have provided accounts of this "great debate" (e.g. Cremin 1961; Rudy 1963; Krug 1972, Ravitch 1983; Spring 1976; Tozer, Violas, and Senese 1993; Urban and Wagoner 1996) and we do not wish repeat their work. However, we want to examine the question of the impact of this debate on the course taking patterns of high school students and thus to lay the groundwork for a more general challenge to the notion that the high school curriculum in America has gone through a series of "pendulum swings" between the poles of liberal expansiveness and back-to-basics conservatism. As a preliminary to this, we will take a brief look at the three main phases in this debate: Arthur Bestor's attack on life-adjustment education, Sputnik and the attack on the comprehensive high school by Hyman G. Rickover, and James B. Conant's affirmation of curricular differentiation as the solution to the problems of the high school.

No critic of American education in the 1950s carried the wealth of experience or knowledge of progressive education that Arthur E. Bestor, Jr. did. In 1953, when he published *Educational Wastelands*, Bestor was a professor of history at the University of Illinois. As a young man, he had attended the Lincoln School in New York City, a showcase progressive high school attached to Teachers College, and in the late 1930s, while completing his Ph.D., he taught history at Teachers College (Cremin 1961). Bestor did not criticize education as an uninformed outsider but as someone who had experienced the best of the progressive educational tradition and who recognized how far progressive education had fallen from its original ideals (Cremin 1988; Bestor 1953).

In *Educational Wastelands* Bestor forthrightly declared that "Genuine education. . . is intellectual training" (1953, 3) and that "schools exist to teach something, and that this something is the power to think" (10). He was adamant that teaching students to think meant that schools must concentrate on "the scientific and scholarly disciplines", areas of study that could be learned only in a sustained, systematic way (18). Bestor believed that teaching these disciplines was the aim of schooling and that classes in these subject areas were more important than any other educational aspect of schooling. Further, in contrast to the dominant professional view, Bestor maintained that virtually all the students in high schools should be following such a program. Bestor was thoroughly convinced that the vast majority of American students could master such an education and indeed that American democracy was predicated on this belief. Democracy, he argued, "implies the right of every citizen to develop his intellectual powers to the fullest extent possible. It also assumes that intellectual ability is independent of the accidents of wealth and social position" (25-26). Thoroughly rejecting the idea that the increasing democratization of high school enrollments meant that most of the new students were incapable of rigorous education, an idea that had become conventional wisdom among educationists, Bestor declared, "To assert that intellectual capacity decreases as one reaches down into lower economic levels of the population is to deny, point-blank, the basic assumptions of democratic equalitarianism" (36).

It was the failure of leading professional educators to take that idea seriously that provoked Bestor's scathing assessment of life-adjustment education. Although his description of the life-adjustment courses in Illinois was leavened with a good deal of humor and wit, beneath the discussion of units about "the problem of selecting a 'family dentist'" or "how the last war affected the dating pattern in our culture" was outrage at the general direction of secondary education in this country (86, 100). Life-adjustment, he argued, was education designed to teach the majority of high school students to recognize their modest place in society, "to keep it, and to be content with it" (82-83). In calling for a restoration of the academic ideal in American high schools, Bestor urged universities to abolish schools and colleges of education and return control of decisions over curricular content to more appropriate (and competent) groups and individuals within universities and communities.

Educational Wastelands quickly became a rallying point for people concerned about the condition of public education, and by the late 1950s, debates about the nature and quality of high school programs were raging in school systems across the country. While these were mostly sound and fury, after October 4, 1957, the day the Soviet Union launched Sputnik, Americans seriously considered whether the crisis in education had contributed to our failure to be first into space. Suddenly, questions about the quality of the high school curriculum became part of an urgent debate about national security.

Probably no individual involved in the debate about the high school curriculum leapt into the national spotlight more quickly than did Hyman G. Rickover. Writing at a time of crisis in national defense, his views about education received an enormous amount of attention due in large part to his position as a vice admiral of the U.S. Navy and the head of the navy's program to develop an atomic submarine. He claimed that his interest in education began in the late 1940s as he interviewed men for the submarine program. As a result of these interviews, he became gravely concerned about the quality of American education, particularly what he saw as the failure of schools to teach students "fundamental principles...[and] the ability to think independently" (1959, 23; see also Plath 1996). In the mid-1950s, Rickover began giving speeches on the woeful state of education in the United States, and as requests for such speeches increased dramatically after Sputnik, he was soon one of the leading figures in the great debate.

In many ways, the criticisms Rickover leveled at public schools paralleled those articulated by Bestor. Rickover denounced educational professionals as arrogant and narrow-minded, condemned the absurdities of life-adjustment education, and called for more rigorous, academic work in high schools. But in important ways, Rickover differed quite dramatically from Bestor. While he urged high schools to adopt higher academic standards generally, Rickover's primary focus was curricular and programmatic reform for elite students. As he put it, "Talented children are this nation's reservoir of brain power. We have neglected them too long" (1959, 208). Rickover seemed more concerned about how the deterioration of the high school curriculum had affected education for the talented rather than how it had affected schooling for the majority of students. In the 1950s, this emphasis on elite education was inspired by Rickover's fear that inadequate education for gifted students endangered national security. Whereas Bestor sought to insure the future of American democracy through a well-educated electorate, Rickover was mostly concerned with maintaining American military superiority over the Soviets, a position which in his view depended on a steady flow of brilliant, well-trained leaders in engineering and the sciences.

According to Rickover, the greatest obstacle to the education of such leaders was not so much arrogant educationists, bad curriculum, or even an ill-conceived philosophy of education but rather it was the commitment by educators to the comprehensive high school which undermined all efforts to train adequately the intellectual elite. In their haste to bring all the children of a community together in a single, common school, the founders of American education had failed to acknowledge "the incontrovertible fact that children are unequally endowed with intelligence and determination and that it is impossible to educate the slow, average, and fast learners together if by educating we mean the capacity to think, to understand, and to make wise decisions" (134). The policy implications of this idea were clear. If comprehensive public high schools were the problem, separate public high schools for elite students, what had always been called European-style education, were the solution.

Throughout the late 1950s and early 1960s, Rickover's dogged pursuit of this policy made him a major player in the debate about the nature and function of the American high school. However, his attack on the comprehensive high school, his adulation of European forms of high school organization, and his emphasis on education of the gifted and talented, played directly into the hands of educational leaders. In attacking the comprehensive high school, "democracy's high school", Rickover appeared to be challenging one of the finest achievements of American education. In the end, Rickover could easily be dismissed as an educational aristocrat who yearned for the traditional high school of the past, and in calling for greater attention to be paid to gifted and talented students, Rickover (unlike Bestor) endorsed the educationists' fundamental belief in differentiation and paved the way for a resolution of the great debate about American high schools. The person who would provide that resolution was James B. Conant.

In many ways, James B. Conant was perfectly suited for the role he would play in the great debate about the high school curriculum, a role that called for someone who could appeal to supporters of all the major positions in the controversy. As a distinguished scientist and past president of Harvard University, Conant had strong academic credentials. Having served from 1953 to 1957 first as the High Commissioner and then as Ambassador to West Germany, a nation on the front line of the Cold War, Conant could rival Rickover in firsthand knowledge of the Soviet threat. Finally, Conant's service on the Educational Policies Commission in the 1940s had won him the respect and trust of leading educationists. This breadth of appeal is part of the reason that his report, *The American High School Today* (1959), essentially ended the raging debate about the high school curriculum in the 1950s and shaped how the institution would respond to the challenges of the 1960s and early 1970s (Hershberg 1993; Preskill 1984; Teicher 1977).

Released early in 1958, the Conant report was widely acclaimed. Major stories on the report quickly appeared in *Life*, *Look*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, and *U.S. News and World Report* (Preskill 1984, 280-81), all of them trumpeting Conant's key finding that "no radical alteration in the basic pattern of American education is necessary in order to improve our public high schools" (Conant 1959, 40). On one level, the Conant report reads like a direct response to Hyman Rickover. Conant focused his research exclusively on the comprehensive high school, the very institution that Rickover identified as the source of the educational crisis. Unlike Rickover, however, Conant gave the institution a ringing endorsement. In the opening section of the report, Conant declared, "I think it is safe to say that the comprehensive high school is characteristic of our society and further that it has come into being because of our economic history and our devotion to the ideals of equality of opportunity and equality of status" (8).

But Conant's rejection of a European-style structure for American secondary education masked his more fundamental agreement with Rickover on important educational policies. Like Rickover, Conant gave lip service to the need for higher standards for all high school students, but ultimately his main concern was the education of the gifted. The only difference between the two was where programs for these students should be housed. Conant believed that the structure of comprehensive high schools, based as they were on the principle of differentiated instruction for diverse ability groups, could easily handle upgraded programs for the gifted and talented while remaining true to the "democratic" mission of the institution.

Not surprisingly, therefore, Conant's recommendations for improving public secondary schools concentrated mainly on strengthening differentiation. Conant presented 21 specific recommendations for improving public high schools, almost two-thirds of which focused on fine-tuning the processes of differentiation and many of which focused on improving the quality of education for the gifted. Even some of Conant's recommendations designed to encourage common educational and social experiences for all students wound up strengthening differentiation. For example, Conant qualified his recommendation that schools require a body of core courses for all students by urging school leaders to divide the mandated courses in foreign language, math, and science into two tiers, one of which would "maintain high standards" for high ability students while the other would hold students of lesser ability to "another standard" (48).

In all, the Conant report was a masterful example of educational and political duplicity, hiding its elitist policies under a smoke screen of democratic and egalitarian rhetoric. At the same time that he was defending the "democratic" character of the comprehensive high school, Conant was specifically rejecting the idea proposed by critics such as Bestor that all students should receive an equally high quality education. Rather than boldly challenging the educational status quo, Conant embraced it. By making recommendations that barely diverged from conventional educational philosophy and practice, he helped restore the shaken confidence of school leaders and gave them a plan of attack that could effectively neutralize local critics. Conant arrived on the educational scene like a white knight who lifted the siege against the embattled public schools, and his report played a major role in ending the great debate about the nature and function of the American high school (Ravitch 1983).

By the mid-1960s the great debate was a fading memory. In the wake of the debate, however, many commentators and later many historians assumed that curricular offerings and patterns of student course taking had changed substantially. In order to assess the accuracy of those perceptions we will turn to a brief look at two of the most important subject areas in this controversy, mathematics and the sciences, to try to assess the impact these controversies had on curriculum and student course taking.

The U.S. Office of Education showed early interest in the condition of math and science education in the nation. In 1948, concurrent with its endorsement of the life-adjustment movement, the USOE carried out a small scale national survey of the teaching of science in public high schools. This was followed by a similar survey of mathematics teaching in 1952 and joint surveys of math and science in 1954, 1956, and 1958. In 1961, the office calculated from its general study of course enrollments a selected survey of math and science offerings. In addition, tables on math and science enrollments continued to be published in the *Digest of Educational Statistics* until at least 1965.

Two different rationales provided the impetus for this series of studies. As the author of the 1956 report stated, "As our society depends increasingly on science and technology, it is important that all citizens have an understanding of the nature of science and mathematics. The continued security and growth of the United States in this age of technology require steady increases for many years to come in the Nation's supply of high quality engineers, scientists, and teachers of mathematics and the sciences" (United States Office of Education 1956b, ii). These two rationales, the need for greater scientific literacy for "all citizens" and the need for increasing the supply of "engineers, scientists, and teachers of mathematics and the sciences," were the themes that dominated the debate about science and mathematics in the 1950s. Bestor supported the former position, and Rickover and Conant supported the latter.

However, a careful reading of the reports from those years reveals that the USOE was itself far from neutral in this debate, demonstrating time and again that it was more concerned with training an elite corps of scientists and mathematicians than with improving scientific literacy throughout the general population. The office fully accepted Rickover and Conant's premise that algebra, geometry, trigonometry, and calculus were appropriate subjects for some students but inappropriate for most. Indeed, the USOE showed little genuine concern for the role of science and math in the general education of citizens. Rather than supporting the efforts of such critics as Bestor to bring more rigor into high school education for all, the tone of the reports was more critical of the critics than of the high schools.

Nothing revealed more clearly the USOE's deep commitment to the idea of the differentiated high school than its analysis of the transcripts of a national sample of the graduates of 1958 (Greer and Harbeck 1962). Carried out in the wake of the Sputnik scare and evidently prompted by the great debate, the study sought to learn what programs were being followed in the high schools by "pupils of various abilities." Throughout the study, groups of students were characterized as "academically able," "typical," or "less able," based solely on their IQ scores as reported on the transcripts and converted to percentile rankings. Because the "able" pupils were found to be enrolled in college preparatory curriculums at a higher rate, to rank higher in their graduating classes, to have accumulated slightly more high school credits, and to have taken more mathematics and science than their "less" able counterparts, the study affirmed that high schools generally were on the right track in terms of student course taking. The authors did, however, suggest that the student body was not as differentiated by program as it should have been. Observing that the middle 50 percent was divided roughly equally between academic and general programs and that the lower 25 percent was "only" about four times more likely to be in the general track than in an academic track, the authors concluded that "the differences in pupil programs between ability groups were not as great as the needs of the boys and girls would require" (p.121). Even the most ardent supporter of life-adjustment education would probably not have placed much faith in the power of a single intelligence test to determine the track placement of high school students. With that in mind, we can turn to the data that the USOE presented in its series of reports.

The data displayed in table one permit us to address questions about how increases in math and science course taking were distributed among different courses by focusing closely on enrollment changes within the two broad fields. The table lists the percentage of students in grades 9-12 enrolled in science and math courses between 1948 and 1963 and highlights the increases in these two subject areas that took place during these years.

At first, it appears that the great debate did indeed have an impact on student course taking. Overall, math enrollment rates rose from about 55 percent of students in grades 9-12 taking a math course in 1948 to about two-thirds of students in 1963. Nevertheless, these were extremely modest gains, given the passion of the great debate, and the gains in science were even more modest. Moreover, some subjects such as health and physical education which were not central to the great debate had far more dramatic enrollment increases during the same period. In fact, health and physical education enrollments rose from about 69 percent of students in grades 9-12 in 1948 to over 102 percent in 1960, over three times the incease of mathematics. High school enrollments generally were on the rise in this period generally. Consequently, there were large increases in the numbers of students and uneven increases in the rates of enrollment in such rigorous courses as algebra, geometry, trigonometry, biology, and chemistry. In all, however, as table two shows, the share of math and science course taking remained virtually unchanged between 1948 and 1960.

A closer look at the data reveals that the most dramatic enrollment increases were not in the most rigorous courses but in the lower level "practical" courses. The author of the 1952 report was the first to acknowledge this trend stating that "enrollments in mathematics for general education have increased, but the enrollments in college-preparatory mathematics have not kept pace with the growth of the high schools" (Brown 1953, 40). The author of the 1961 report also found little change in that pattern despite the enormous amount of attention given to math and science in the great debate. The author noted, "Courses of a practical nature continued to proliferate [between 1948 and 1961]. . . In mathematics such courses as consumer mathematics, economic mathematics, mathematics for modern living, refresher mathematics, and terminal mathematics were reported. Science offered household biology, science for modern living, everyday physics, and consumer science among others" (Wright 1965, 19-20). In other words, the overall trends in math and science enrollments appeared unchanged by the great debate.

Furthermore, as shown in table two, the relative share of course taking represented by math and science was also mostly unchanged. Between 1948 and 1960, the relative share of mathematics rose by only one-tenth of one percent, and the science share actually fell by four-tenths. While the percentage of students enrolled in these two areas was rising slightly, enrollments rates in virtually all subjects were rising, as the average number of enrollments per students increased from 5.6 to 6.4. Despite the urgings of many of the critics of the 1950s to reemphasize the core academic subjects in high school, the academic share of course taking actually fell from 59 to 57 percent.

All of these data reinforce the notion that the dominant motif of curriculum change during the period of the great debate was movement toward what one commentator at the time called "split-level" education (Latimer 1958). The massive USOE and National Science Foundation curriculum projects of the 1960s provide an excellent case in point. Developed in the wake of the Sputnik scare, the NSF projects set out to develop new and more challenging curricula in the sciences, mathematics, foreign languages, and the social studies. Mainly taking the form of new teaching materials designed to replace traditional textbooks, these experimental approaches were adopted by many high schools in the early 1960s. Despite the substantial amounts of money spent on these projects and the considerable publicity they received, the NSF projects boosted enrollments only modestly at best and they appear to have had no lasting impact. At the same time that high schools showed modest increases in some of the more rigorous math courses such as calculus, they also continued to show increases at the other end of the difficulty spectrum, in the remedial and applied mathematics categories. Between 1960 and 1970 modest declines in chemistry and physics were offset by increases in lower level general science courses such as physical science and earth/space science. The high schools that adopted the NSF curricula targeted them for high performing, college bound students who probably would have taken all the advanced mathematics and science courses the schools offered regardless of the curricular revisions.

The most important factor shaping curriculum changes in the period of the great debate was the continued growth of high school enrollments to over 13 million by 1965. Educators responded to these new students, as they had in the past, by assuming that increased enrollments inevitably meant increasing numbers of low ability students. Believing that these students were incapable of mastering difficult course material, educators expanded the less demanding general courses. Whether one looks at the sciences or mathematics, the dominant trend was toward rising enrollments in less challenging classes.

Our data indicate that claims that high schools in the 1950s and early 1960s refocused on subject matter and intellectual discipline are quite wide of the mark. The math and science course taking trends demonstrate the persistence and indeed the strengthening of policies regarding differentiation, not a revitalization of rigorous academic course taking for high school students generally. If the great debate about the high school curriculum in the 1950s had any effect it was in the reaffirmation and revitalization of the policies of "split-level" education (Latimer 1957). From that perspective, James Conant did not just end the great debate; he won it.

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Table 1

Percentage of Students, Grades 9-12, Enrolled in Science and Mathematics Courses: 1948-1963

Subject Field	1948-9	1954-5	1958-9	1960-1	1962-63
Mathematics	54.7	55.5	65.2	63.9	67.0
General Math	12.0	12.2	13.1	17.4	12.1
Elem. Algebra	19.3	18.3	22.6	19.6	21.2
Plane Geometry	11.1	13.6	12.5	11.7	14.5
Interm. Algebra	6.9	6.6	8.2	9.0	10.1
Solid Geometry	1.7	2.2	1.4	2.1	0.7
Trigonometry	2.0	2.6	2.8	3.0	2.0
All Other Math	1.7	NA	4.6	1.1	6.4
Science	54.5	NA	59.6	59.7	59.9
General Science	19.9	NA	20.2	22.2	18.2
Biology	18.4	19.7	21.4	21.7	24.7
Chemistry	7.6	7.3	8.4	9.1	8.5
Physics	5.4	4.6	4.8	4.9	4.0
All Other Science	3.2	NA	4.8	1.8	4.5

Sources: 1948 and 1960 are from USOE, *Biennial survey, 1948-50* and Wright, *Subject offerings, 1960-61*; 1954, 1958, 1962 are from Simon and Grant, *Digest of educational statistics: 1965 edition*, p. 27.

Table Two

Subject Field Enrollments (in thousands), Percent of 9-12 Students Enrolled and Percent Distribution in Subject Fields: U.S. Public Secondary Schools, Grades 9-12, 1948-49, 1960-61

Subject Field	1948-49			1960-61		
Total 9-12 Enrollment	5,399	% enrld	% dist.	8,219	% enrld	% dist
English	5,576	103.3	18.4	9,438	114.8	17.9
Foreign Language	1,200	22.2	4.0	2,293	27.9	4.3
Mathematics	2,958	54.8	**9.8**	5,224	63.6	**9.9**
Science	2,944	54.5	**9.7**	4,908	59.7	**9.3**
Social Studies	5,265	97.5	17.4	8,226	100.1	15.6
Business	3,194	59.2	10.5	4,706	57.3	8.9
Industrial Arts	1,127	20.9	3.7	1,944	23.6	3.7
Home Economics	1,305	24.2	4.3	1,901	23.4	3.6
Trade and Industry	369	6.8	1.2	365	4.4	0.7
Health and P.E.	3,747	69.4	12.4	8,395	102.1	15.9
Music	1,625	30.1	5.4	3,473	42.3	6.6
Art	486	9.0	1.6	1,335	16.2	2.5
Agriculture	364	6.7	1.2	505	6.1	1.0
Other	124	2.3	0.4	91	1.1	0.2
Academic	**59.3**	**57.0**				
Non-academic	40.7	43.0				
Enrollments per Student	**5.6**	**6.4**				

* Includes Safety, Driver's Training and ROTC.

Sources: Recoded and adapted from USOE, *Biennial survey, 1948-50*; Wright, *Subject offerings, 1960-61*

Be Neither Radical nor Romantic: Researching a Culture Other Than Your Own

Bonnie Jean Adams
Loyola University—Chicago

The Houma Indians are the largest Indian Tribe in Louisiana. According to the 1990 census, there are 7,810 persons in the Houma Nation. They live along the bayous, south of the town of Houma, in Terrebonne Parish. The Indians work as farmers, trappers and fishermen still; some work at almost anything to make a living. They own no land and have no fishing rights as other tribes do. While Indian tribes in other parts of the United States made treaty agreements in exchange for government funded reservation land, schools, and health services, no treaties were ever made with the Houma Tribe and the United States government. The United Houma Nation is unrecognized by the federal government. According to common historical record, the Houma had ceased to exist by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The first mention of the Houma was by Robert Cavelier de LaSalle, French explorer, when he noted in his diary the presence of the 'Oumas' village in March 1682, while traveling the Mississippi River. The first actual contact with the tribe by a Western observer was recorded by Chevalier de Tonti on his trip up the Mississippi in 1686. He wrote ". . . we discovered a Nation . . . the Oumas tribe, the bravest of all the savages. As soon as they saw us, they were struck with an astonishment mixed with respect . . ." (Bowman and Curry-Roper n.d.).

The Houma Nation was regarded as a distinct, sovereign people by the French, Spanish, and English colonial governments, who respected their rights to property. No colonial government took action to limit or define their tribal lands or tribal rights. Such harmonious co-existence would change as colonial powers clashed in competition over land acquisition. The signing of the Peace of Paris, in 1763, effected a major power transition in European-Indian relations. This agreement between France and Spain transferred all title to land west of the Mississippi River to Spain, while the English laid claim to all land east of the river. The Houma Indians found their hunting grounds to be within the direct control of the English and their villages under the dominion of the Spanish.

The English and Spanish agents competed to lure the tribe into their territory and to declare exclusive allegiance to one of the colonial powers. The Houma remained neutral. The tribe continued to move up and down both sides of the Mississippi River in pursuit of better hunting grounds, and to avoid conflict with other local tribes. Colonial census records indicate various locations as being headquarters of the Houma Nation. Conflicting census records concerning tribal location, lack of specific written treaties with colonial powers, or with the United States Federal government, and two reports led to the belief that the Houma Tribe were nearing extinction by the time of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

The first report was filed by Daniel Clark, landowner and politician. Clark wrote to Secretary of State, James Madison that the Houma tribe numbered fewer than 60 persons, who lived on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River and that there were no other Indians settled on the east bank in either West Florida or Louisiana. Historical record indicates that Clark was held in low esteem by many of his contemporaries for being untrustworthy, politically ambitious, and deceitful. He was known to have been involved in an earlier scheme to claim tribal land.

The second, more damaging, report was filed in 1806 by Dr. John Sibley, Louisiana Indian agent appointed by President Thomas Jefferson. Sibley was assigned to make a list of the territory's tribes. He reported there were 80 Houmas living on the east side of the Mississippi River. Sibley had personal reasons for avoiding fieldwork in the south. Unknown to the administration, he owned a plantation, and he feared that if such vested interest be known, his position as an unbiased government official would be threatened. Neither was he interested in going further into the swamp to count Indians. "Sibley's report on Louisiana's tribes, unfortunately, has been regarded as gospel by federal officials . . .," wrote historical researcher Earnest Downs in 1978 (Bowman and Curry-Roper n.d.). The Houma were said to have been struck with ". . . with an astonishment mixed with respect." LaSalle's report indicates that this astonishment was probably mutual. In little more than one hundred years, the explorer's romanticized version of the initial encounter with the Houma Nation was discounted by two reports.

History was being written by what Alan C. Purves defines as the scribal society; that is, those with the means to write history decide what information to record. This then becomes what knowledge is remembered. In his book, *The Scribal Society*, Purves explains how in any society, the scribes decide what is integral to scribal culture and what is peripheral to it. The American Indian culture was transmitted by oral, not written means. Not until the late nineteenth century would the Indian begin to find a literate voice.

The United Houma Nation is recognized by the state of Louisiana. However, having no prior treaty or documentation of their rights, the Houma tribe remain 'unacknowledged' by the federal government. For American Indians, 'unacknowledged' is synonymous with being unrepresented in the legal system of the United States. The federal government is obliged to protect the tribal lands and resources of federally recognized tribes and to provide them with health care, education, and economic development assistance.

The tribal governments of 'acknowledged' tribes can negotiate with federal, state, and local governments. They can act on their own or join with other tribes in affecting federal legislation in regard to Indian concerns. They are afforded an opportunity to organize for their common welfare and to adopt written constitutions (formally approved by the Secretary of the Interior). The Tribal Council can administer justice through its own federally recognized court system. Federal acknowledgment is recognition of a tribe's identity, organization, and rights. The acknowledged tribe becomes a sovereign nation and political entity.

In 1978, Federal Acknowledgment Policy (FAP) was enacted enabling unacknowledged tribes, such as the Houma, to petition the federal government for a change in their legal status. Seven criteria have to be 'satisfied' in the petition for federal recognition. The attempt is a time-consuming, expensive, and politically charged process, rife with congressional politics and bureaucratic delay. Tribal government becomes overly concerned with the administration of its community and entangled in its own new bureaucracy. Tribal members begin to disagree. At the time of my first visit to them, the Houma people were working through the process of meeting the seven criteria to prove that the United Houma Nation was a legitimate American Indian tribe. It was their second attempt.

The Indian views land as central to his cultural identity, yet the Houma Tribe holds no land in common with which to build community. For the Houma, the benefits of tribal association reside in the heart. In the struggle for recognition, even that is divided. The Houma tribe is no longer united, but has divided into two separate factions, each submitting a petition for federal acknowledgment. Such intertribal competition may reduce the chance of success for either side.

In doing research about the American Indian, it is imperative that the Constitution, and the law, especially the history of specific laws regarding American Indians, including current issues, be studied. Even in casual conversation, those I was talking to were informed and concerned about federal and state issues particularly affecting them. It is also important to remember that aboriginal tribes never considered themselves 'Indians' in a racial sense, but as separate nations. While some information can be gleaned from diary entries and journals, many primary sources can be found in the archives kept by a particular tribe, which can sometimes be used by the historian who earns the trust and respect of the tribe. In this way the historian who is neither radical nor romantic can construct a record of a people.

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Medieval Universities as Modernesque Suppliers of Knowledge

John C. Scott

Contrary to popular perceptions, the medieval universities were well ahead of their time regarding social functions and responsibilities. Specifically, the thesis of this research is the original universities were characteristically "modern" as suppliers of knowledge to society. I will further argue that the knowledge created, refined, and transmitted by the universities quickened the rise of early modern civilization in Europe, around 1500. All of this resulted from several major trends of the later Middle Ages: 1) revival of mercantilism; 2) growth of cities; 3) twelfth century intellectual renaissance; and, 4) Scholasticism.

While the burgeoning towns of the late Middle Ages provided the economic base of support for professors and students, their passion to learn was ignited by a stirring event. An intellectual awakening rivaling the Italian Renaissance took place in the early twelfth century. It is credited with producing the first universities and bringing a fresh, Aristotelian worldview to medieval culture. Westerners developed a terrific curiosity and thirst for the new knowledge brought from Moorish Spain, Norman Sicily, and Salerno, Italy, once Latin translations of the rich Islamic learning began to flow northward. Toledo was the principle center of translation by Jewish, Christian, and Moslem academicians (McNeill 1963, 549-550).

Although a small body of Latin manuscripts of Aristotle's writings and other classical works had survived in the Christian West since the early Middle Ages, the twelfth century influx of translations represented a virtual flood of new knowledge. Many philosophical and scientific works of Aristotle and Plato were recovered; these works had not only been preserved in the Islamic East for centuries, but were augmented with commentaries by Arab masters. Transmitted also were the writings of Euclid and Ptolemy, the Greek works on medicine, Arab mathematical treatises, and the major Roman law texts (Kagan, Ozment & Taylor 1979, 266). Highly advanced and useful Arab writings in the fields of medicine, astronomy, optics, philosophy, and encyclopedic collections on the natural and supernatural universe were of profound interest to Europeans (McNeill 1963, 550).

Henry Treece, in *The Crusades* (1964, 224-226), elucidated many of the treasures of Arab studies discovered by the Franks (Europeans) in the Levant during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Arab thinkers had improved classical Greek mathematics, evolved numerals from India, and created algebra. They built telescopes, studied physiology, practiced advanced surgery and used anesthetics. In chemistry they led the world, as they did in glass, leather, paper, and pottery production. Chemical analysis was also used in fertilizing the soil. They excelled in agricultural science and irrigation methods. Such was the craving of the Western world to learn from the Arabs, that Raymond Lull (1235-1314), a Spaniard, persuaded six European universities to establish programs in Oriental languages without delay. The Arabs responded by providing extensive scholarly materials on the Arabic language, which were mass-produced in Alexandria, Damascus, Cairo, and Baghdad.

During the twelfth century the first universities were born in a few urban centers (Bologna, Paris, and Oxford) as a more permanent organization form. A uniquely Western institution, the university possessed a structured curriculum leading to a specific degree (Cobban 1972, 227). The increasingly bureaucratic church, state, and municipal governments required highly educated administrators, theologians, and lawyers; in addition there were the secular professions of medicine, law and business. The monopoly of advanced knowledge passed from monasteries (and monastic schools) to the cathedral schools and then to the universities. While the early monasteries inherited a small fraction of the classical literary heritage, when the medieval universities were in full bloom they possessed an imposing, world-class base of knowledge. Thus the learned institutions ushered in early modern civilization.

Associated with the concept of a monopoly of advanced knowledge was the new class of academic men which emerged during the late Middle Ages. Salaried university masters or doctors (the terms were synonymous) tended to marry into the urban middle class. Consequently, they often became allied with the local ruling aristocracy of university towns (Cobban 1975, 203). The University of Paris' influential faculty of theology, besides analyzing controversial social issues of their time, also were concerned with defining and enlarging their own role in society, that of the new academic class (McLaughlin 1977, 132). As the Middle Ages drew to a close in France and other societies, every estate, including academics, began to develop *national consciences*.

Thus, a further modernizing achievement of medieval higher education was the establishment of the intellectual class or intelligentsia in European society. The academics made learning respectable (in a previously barbaric environment) and an integral part of Western civilization.

The universities were charged with providing training in the liberal arts and the professions. Between 1200 and 1500 the university movement spread all over Europe, except to Russia. As society became more complex and bureaucratic, the universal church, secular governments, municipalities, and businesses required highly educated professionals and civil servants. Indeed, according to Cobban (1992, 228, 232), the academies appear to have succeeded in providing trained personnel for society. Here again it is evident that the universities, their doctors, and graduates ushered in the early modern epoch.

During the twelfth century the ever growing numbers of students and teachers of the cathedral schools desired an organized structure to protect their interests. They did not wish to be taken advantage of for food costs, lodging rates, and other necessities. Foreign students were most vulnerable to harsh laws and taxation. Groups of masters and students were a powerful and prestigious economic force in most cities. Once organized, their demands were usually met, for they could threaten to strike or to leave the city.

Generally in the northern European universities masters formed the guild membership, while students had little power. The opposite was generally true in southern Europe, where guilds of students, who were older and more financially independent, founded and controlled universities. There professors served more like tutors and had to obey strict rules for teaching and administering examinations set forth by the student guilds (Rudy 1984, 14-16).

Full-fledged universities were often called *studia generalia* and they had the right to grant the license of teaching everywhere in Europe through the issuance of the Master's degree. They admitted students from all countries (Wieruszowski 1966, 81) and possessed one or more of the higher faculties, law (either civil or canon), medicine, or theology (Rashdall 1936, 3).

Following the twelfth century intellectual renaissance, and especially during the thirteenth century, Aristotelian logic and dialectic triumphed in prominence over the other liberal arts in the curriculum of the new universities. Scholasticism provided a system of organizing and interpreting the virtual flood of new knowledge entering the Christian West. Students used these tools to discipline knowledge and thought. They wrote commentaries on authoritative texts, but were not encouraged to be very critical or to search independently for undiscovered truths since the basic medieval assumption was that the truth was already known as revealed in the *Bible* (Kagan, Ozment & Taylor 1979, 269).

Scholars believed that they were harmonizing established truths, but as it turned out, they had actually prepared the way for new truths to be discovered. The infusion of Aristotelianism and critical thought into the Western tradition led to the slow and gradual breakdown of old ideas in the later Middle Ages. Peter Abelard (1079-1142) pioneered scholastic methods at the University of Paris and wrote *Sic et Non*. Scientific Scholasticism, beginning with Saint Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologica*, in the thirteenth century launched the ideological attack of the Renaissance in the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. The views of Abelard and Aquinas were not accepted by theologians like Saint Bernard, who placed greater emphasis on faith, emotion, and mysticism, and were suspicious of excessive inquiry and reasoning. Additionally, Aristotle, though highly intelligent, was nonetheless a pagan philosopher, and some of his notions were in direct conflict with Christian teachings.

Ultimately, the scientific method would triumph in the West, after numerous battles with church authorities through the later Middle Ages and Renaissance. Ironically, the Moslem scholastic methodology and intellectual fortunes, from which the West benefitted so much, began to decline by the thirteenth century when the Islamic East was devastated by Mongol forces, the Christian reconquest of Spain was progressing, and religious orthodoxy set in, putting pressure on academic pursuits (Stanton 1987, 19-20).

The medieval universities not only anticipated early modern civilization, but they contributed to its rise. By 1500 the Age of Discovery was underway and with it Western global expansion. In summary, the universities' modernizing effects were: 1) near monopoly of advanced knowledge; 2) professional training for ecclesiastical and secular segments of society; 3) foundations of modern empirical science; 4) establishment of a new intellectual class; and, 5) upward social mobility.

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The Social Sciences versus the Social Gospel at Marietta College

Stephen T. Correia
St. Norbert College

In the fall of 1894, J. Allen Smith, a recent graduate from the University of Michigan with a Ph.D., arrived at the small southern Ohio city of Marietta as a professor of social sciences at Marietta College. Although Smith's tenure at the school was to be short, the next three years would be a time of great tumult as the educational beliefs, practices and mission of Marietta College would undergo rigorous challenge. In the spring of 1897 Smith was relieved of his duties by a vote of the college trustees.

The official reason offered for Smith's dismissal was the college's dire financial straits. In the previous three years the debt of the school had increased from $10,000 in 1894 to $30,000 in 1897 (Cayton and Riggs). However, financial exigency was likely not the reason for Smith's abrupt dismissal, as this paper will demonstrate.

A complex set of academic and cultural factors resulted in Smith's dismissal from Marietta College. These factors, as a group, worked to define Smith as a community outsider upon his arrival in Marietta, and over the next three years, conspired to isolate him from the mainstream culture of the school and local community. By 1897, Smith was isolated, culturally and academically, and his time at the small school had come to an end. Further, Smith's challenge to the culture of the southern Ohio school was unlike anything it had seen before, and it was easier and more efficient to dismiss him than incorporate his practices into the community's culture.

In the final decade of the nineteenth century, the Ohio River city of Marietta was experiencing unprecedented social and economic changes. From 1890 to 1900, the city had grown from a population of 8,273 to 13,348, a nearly 40 percent increase. Likewise, the area of southeastern Ohio, with Marietta as its geographic center, was experiencing an economic boom (Cayton and Riggs). The local oil and natural gas industries were rapidly expanding during the decade, and population growth reflected the accompanying increase in workers. By the mid-1890s, "the price of oil launched the greatest oil boom the Marietta area was ever to witness." The impact of the oil industry is more completely understood by the fact that "by 1903, the dollars invested in the oil industry exceeded the appraised value of all the real estate in Marietta" (Cayton and Riggs 1991, 183). In the smaller and more intimate setting of Marietta, the many unprecedented social and economic changes occurring across the United States were at hand. Changes would also be taking place at Marietta College, and like those occurring in the city of Marietta, not all would be welcomed.

As early as 1829, efforts had begun to craft an historical record intended to create a specific historical perspective of the young Marietta. The community chose to project itself as an idealistic, New England oasis thriving in the Midwest due to the hard work, strong middle class values and pious beliefs of Marietta's early founders. In 1881 a published history claimed the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, being "New England in character" (History of Washington County 1881, 36), established the legal groundwork for those very New England values to become institutionalized in the Ohio country. This same history, in reference to the establishment of Marietta College, stated the college was to be " a genuine college of the New England type" (400). As Riggs notes, " For many, history was Marietta's ultimate claim to superiority for it naturally followed that because the founders of the town were extraordinary, so too were their descendants" (33).

The Marietta that existed, both town and college in the 1890's, was in reality two different worlds, the one community leaders chose to believe and the one that was real. The view community and college leaders held was one of a prosperous, dignified and unified Marietta built upon solid New England, Christian values of hard work, piety, and solidarity. In practice the town of Marietta had not lived the history that came to be written. As Cayton and Riggs note, this historical fiction created "a public image of harmony and homogeneity for their town which served to obscure" reality (158).

By the 1890's, Marietta had become a town of significant economic speculation, inhabited by a racially diverse population, and troubled with such persistent social problems as poverty, racism, prostitution and alcoholism. In short, Marietta shared problems with many other cities and towns of the era. However, armed with a mythical history, community leaders sought to preserve their storied New England past. Persistent social problems could be easily ignored because they existed in a world which these leaders were not a part of, either physically or intellectually. Any challenge to the world inhabited by community leaders would be much more difficult with which to deal. It was into such a world that Professor J. Allen Smith entered in 1894.

The emergence of the social sciences at Marietta College may be directly traced to Smith. Introduced to the college as a revolution of methodology and academic inquiry, the social sciences shared much with the Social Gospel movement. The Social Gospel found support in an interpretation of biblical scripture which called for direct intervention into exisiting social problems. Believers in the Social Gospel held that current social problems were derivative of industrialization. The answer to these problems would be found in the universal application of the word of Jesus Christ to all aspects of society.

The Social Gospel was both a social and religious reform movement which originated in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Led primarily by Protestant clergymen, the Social Gospel movement emerged as a vociferous critic of the rising social disorder of late nineteenth-century America. These reformers were seeking to create a more Christian social order, yet maintain the existing capitalistic, economic and democratic political system (Ross 1991, Hofstadter 1944).

The social sciences, also oriented to the study of social problems, held no such religious legitimacy as to its existence. The social sciences existed, simply, to study society. Although still emerging as an accepted field of academic inquiry at the close of the nineteenth century, the social sciences were slowly but surely distancing themselves from the divinely inspired Social Gospel. As the social sciences gained shape and substance, the gulf between the social sciences and religious doctrines became evident. Marietta College was not yet prepared to surrender the Christian ideals of the Social Gospel movement to the squarely academic field of the social sciences.

Chartered in 1832 as The Marietta Collegiate Institute and Western Teacher's Seminary, the college was originally founded to provide to the struggling community a sense of economic and social stability and to alleviate its geographic isolation. The college intended, as did many religious orientated colleges of the then western frontier of the United States, to educate men to spread Chrisitianity and Chrisitian ideals to the developing frontier.

The 1894 Marietta College Annual Catalogue shows that the incoming class consisted of 29 freshmen, all male. With the local southeastern Ohio population accounting for the majority of students, Virginia and Massachusetts were the next most highly represented states Matriculation Records, Pre-1900). Curriculum options were limited for students, with the majority enrolling in a Classical curriculum, including course work in Greek, a modern foreign language, mathematics, philosophy, Christian religion, and the natural sciences (Catalogue of Marietta College, 32-33). All students attended religious services each morning at 8:45.

College president John W. Simpson, an ordained Congregational minister was appointed President of the school in 1893. Simpson was "in complete sympathy with the liberal trends in the social sciences" as well as "an active adherent of the Social Gospel movement" (McClintock 1959, 90). Under President Simpson, modernizing the curriculum was a high priority, particularly in the social sciences. Simpson increased the number of electives in political economy and added sociology. He taught many of these courses, as well as ones in religion and Christian ethics. Prior to Smith's arrival, the formal, academic study of society at Marietta was directed by ordained ministers. This religious orientation reconciled easily with the mission of the school, and all social investigations were therefore invested with religious legitimacy.

With Simpson at the college's helm, students at Marietta College became acquainted with three prominent leaders of the Social Gospel movement. These men were the Reverend Wilbur Fisk Crafts, the Reverend Dr. J. H. W. Stuckenberg, and the Reverend Washington Gladden. Simpson invited Crafts to lecture on "Christian Socialism," Stuckenberg to lecture on "The Social Problem," and Gladden to lecture on "Municipal Government" (Catalogue 1895-96, 10). Gladden also served as a trustee of the College from 1883 to 1898 and, as such, was able to provide the necessary political support to President Simpson as he went about reorganizing the school's curriculum.

J. Allen Smith came to Marietta in the fall of 1894 for his first teaching position. Prior to attending graduate school at Michigan, Smith had graduated from the University of Missouri with a bachelor of arts degree in 1882, then proceeded to earn a law degree from the same school and practiced for five years. Smith became bored by the "narrow limits" of the law, and with encouragement from his wife, decided to study for an advanced degree in the social sciences. He entered Michigan in 1892 because the reform-minded Henry Carter Adams was on its faculty

(McClintock 1959, Goldman 1944).

While at Michigan, Smith became interested in the scholarly study of the currency question, that is, the viability and necessity of the gold standard. This issue was a popular political issue and would later play a central role in the 1896 presidential election and possibly in Smith's dismissal from Marietta College in 1897.

The "Multiple Money Standard" was the title of Smith's 1894 dissertation. This 60-page work was "theoretical in character and was a refutation of many of the basic contentions of the gold standard advocates" (Barclay 1931, 234). Regarding the currency issue, Professor Adams told Smith that "heretical sympathies would arouse opposition from members of the faculty who examined candidates of higher degrees" (Goldman 1944, 197). Although the dissertation was accepted, its approval was primarily due to the influence of Professor Adams, who overcame significant faculty opposition. Smith would be no stranger to issues of academic freedom throughout his professional career and often found himself at the center of academic controversy.

At Marietta Smith taught two courses in sociology and five in economics. The sociology courses were entitled "The Facts, Principles, and Methods of Sociology" and "Modern Social Problems" Smith also taught five different economics courses (Catalogue 1895-96, 40). Taken as a group, these courses reveal the progressive nature of Smith's social science philosophy. The descriptions found in the Marietta College catalogue show that Professor Smith strongly believed that government regulation offered the best hope for the improvement of all of society. These courses found their impetus in Smith's conception that an industrialized society was in need of a strong regulating government body to ensure freedom of opportunity and to prevent predatory business practices. The courses were entitled "Principles of Political Economy," "Taxation," "The Monopoly Problem," "The Theory of Money," and "The History of Economic Thought."

The study of local conditions in southeastern Ohio was an integral part of Smith's courses. Smith was holding up for public examination and study a world which local leaders had previously ignored. Undoubtably, Smith's dispassionate, and public, examination of local conditions was disquieting for community leaders.

As long as President Simpson remained at the school, Smith was secure in his employment. In June 1896, President Simpson's resignation was requested by the trustees, and Smith knew his own time was limited.

In the spring of 1897, Professor Smith was dismissed from his position at Marietta. The reason for his dismissal, according to Hofstadter and Metzger, was "the bipartisan nature of intolerance" to academic ideas which challenged the prevailing status quo (423). Hofstadter and Metzger argued that Smith was dismissed because the trustees of the college were fundamentally opposed to the professor's ideas regarding monometallism. Likely a contributing factor to Smith's dismissal was his public support of William Jennings Bryan instead of Ohio-native William McKinley in the 1896 Presidential election (Goldman 1944).

Gladden served as a trustee of Marietta College from 1883 to 1898. In response to Professor Allen's dismissal, Gladden resigned from the board of trustees, albeit not until the close of the 1898 academic year. Gladden wrote to Smith on April 16, 1897, that his dismissal was "pitiful" but not to give up hope. Gladden would try to see if "possibly some changes may occur here next year." True to his reputation as a seeker of common ground, Reverend Gladden tried to resolve the issue of Smith's dismissal from Marietta.

Reverend Gladden, Reverend Stuckenberg and Reverend Crafts were retained for the 1897-98 school year by the trustees to fill the gap created by Smith's departure (Marietta Trustees Record 1897, 108). Interestingly, Smith's salary was provided by an anonymous source during his three years at the school. This same source provided for the funding of the courses Smith was to have taught the next academic year. Therefore, money was to be made available to teach classes involving social investigations, but only if led by acceptable professors. The college trustees voted to replace Smith's position before the start of the next semester. Each of the three men hired to assume the vacant teaching load were ordained minister's with an academic interest in the study of social problems.

J. Allen Smith, as a trained professional, examined the local community as any social scientist would do. For Smith, social problems were to be presented for class study and discussion, analyzed and to have solutions proposed for them. The community of Marietta was more comfortable simply ignoring its own local shortcomings.

Smith came to view Marietta as the economic boom city that it was. However, community leaders maintained their self-image of Marietta as a New England oasis. To community leaders, the boom of the 1890's did not lead to bust in the early 1900's, rather a return to the world in which they were most comfortable. The outsiders who rode the wave of economic growth and occupied the community went elsewhere for their fortunes. Further, intellectual outsiders like Smith were not a part of Marietta College as the new century dawned. In Marietta cooperation and social cohesion would be valued above academic freedom and emerging forms of academic inquiry.

Smith had specific, secular, social science beliefs and, regardless of the audience, did not modify them. As an outsider to the Marietta community, he was unable, or willing, to modify his pedagogy and professional beliefs to gain acceptance. He did survive quite well in higher education as he went on to a distinguished career at the University of Washington. Never losing his unwillingness to compromise his academic principles, Ross has labeled Smith as "the radical professor of political science" (Ross 1991, 458).

The oil boom of the 1890's was, like J. Allen Smith, a distant memory to the citizens of Marietta by the start of the 20th century. With outsiders, from academics to oil workers gone at nearly the same time, a comfortable retreat into the previous world of relative isolation and perceived common culture was possible. This retreat reconfirmed the notion that, either economically or academically, outsiders had little to offer Marietta.

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Academic Freedom at the University of Dayton: 1963-1967

Amanda Pracek
University of Dayton

The purpose of this paper is to explore the national Free Speech Movement of the 1960's and 1970's as it manifested itself at the University of Dayton. Of specific interest is how a Catholic affiliated institution reacted to the tumultuous changes during the 1960's and the controversies surrounding academic freedom. A discussion of the University's history, as well as a discussion of academic freedom (and academic freedom in relation to the Catholic church) will in turn reflect the ways that the University of Dayton, as well as other Catholic universities, changed in response to societal changes.

The racial crisis, the Vietnam War, campus upheavals, and the growth of the counterculture made the 1960's an epoch of revolutionary change for all Americans. The radical changes and forces of the culture produced a whirlwind of debate in the American Catholic church (Gleason 1995). Academic freedom became the central theme in American higher education in the early 1960's. Vatican II had a profound impact on the Catholic university. The Council met in the early 1960's and by 1965 Catholics learned of Vatican II's religious views. Pope John XXIII had charged the Second Vatican Council "to seek fresh and timely ways to recover the essential spirit of the message and mission of Christ and to avoid incarceration in the institutional forms of the dead past" (Manier 1967). This new spirit of the church supported the growth of academic freedom in Catholic institutions of higher learning.

How did Catholic institutions react to new forms of thought? A review of events at the University of Dayton may help to answer this question. The Free Speech Movement initiated a decade of debate about the students' role in university governance on campuses throughout the United States. The University of Dayton participated in this debate (Unger 1964). Editorials in the student newspaper slowly shifted from issues such as homecoming, dances and parties to campus life and administration. In 1963, two committees were formed to study both a possible judicial system at UD and a student welfare system. These actions may have been the catalyst for other events (Kane 1974). The Student Council proposed a bill for the direct election of the President of the Council. The Council thought that if the students voted it would make the Council more responsive to their needs.

Although the students were beginning to realize that they might secure choices at UD, the church was still holding a strong traditionalist attitude. In spring of 1963, students were being called before the Chaplain to discuss their absence from retreats (Kane 1974).

The Kennedy Union opened in 1964. With this opening, a new channel of communication between students and the administration was implemented. The first "Fireside Chat" was similar to a press conference with Fr. Raymond A Roesch, then president of the University of Dayton (Kane 1974). However, students were able to voice their opinions as well as ask questions.

In 1965 the subject of the Vietnam War was introduced to students. A rally in front of the student union and march was held supporting President Johnson's policy. Nonetheless, there were a few protest letters written in the *Flyer News*. The letters caused an abundance of criticism from other students who deemed it "un-American" to criticize Federal policy (Kane 1974).

By 1968, the first massive protest march occurred in the history of UD. The suspension of 12 students who had forged their advisors' signatures led to about 1000 students marching across campus to show their disapproval. The students argued that the punishment was out of proportion to the crime. Both a petition and a document calling for an approval of a Student Bill of Rights and a University Board of Appeals were presented to the administration. The students were beginning to join the Free Speech Movement in earnest.

On March 17, 1970, 150 UD students staged a sit-in in St. Mary's Hall over educational reform and student representation in university policy-making groups. After 24 hours the students left St. Mary's with the administration's promise that a meeting between the student body and the administration would be held the next day to discuss these issues. About 5000 students attended the session. In the aftermath of the St. Mary's sit-in, new programs were implemented, including interdisciplinary and black studies.

Another equally pervasive concern on the campus in the 1960's was academic freedom. In 1966, a professor of philosophy accused members of the philosophy department of teaching heresy and/or views contrary to the teaching of the church's magisterium. This incident originated with an article reviewing Dr. Eulalio Baltazar's book, *Contraception and Holiness*. Baltazar, a professor of philosophy, said that birth control was not a theological question. Dr. Dennis Bonnette charged several professors on campus, Dr. Baltazar included, of advocating doctrines contrary to the teaching magisterium of the church. This charge was made to Archbishop Karl Alter of Cincinnati, who informed university officials. As a result of the written explanations of their positions submitted by the accused, administrative officials ruled the four members innocent of the charges. The episode immediately plunged the university community into discord. Faculty and student groups held meetings, drew up manifestoes and issued reprimands.

At the Archbishop's request, Fr. Roesch was instructed to create an ad hoc committee designed to establish clear directives for the pursuit of academic freedom (Shallenberger 1970). However, this was not the end of the controversy. Bonnette, along with seven other faculty members, said the university's investigation was a "classic whitewash" and vowed to keep the matter alive.

Next, Archbishop Alter set up his own fact finding body composed of individuals not affiliated with the University. The Archbishop's board did find some basis for charges, but declined to file accusations against any of the professors. Its report was not made public, and disagreement arose as to whether it had or had not cleared the accused professors of teaching heresy. Fr. Roesch turned again to the original ad hoc committee to specify the appropriate mode of paying respect to the magisterium (Gleason 1995). Its subsequent report asserted that although Catholics were obliged to respect the church's teaching authority, that obligation rested upon them as individuals and did not apply to the university as an institution. Since the Catholic university's relationship to magisterial authority was thus indirect, it could claim independence of all outside authority.

Never before had a faculty committee at a Catholic university flatly recommended secularization as the policy to follow. Fr. Roesch quickly addressed the faculty and public on the controversy and clarified the university's position; he upheld the principle of academic freedom while asserting that "If the magisterium is not responsive to the new problems, it loses its role as a guide" (Shallenberger 1970). The University shared Vatican II's spirit of inquiry and openness.

It is clear that the Vietnam War and Vatican II affected campus life at the University of Dayton in the 1960's. Student and faculty concerns and administrative responses reveal how religious and intellectual life impacted campus life.

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African American Institutions of Higher Learning 1830-1865

Wanda M. Davis
SUNY-Buffalo State College

This article examines the founding of Lincoln, Cheyney, and Wilberforce Universities—three institutions of higher learning established to educate persons of African descent within the United States prior to the Civil War. The research provides scholars of American higher education with a missing link in the history and development of institutions of higher learning during the antebellum period. A discussion of the similarities and differences between the founding, organizational structure, and development of these institutions unveils the unique character of each school and helps to place them within the broader context of other institutions of higher learning founded prior to the Civil War.

Each of these institutions was founded to provide opportunities for higher education during a period when most African Americans were held in bondage. Yet, these three institutions provided the model for other African American institutions of today.

As a result of the expansion of foreign trade, America experienced a period of great progress prior to the Civil War. Gold flowed from California, railroad construction was at its height, there was rapid industrial growth in the North, and the cotton industry brought prosperity to the South (Brogan 1986, 305). During this period of rapid economic growth, there were also great challenges for freedom.

While controversy over the expansion of slavery in the territories moved America closer to a state of crisis, passage of legislation such as the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Compromise of 1850, and the Fugitive Slave Act fostered resentment and tension between the North and South. These were very volatile times; America was headed for Civil War. As tensions mounted between North and South, increasing numbers of African Americans escaped slavery's bitter grasp and settled North. Nearly four hundred thousand African Americans escaped the institution of slavery by underground railroad (Galbreath 1925). Soon these newly freed African Americans mounted a systematic challenge to the root of the slave system.

While abolitionist and anti-slavery advocates lobbied against federal, state, and local pro-slavery laws and supported the underground railroad, colonizationists lobbied to educate Blacks for their return to Africa. Both groups rallied against the institution of slavery; however, neither group was wholly committed to social equality among the races. Peoples of African descent participated in both movements as well as political organizations such as the National Negro Convention Movement. Each of these movements played a significant role in the freedom struggle.

In reaction, supporters of slavery and many lower-class whites rioted, burning the homes and churches of African Americans. In addition, violent, physical attacks on persons of color led to a number of deaths. Because of the commonality of skin tone, there was little to no distinction made between African Americans who were free and those who were not. This attitude locked Blacks into a classification that allowed for little social or political diversity within the group when a number of African Americans had been free for two or three generations. In fact, attacks on Negroes were so violent and frequent that the government was forced to intercede in 1842.

Another example of the dilemma faced among freed blacks after passage of the Fugitive Slave Act is revealed in the case of Rachel Parker. On December 31, 1851, a professional slave-catcher crossed the Pennsylvania boarder, kidnaped seventeen-year-old Rachel Parker, a free-born Pennsylvanian, and took her to Baltimore, Maryland, a city where the African American had no rights. A campaign to return Ms. Parker to her home was initiated by Joseph C. Miller of East Nottingham Township from whose farm Ms. Parker was taken. East Nottingham Township is located four miles from Oxford, Pennsylvania, three miles from the Maryland state line, four miles from Lincoln University, twenty miles from the current location of Cheyney University, and some forty miles outside of Philadelphia.

Miller obtained a court order to detain Ms. Parker. After a three year political and legal battle, she was rescued and an attempt was made to bring her back from Baltimore (Bond 1976, 203). During their return, John Dickey, the founder of Ashmun Institute (later named Lincoln University), Joseph Miller and other sympathizers involved in the case, were met by mobs. In retaliation for his involvement in the case of Rachel Parker, Miller was given a dose of arsenic and met a very suspicious death. Rachel Parker, however, was returned safely. As demonstrated in the story of Ms. Rachel Parker, life among free blacks was quite precarious.

During the antebellum period, educational opportunities leading to the advancement for the descendants of Africa were very limited. By and large there was no provision for learning in the higher branches, and nearby schools would not grant admission to persons of color. Although a small number of individual African Americans attended schools such as Oberlin and Middlebury College, educational opportunities for the broader segment of freed African Americans had not been achieved. There were exceptions; for example, Alexander Lucius Twilight, the first Negro to obtain a college degree in the United States, graduated from Vermont's Middlebury College in 1823; and Mary Jane Patterson, the first female graduate of African descent, received her degree from Oberlin in 1862. The greater task, however, was the provision of education, particularly higher education, for African Americans on a much broader scale. Before the founding of Lincoln, Cheyney, and Wilberforce, this challenge had not been addressed.

Now that the historical context for the evolution of higher education for persons of African descent has been established, the paper will examine each of the targeted institutions. This discussion will include the founding, naming, significant preconditions, early curriculum, student life, and governance. We begin with Lincoln University.

Ashmun Institute, now Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, was founded by Reverend John M. Dickey, a colonizationist and leader in the Presbyterian Church. The son of Reverend Ebenezer Dickey, a Scotch-Irish immigrant into southeastern Pennsylvania, the elder Dickey was a cornerstone of the Presbytery and the Chester County community. Both Dickeys were well known for being actively involved in religious and civic activities of the period. John Dickey, Lincoln's founder, was intimately involved in the case of Rachel Parker and was later influenced by the case of John Amos in deciding to establish an institution of higher learning for persons of African descent.

Ashmun Institute was founded in 1854 as a private, Presbyterian institution of higher learning in Hinsonville, Pennsylvania, a community of free African Americans in southeastern Pennsylvania. Several stops along the underground railroad remain on the campus until this day.

Lincoln was first named in honor of Jehudi Ashmun, a Congregationalist minister and supporter of the American Colonization Society. Ashmun did extraordinary work for Africans on both continents. He died in 1828; however, during his last mission to Africa, his efforts had helped to establish the colony of Liberia. In 1866, the school's name was changed from Ashmun Institute to Lincoln University in honor of President Abraham Lincoln. The history of Lincoln University begins with the dream of one of its first graduates—James R. Amos.

Amos, a young freedman from Chester County, Pennsylvania had a dream to advance his education. While in his twenties, he had settled on small farm in Hinsonville, a small community of freed blacks in Southeastern Pennsylvania. Amos worked hard, only taking rest on Sunday to attend church. After a while, Amos felt the call to preach. He had already been ordained as a minister of the African Methodist Church, but wanted to further his training in the ministry. With this goal in mind, Amos sought the counsel of Reverend John M. Dickey and requested that Dickey help him to further his religious training (Murray 1973, 393, Thomson 1898, 392).

Dr. Dickey secured admission for Amos in a Philadelphia school that was connected with the Presbyterian Synod. After a short time, racial intolerance on the part of white students created a problem. Their narrow-mindedness demanded that Amos be made a porter. This was unacceptable. Amos refused this subordinate position, and subsequently was dismissed.

After repeated unsuccessful efforts to help Amos gain entrance to virtually every institution of higher education in the Union, Dickey himself, ended up tutoring Amos. A dedicated student, James R. Amos walked twenty-eight miles each a week to recite to Dr. Dickey. During the weekly visits, Amos would pray by a stone in a nearby secluded area of the field. That stone is said to have become a part of the foundation of the first building of Ashmun Institute.

After continuous rejection of Amos from institutions of higher education for which he was academically prepared, Dickey made plans to establish a school of Christian training for African American male youth. With the help of his wife, Sara Cresson, and many, many others, in 1854, Lincoln was chartered as a liberal arts institution for scientific, classical, and theological education. The expressed mission of Ashmun was to train males of African descent to teach others and to serve as missionaries in Africa. The first class of students was admitted in 1857, with the first class of graduates ordained and licensed by 1859.

Although Lincoln was established for the purpose of educating Colored male youth, it enrolled several white students as early as 1873. Baccalaureate degrees were conferred in 1868, with A.B. Degrees granted by 1870. Two Ph.D.'s were awarded, one in 1892 and the other in 1910. Women were admitted in the 1950s.

Following the Princeton model, the early curriculum of Ashmun Institute was rooted in the classics. Lincoln was among the earliest of institutions of higher education in Pennsylvania to include the science and the art of teaching in its liberal arts curriculum. Instruction was comprised of both college and seminary subjects. The early curriculum included the classics and theology, as well as some general courses or electives.

Student decorum was extremely important to the institution. Those enrolled were held to a rigorous academic program and were to exhibit and maintain the highest of moral standards. Faculty were largely responsible for monitoring the code of conduct and students could be dismissed for a number of reasons. Examples included: public drunkenness, visiting families in the neighborhood, misrepresentation of reasons for going into the town of Oxford, and for leaving campus without permission. Other offenses might include practical jokes, water fights, gambling, destruction of university property, possession of weapons, and the use of alcohol.

The first sign of organized student disorder came in 1890 when seniors refused to take part in an examination required by the faculty. As a result, the entire class was dismissed. Most of the students who were dismissed felt remorse for their actions and were subsequently re-admitted. A few graduated the next year and some transferred to other institutions. Of those who transferred, one returned later as president of the board of trustees. Another issue relating to governance is worthy of mention. In 1875, students began to question the racial make up of their board of trustees and faculty. Ironically, Lincoln had a policy that prohibited African Americans from being part of the faculty or administration. For the students, this was unacceptable. Even after much debate and student opposition, this policy remained in effect; that is, the faculty and management remained white until 1931 when the board adopted a resolution to employ faculty regardless of color. The first African American president would be appointed in 1954, ninety-one years after Lincoln was chartered.

While the founding of Ashmun Institute marks a pivotal point in the evolution of educational opportunities for peoples of African descent, it was not the only institution chartered during this period. Another antebellum institution of higher learning, the Institute for Colored Youth, later known as Cheyney University was also founded during the antebellum. Like Lincoln, Cheyney was founded in Pennsylvania and was also chartered to serve the educational needs of people of African descent. The Institute for Colored Youth also holds a unique position in the evolution of American higher education.

The Institute for Colored Youth, now known as Cheyney University, was chartered in 1837, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to fulfill the dream of its distinguished Quaker benefactor, Mr. Richard Humphreys, who was born on one of the British Virgin Islands. His parents were members of The Religious Society of Friends. As with many of his associates, Richard gave freely to humane causes. The Institute for Colored Youth was one of them.

Richard Humphreys, a Philadelphia Friend, bequeathed $10,000 for the establishment of a training school for African American youth upon his death in 1832. Encouraged by the interest of African Americans, the Quaker Board of Managers bought land, erected a building, hired teachers, and set up a curriculum equal to that of other high schools in the city. In the midst of this country's great racial divide, Richard Humphreys offered another ray of hope.

First named The African Institute, the school was renamed at a meeting of the Association on April 19, 1837 to The Institute for Colored Youth. The Institute would go through several name changes and today is called Cheyney University.

Philosophically, Quakers were hesitant about creating theological seminaries and the provision of classical education; therefore, the Institute for Colored Youth was established to provide training in various branches of the mechanical arts and trades in agriculture (Conyers 1990, 9). It was also designed to prepare students to serve as teachers. Because there was no provision for learning in the higher branches, the curriculum encompassed a number of different programs and fluctuated between manual and academic subjects. In time, the Institute for Colored Youth got on its feet and expanded the curriculum to include an apprentice program, a girls' and boys' preparatory school, boys' and girls' high school and an evening school, each being offered simultaneously. As the Civil War approached, the Institute offered six different programs simultaneously to both males and females of African descent.

Student life at the Institute was unique. Although the Institute was chartered in 1837, the first class of five students arrived on October 5, 1840. These eleven and twelve year old male students were admitted from The Shelter for Colored Orphans (Conyers 1990, 30). In that capacity, students were admitted from the shelter and bound to the Institute until they were twenty-one. Female students were admitted with the opening of the high school in 1852.

Conditions began to deteriorate two years after the admission of the first class. Students were progressing satisfactorily with their studies, however, literary education began to take second place to farm work. By summer of 1843, there was no teacher, and the daily school closed due to the pressure of farm work. A typical day went like this: rise at 6:00 a.m. with breakfast at 7:00 a.m. Academic instruction (when in session) began at 8:00 a.m. with manual instruction (farm work) at 10:00 a.m. Dinner was served at 12:00 with an afternoon school session beginning at 1:30 p.m. and ending at 5:00 p.m. Supper began at 5:30 p.m. and students were to retire after 7:00 p.m. The basic meal plan, which cost four cents, included fried mush and potatoes with bread and milk or molasses for breakfast. Dinner included soup and meat on alternate days with vegetables, rice, and flour pudding or plum pie. Supper consisted of bread and milk or mush and milk (Conyers 1990, 30).

Students were not happy with this arrangement. They felt that they were being treated as farmhands with no provision for classroom instruction, and soon, they began to run away. Other students were discharged because of rebellious behavior. At one point, the managers received word that a fire had occurred under suspicious circumstances near the outhouse. Less than a month later, another student, Elias Montgomery, ran away. The board would be called together on several occasions because of student disruption. Because these students were indentured, they were either returned to the school or their names were permanently stricken from the roster. Discontent among students ran so high that in 1846, only six years after the first students arrived, the Institute suspended operations. The Institute for Colored Youth continued in this struggle and produced students who went on to teach others of their race. The Institute rendered an important service by offering instruction to a number of African Americans who otherwise would not have had the opportunity for educational advancement.

Many years of hard work had gone into fulfilling the mission of the Institute, and on the eve of our nation's Civil War, it was achieving its mission as an institution of higher learning for African American youth. Even though certificates of accomplishment were presented after 1856, the first Bachelor of Arts degree was not conferred until 1932.

Like Lincoln and Cheyney, a third institution devoted to the educational needs of people of African descent is Wilberforce University in Xenia, Ohio. It was the outgrowth of a proposal that was made by the Cincinnati Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Founded in 1856, the university was located at the Tawawa Spring Resort, along the borders of West Virginia and Kentucky. As with Lincoln University and the present location of Cheyney, the school is directly aligned with the underground railroad. In fact, there are two principal stations of the underground railroad on the campus.

In 1855, John Wright, a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church in coordination with the African Methodist Episcopal Church, set out to purchase the Tawawa Springs property. He was prepared to offer one-fourth of $10,000 as a down payment with the remainder due with interest in three installments. The offer was not accepted. That same year, another offer of $12,000 was refused. In March of 1856, another bid of $13,000 was presented and adopted and the Tawawa Springs Resort property was sold to the Methodist Episcopal Church (Payne 1873, Folder 2, Payne 1891, 423-424).

A few years later, in 1863, as a result of tensions between the North and South over slave territory, the school almost closed for good. Instead, through the work and vision of Bishop Daniel Payne, an African American member of the original governing body of Wilberforce, the charter was changed and ownership was transferred into the hands of the African American Methodist Episcopal Church. Without conferring with his colleagues of the general Methodist Church, Bishop Payne appeared on the day that Wilberforce was to be sold. Seconds before the grace period was up, Payne appeared and ran to the front of this distinguished group and exclaimed, ". . . In the presence of parties authorized to sell and with hands lifted to the heavens, in the name of God I purchase this property for the cause of Christian Education!" (Welch 1906, 12).

Although others placed bids on the property, Payne was able to purchase the land for $10,000 for the African

Methodist Episcopal Church. Thus, Bishop Payne saved Wilberforce University, making it the first institution in America to be owned and governed by people of African descent.

First named the Ohio African University, before issuing the original charter, the name was changed to reflect the life and work of William Wilberforce, the famous English philanthropist and abolitionist. William Wilberforce is remembered as a person who directed and enlightened public opinion against the British slave trade. A strong advocate for human rights and liberties, Wilberforce made eloquent and fearless speeches advocating on behalf of the disadvantaged and the oppressed.

The educational objective of Wilberforce was to provide men and women, particularly those of African descent, with a means of moral and social uplift. The posture of the Methodist Episcopal Church coincided with the desires of the African Methodist Episcopal Church where both were concerned with the intellectual and moral condition of thirty thousand people of color who were now residing in Ohio and the other free states. They both believed that African Americans in the West should also have opportunities for higher education. As with Lincoln University, Wilberforce was chartered and mandated to begin as a university, where the classics were at the heart of the academic curriculum. It was hoped that graduates would go on to teach and Christianize others. Operating with a normal school and with a preparatory department, students of Wilberforce enjoyed their rich surroundings.

When Wilberforce opened its doors to students in 1857, its popularity was evident as enrollment figures increased from a handful to more than two hundred. Not only did Wilberforce admit both male and female students, the population included a number of mulatto children. Significant to Wilberforce, these students were the sons and daughters of plantation owners (McGinnis 1962). Although it has been verified that some of the early students were from established families of Ohio and the Southern and Southwestern states, exact figures and names are not readily available. It is possible their identities were intentionally protected. Others were from the free states of Ohio, Pennsylvania, and California. A majority of these students excelled in their studies, going on to become teachers themselves.

As the academic program advanced, so did the agitation of the Civil War. Because a large number of supporters of the school were slave holders, when the war broke out, these gentlemen entered the rebel service and their children were withdrawn. In turn, the school's income dropped and as the threat of Civil War advanced, the institution had to close. Approximately one year later, in 1863, with transfer of the property to the African American Methodist Episcopal Church, the institution was once again in operation.

Even with this advancement, the threat of violence loomed over the community. University personnel were afraid that fires would be set by those who opposed this advancement in educational opportunity. When it rained, they were happy. Although the majority of Xenians opposed slavery, there was considerable resistance on the issue of social equality and education. During the antebellum period, with the exception of Oberlin College, Wilberforce University was the predominant Western institution available to those people of color in Ohio and the West who sought higher education.

With the transfer of Wilberforce from the Methodist Episcopal Church to the African Methodist Episcopal Church, Wilberforce became the first African American university to be owned and governed by African Americans. Because of Wilberforce, educational opportunities for males and females of African descent were greatly improved. Wilberforce occupies a distinctive and unique place within American higher education.

Although research on this topic is much more in-depth and broader than could be presented in this work, three historical facts have now been presented. First, Lincoln University is the first university expressly intended for the higher education of African Americans. Second, Cheyney or the Institute for Colored Youth is the first institution to offer higher learning and third, Wilberforce University is the first institution of higher education to be owned and operated by African Americans.

It is evident that African Americans and their supporters were determined to have access to an organized system of higher learning. The fact that this goal was achieved during a period when the great masses of people of African descent were held in bondage lends even greater significance to the undertaking and its success.

Clearly, Lincoln, Cheyney, and Wilberforce Universities form the cornerstone of the advancement of opportunities in higher education for peoples of African descent. Part of their significance is derived from the fact that they were chartered during a period of crisis and debate regarding African American destiny and character. They are also distinctive in their missions to serve a population of newly freed persons for whom educational opportunities did not exist. The chartering of these three institutions offering a systematized approach to higher learning and higher education to African Americans during the antebellum period is a testament to the dedication and resolve of the newly freed Africans and their supporters to improve the quality of life for persons of African descent within the continental United States and abroad. The fact that they withstood and overcame the difficulties of the antebellum period and remain in existence today is a major accomplishment of which they can all be proud.

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Teacher Preparation: From Common School Training to Professional Education

Courtney Vaughn Joan K. Smith
University of Oklahoma

In the United States, the term "professional" was closely linked to the Progressive Era's enchantment with scientific study. Scientific knowledge in any number of fields was abounding, and observers came to view a profession as an occupation that could claim a sophisticated theory base and practitioners who had the autonomy to apply this information in the service of "clients." Although educators sought to meet and demonstrate these professional criteria, teaching remained a low status occupation. In part, this was because social convention viewed females, who came to dominate teaching during the late nineteenth century, as ideal due to their moral virtue and innate ability to nurture children. This paper will provide an overview of the process of raising the status of teaching through professionalization."

Throughout the decades of the nineteenth century, private normal schools existed solely to train teachers; however, by the early twentieth century, they began to decline as state and city normals became increasingly popular. In general these state normals were not able to provide the necessary numbers of teachers for the common school, so they trained high school teachers and public school administrators. The teachers for the common schools were prepared in county normal, city normal, and high school normal departments. From 1870 to 1900 the number of normal schools grew from sixty-nine to 289, with two teachers colleges, while the number of public school teachers increased from 201,000 to 423,000. By 1910 the normal school number had decreased to 247 while the number of teachers colleges increased to twelve of the 379 institutions preparing teachers. During this period public school enrollment increased from 6,792,000 elementary and 80,000 high school students in 1870 to 16,899,000 elementary and 915,000 high school students in 1910 (Folks 1982).

During the last half of the nineteenth century, as normal departments, the fledgling American high school became involved in teacher preparation. Teacher institutes were also a common form of teacher preparation. They had begun under Connecticut's Henry Barnard in 1839 and had spread across the country in the next decades. They were often supported by fees and lasted from a couple of days to six weeks. They offered elementary subjects, teaching methods, and school management. This form of training continued into the twentieth century (Stinnet 1969, 392; Herbst 1989, 388).

As state universities opened their doors, almost immediately they established chairs of education or pedagogy: New York University in 1832; Brown and Indiana universities in 1852; Iowa in 1855, Wisconsin in 1856; Missouri in 1858; Kansas in 1876; North Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming in 1881; and the University of Chicago in the early 1890s. During the early decades of the twentieth century many of these universities expanded educational offerings and created comprehensive schools and colleges of education that offered both undergraduate teacher preparation and graduate education programs (Ryan 1975, 6-7). By 1900 it was estimated that 350 educational institutions offered teacher preparation. This estimate included normal schools and departments in high schools and academies. (United States Commissioner 1896-1900; Herbst 1989, 388).

Responsibility for certification also shifted from the local and county to the state level. In 1894 only three states issued all certificates, with thirty-five states utilizing a combination of state and county authorization. By 1919 there were twenty-six state systems in control of all teacher certification with only seventeen combining a state-county authority (Ryan 1975, 6-7).

Industrialization changed the nature of work for men, increasing their opportunities in both manual labor and the professions. Often, even non-skilled positions were higher paying than teaching, and, consequently, the percentages of male teachers to the total diminished throughout the nineteenth century. By 1880 only thirty-two percent of the nations educators were men. Forty years later that figure had decreased to less than sixteen percent, the lowest ever recorded in the history of teaching. (Although the aggregate numbers rose, from 73,335 in 1880 to 116,848 in 1920.) Those men who remained in the classroom or continued to teach did so for several reasons--doing God's work, escaping manual labor, or entering a pathway to educational administration. As a result, males were increasingly in charge of the schools. For example, the number of female elementary and secondary administrators declined from 1905 to 1920 (Tyack and Strober 1981, 140-141; Morain 1980, 161-170 Richardson and Hatcher 1983, 81-99; Rury 1986, 215-235; Farr (Vaughn) and Liles 1991, 234-248; Shakeshaft 1987, 16-55; United States Census 1883, 1893, 1904, 1914, 1923).

One prominent women who gained respect as a "professional" in the male dominated area of school administration was Ella Flagg Young (1845-1918). She was one of the first graduates of the Normal Department of Chicago High School. Young completed the course in 1860 when she was sixteen years old. By 1909 when she became the first female superintendent of a major school system, and, later, when she earned a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago under the direction of progressive educator, John Dewey, most aspects of the educational enterprise in Chicago were gender segregated: elementary and secondary teacher; principal and district superintendent; and normal school principal were male.

While principal of the Chicago Normal School, Young made certain that the practice teaching experience of the normalites occurred in schools that reflected the growing cultural diversity of the city. Student teachers were supervised and evaluated by a normal school supervisor, a critic teacher, and the practice school principal. She also founded a journal, the *Educational Bi-Monthly*, for the purpose of not only enlisting the "work of the theorist but the practical teacher also" (Smith 1979, 117). By the time Young left the Normal for the superintendency of Chicago's Public Schools (1909-1915), her work was on solid scientific and pedagogical ground. Yet her national professional service had just begun. In 1910 she became the first elected female president of the NEA (Smith 1979).

Throughout Young's career, her thinking progressed toward a feminist insistence on the social equality of men and women. In fact her professional persona was implicated by what was classically considered a male ethic. Those who worked with her likened her service to that of a man. When she died of pneumonia from a bout with Spanish Influenza while touring the country to raise money from the sale of war bonds, Secretary of State William McAdoo said that she "died in the service of her country working like a soldier" (McAdoo, cited in Smith 1979, 230). In fact, the "Nineteenth Depot Company, Illinois Reserve Militia, accompanied the mourners to her grave so that a hint of a military funeral prevailed" (Smith 1979, 230). Furthermore, her successor at the Chicago Normal said, "'had she been a man [she] would have directed a great corporation, managed a railroad, served as governor of a state, or commanded an army'" (Cited in Smith 1979, 230-231).

While some women struggled to redefine themselves in alternative ways to the hegemonic Euro-American norms, the image of all women as nurturers and men as managers has encouraged teaching to be seen largely as a non-intellectual woman's field. Despite the label, significant strides to augment teachers' academic credentials continued. But these changes were influenced by social convention as evidenced by the greater emphasis on the professionalization of administration and secondary than on elementary teaching (Patrick, Griswold, and Vaughn-Roberson 1985, 139-157).

In 1920 no state required a bachelor's degree for elementary certification, but ten states required it for secondary certification. By 1970 forty-seven states required it for elementary certification and fifty-two for secondary certification. These state numbers include Washington D.C. and Puerto Rico (Monroe 1952, 303; Folks 1982). From 1920 to 1970 the insistence on more and more higher education to receive professional status encouraged the closing or transformation of normal schools into teachers colleges that: 1) required a high school diploma for an entrance requirement; and 2) expanded their mission and their curricular offerings into areas other than teacher preparation such as the liberal arts and sciences. As the ratio of normal schools to teachers' colleges shifted, the number of institutions preparing teachers increased from 839 in 1920 to 1,005 in 1950; by 1970 teachers colleges had been either closed or transformed once again into masters and doctoral granting comprehensive institutions on a par with universities (Folks 1982).

A look at teachers colleges and private universities gives an overview of the typical teacher education program in both elementary and secondary education. For example, in a B.S. program for elementary education from a 1961 teachers college about forty-nine percent of the total program was devoted to pedagogy, while fifty-one percent pertained to the liberal arts out of a total of 125 hours. However, in a large private university in 1960, seventy-four percent of the total program of 113 hours were education courses, while twenty-six percent were liberal arts. This, again, was a B.S. in elementary education. In both cases the majors were elementary education. It is interesting to note that the teachers college required more total hours with a more even balance between subject content and pedagogy than did the large private university with a separate school of education.

Regarding secondary preparation for a B.S. in math education from a state teachers college in 1961, thirty-six percent of the total 122 hours was devoted to education, while sixty-four percent were liberal arts courses. Twenty hours or twenty-six percent of the liberal arts courses were in the mathematics major or about 16 percent of the total program. Comparing this to a B.S. in social studies education from a private university in 1961, twenty-three percent of the total program of 128 hours were education courses and seventy-seven percent were liberal arts with forty-six hours or about 46 percent of the liberal arts courses being in the social studies major; this is about 36 percent of the total program. In these two secondary cases, the private university provided more liberal arts work with more in the major than did the teachers college program. However, the practice teaching experiences represented a difference only of an hour and a half in both programs (Koerner 1963, 144-149).

In 1921 no state required college work for elementary certification. Thirty states had no stipulation for program preparation; fourteen required high school graduation; and four states defined some additional post high school requirements. By 1838-39 state teachers colleges and normal schools were under the control of state boards of education in seventeen states which constituted more than fifty percent of these institutions. This shift signaled the trend from certification by local examination of elementary school subjects to requiring some form of college preparation for both elementary and secondary teacher licensor. While all states required teachers to hold bachelors degrees, emergency and alternative certification procedures made this difficult to enforce (Stinnet 1969, 392-395).

The professional accrediting process began in 1907 when medicine developed the first accrediting body. This was followed by dentistry in 1909; architecture in 1914; business administration in 1916; law in 1921; engineering in 1934; optometry and veterinary medicine in 1941; and education in 1927 and again in 1951. The double dates for education reflect the shifts from normal schools and teacher colleges for teacher preparation into general purpose institutions of higher education. In 1927, the American Association of Teacher Colleges (AATC) attempted to initiate and employ national standards for teacher education institutions. However, due to the movement of teacher preparation to general purpose colleges and universities, AATC was never able to accredit more than about twenty-five percent (Stinnet 1969, 408).

By 1948 AATC merged with the National Association of Teacher Education Institutions in Metropolitan Areas, and the National Association of Colleges and Departments of Education to form the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education in (AACTE). The AACTE continued the accrediting work of the AATC until 1954 when it delegated the authority to the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). The make-up of this twenty-one member council was originally as follows: 1) six members of the legal state educational agencies (three from The National Council of Chief State School Officers--NCCSSO and three from the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education Certification--NASDTEC); 2) six members from the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards broadly representing the professionals in the field; 3) six from AACTE with the its president as chair of NCATE; and 4) three from the National Schools Boards Association (NSBA) (Stinnet 1969, 410-414).

Over the years NCATE has revised its policies, but NCATE accreditation has always been voluntary. In the past several years NCATE has developed partnerships with state boards of education. Today there are thirty-nine such partnerships. With approximately twelve hundred teacher preparation programs, seven hundred are members of AACTE and of that number around five hundred are currently accredited by NCATE (Andrews and Palmer 1958, 222-229; Cogan 1958, 317-321).

In 1967 state departments became the legal authority for teacher education. They set requirements and controlled certification both initial and reissuing. More recently, teacher preparation commissions have assumed some of the authority for setting and evaluating standards for preparation programs. Competency or outcome based measures are also replacing semester hours for certification. However, most programs continue to require a general education component, a subject field block, and a professional educational sequence culminating in practice teaching or a practice teaching internship in five year programs.

Several studies done during the 1960s revealed that elementary programs required from about twenty to twenty-four hours or sixteen to twenty percent of the program to be in professional education. Another study of twenty-four institutions revealed that about 20 to 40 percent of the elementary programs were devoted to professional education. A similar study of 114 institutions showed that sixteen to twenty-one percent of the secondary programs were devoted to professional education. These percentages are far below those cited in earlier discussed examples from the 1960s. Thus, it would appear that, as liberal arts colleges and universities assumed the responsibility of teacher preparation, the percentage of the program devoted to professional education declined. The one caveat is that the hours of field-based experiences have increased the practice component of teacher education programs, because many states mandate at least one hundred clock hours prior to student teaching.

In the 1980s several reform efforts developed in an attempt to improve educational practices. These have included: 1) expanding teacher education to a fifth year and a masters degree; 2) working with K-12 schools to form professional development schools on the order of teaching hospitals; and 3) requiring increased field-based experiences plus a subject area block of courses for elementary majors (Andrews and Palmer 1958, 222-229; Cogan 1958, 317-321). But, in some respects, "professional" educators still faced an age-old dilemma. David Berliner hopefully writes:

> We in education are haunted by the public's erroneous belief that someone can walk in off the street and deliver a curriculum to 30 or so children. Raising any number of children and having gone to school for a number of years does not make an expert teacher. I believe we are on the threshold of creating a scientific basis for the art of teaching that will be acceptable to the general public as truly specialized knowledge (Berliner 1989, 2-6).

Despite Berlinger's reference to teaching as an art with a scientific base deserved of professional recognition, throughout all the many professionalization strides of the twentieth century, female educators (practitioners of and perhaps originators of the "art") have been devalued; while the modernization and professionalization of education have created high status, high paying administrative educational positions which women almost never hold. In 1905 women comprised 61.7 percent of the elementary administrators and 5.7 percent of the secondary administrators. By 1985 they were 16.9 and 3.9 percent respectively. Moreover, from 1870 to 1970 only six women were superintendents in the country's twenty-five largest cities. As recent as the early 1990s, only five percent of the nation's superintendents were female, and only nine of over fifty state school officers were women. Of the six national secretaries of education, only one has been a woman, Shirley Hufstedter; and she was an attorney. Historically, when women such as Chicago superintendent Ella Flagg Young have succeeded in such jobs, they have been perceived as behaving like men. Moreover, when males began making greater relative gains to females in teaching after 1920 it was in high school not elementary classrooms. In 1905, thirty-eight percent of the high school teachers were men, and by 1983 males comprised about fifty-one percent of the total; although, in the 1990s this percentage began to fall slightly (Shakeshaft 1987, 21; Cuban 1976; Chicago Tribune 1992, 5; Tabs 1990).

If indeed, nurturing is a trait that is not professionally valued, and society grants women less autonomy than men, then teaching may never achieve professional status. On the other hand, some educators are insisting on a new professional interpretation--in which an ideology of care is an essential component. Historically, it has provided the inspiration for teachers to dedicate themselves to serving others; demand autonomy; and increase their academic credentials. It is in society's best interests for educators to identify with and care for the communities (not "clients") they serve. Those citizens and patrons who do not now, could come to appreciate, rather than deprecate many educators' traditional commitment (Hargreaves 1994; Lieberman 1988; Spodek, Saracho, and Peters 1988).

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Charles Dickens' Unrecognized Authority as an Educator

Robert C. Hanna
Hillsdale College

Educational historians do not typically turn to works of fiction for primary evidence of actual pedagogical practices. Even when such sources are considered within the broader context of the culture within which they were written, it can easily prove problematic in attempting to ascertain the author's own pedagogical creed within that culture, if indeed the author even has one. For instance, if the author portrays a fictional teacher favorably, does this indicate that the author approves of all aspects of the teacher's pedagogy? If the author portrays a fictional teacher unfavorably, how much truth is found in that negative portrayal, and what does that truth reveal about what the author deems education should be? Certainly one does not study Aristophanes' *The Clouds* to become conversant with the Socratic method of questioning as a means of seeking universal truth, but does *The Clouds* even speak to Aristophanes' beliefs about education? And if it does, on what basis is Aristophanes deemed an authority on education, as opposed to being an authority on Greek comedy?

Charles Dickens is a much more recent writer of fiction who has in fact been deemed an authority on education. For instance, about thirty years after the novelist's death, the Inspector of Toronto Schools, James L. Hughes, wrote *Dickens as an Educator*. Hughes' preface begins, "This book has two purposes: to prove that Dickens was the great apostle of the 'new education' [of Friedrich Froebel] . . . and to bring into connected form . . . the educational principles of one of the world's greatest educators . . ." (1902, ix). Yet, as Philip Collins noted over sixty years later in *Dickens and Education*, "There is no reason to believe that [Dickens] read or was otherwise influenced by Froebel, or any other important educational theorist," adding that Hughes did not "produce any good evidence . . . that, specifically, Dickens was the first and greatest disciple of Froebel" (1964, 17-18). Nonetheless, the larger issue remains that neither Hughes' nor Collins' analysis of Dickens' fictional accounts of teachers in any way establishes that Dickens had any credentials as an educator, against which teachers in his novels might be judged.

It is not the intent of this paper to refute Hughes, Collins, or anyone else's assessment of Dickens as an educator, in the context of interpreting his novels. Rather, it is the intent of this paper to establish an accurate parameter regarding Charles Dickens' authority as an educator derived from his experience as a teacher of his own children. Curiously, a review of scholarship on this aspect of his life reveals that it was not until 1983, well over one hundred years after his death, that his experience teaching his own children was even acknowledged as a viable area of study.

Charles Dickens undertook what would today be termed home schooling, from 1846, when he had six children, to sometime before his death in 1870, when his youngest child was eighteen. Unlike some parents of today, however, Dickens was not dissatisfied with private and public school options. He was not even displeased with the Victorian middle class instructional approach of hiring a governess. On the contrary, with this one exception of Dickens' home schooling, Philip Collins (1964) reveals the wide variety of approaches to education which Dickens provided his nine children who survived infancy. For example, Charles, who was born in 1837, attended Mr. King's School from 1844 to 1849, Eton from 1850 to 1852, and Leipzig from 1853 to 1855. Francis, who was born in 1844, attended Gibson & Bewsher's School from 1853 to 1858 and Hamburg from 1858 to 1860. Two daughters were taught by governesses.

Dickens' approach to providing for the education of his children is consistent with the general findings of Edward E. Gordon and Elaine H. Gordon in *Centuries of Tutoring* (1990). In their chapter on "The Age of Domestic Education (1800-1900)," they write:

> Domestic education and school attendance were often combined during a child's education. Children might be instructed at home during childhood, with many boys sent to a formal school at adolescence, and then some attending a university to complete their education. However, for most girls instruction at home lasted far longer, even up to age fifteen or sixteen . . . . It was quite common for parents to give their son a combination of public and private education that mixed lessons from a tutor with school attendance. (193)

Writing specifically of England, they add:

> For large numbers of English children, education became a domestic industry staffed in the first place by the nanny in the nursery, governess in the schoolroom and supplemented by visiting tutors, or later attendance (especially for boys) at a college preparatory school. . . . When the child left the nursery and entered the schoolroom (age 7-8), girls and boys usually studied together. (210)

All that is missing from Collins' list, then, is the "nursery" education of Dickens' children, and this task the father undertook himself.

In 1846, Dickens composed what he later described as an "easy account" of selections from the New Testament, explaining in a letter written to his son Edward in 1868 that he did so "[b]ecause it is the best book that ever was, or will be, known in the world; and because it teaches you the best lessons by which any human creature, who tries to be truthful and faithful to duty, can possibly be guided" (Forster 1874, 446). Dickens, then, was intent on making selections from the New Testament accessible and meaningful to his children at ages both earlier than when schooling would occur under the direction of other teachers, tutors, or governesses, and earlier than the language of the King James Bible could be expected to achieve.

In all, five references by Dickens to his manuscript survive. The earliest reference merely states that Dickens completed his manuscript in 1846. The next reference, given above, occurs some twenty-two years later. What is significant is not that Dickens may or may not have referred to the manuscript in the interim period in correspondence which is now lost. Rather, at least three times during the last two years of his life, Dickens attested to the value of the curriculum which he selected from the New Testament and taught at home to his children. In October 1868, Dickens wrote to his son Henry:

> As your brothers have gone away one by one, I have written to each of them what I am now going to write to you. . . . I most strongly and affectionately impress upon you the priceless value of the New Testament, and the study of that book as the one unfailing guide in life. . . . [R]emember that I tried to render the New Testament intelligible to you and lovable by you when you were a mere baby. (Hogarth, Dickens, and Hutton 1903, 305-306)

On June 8, 1870, the day before his death, Dickens answered a reader's letter in which the reader had claimed that a passage in Dickens' latest novel was irreverent. Dickens replied to John Makeham as follows:

> I have always striven in my writings to express veneration for the life and lessons of our Saviour; because I feel it; and because I re-wrote that history for my children -- every one of whom knew it, from having it repeated to them, long before they could read, and almost as soon as they could speak. But I have never made proclamation of this from the house tops. (Hogarth, Dickens, and Hutton 1903, 361)

Dickens' assertion that he "repeated" the manuscript to all of his children "long before they could read" attests to his using the manuscript orally and helps explain his aforementioned comment that he rendered it to Henry when he was "a mere baby." Even though Dickens' eldest child, Charles, was nearly ten years old when his father wrote the manuscript, nowhere in the remaining correspondence does Dickens state or hint that after a certain age, his children were expected to read it on their own. Michael Piret, who worked extensively with the original manuscript for his 1992 annotation, describes "rather well-thumbed" leaves in concluding that "the piece seems to have been read in the household quite a lot" (9), to which should now be added "by Dickens."

The final letter exists only as an excerpt in a book written by the Reverend David Macrae in 1871. Although Macrae does not date this correspondence, he prefaces extracts from this letter as well as another:

> In 1861, I unexpectedly received from Mr. Dickens a letter of thanks for a paper published at the time in which I had endeavoured to point out the service his books had done to Christian morality. This led to a correspondence . . . . (127)

The relevant passage reads as follows:

> My reverence for the Divine Preacher of the Sermon on the Mount is not a feeling of to-day. I married very young, and had a large family of children. All of them, from the first to the last, have had a little version of the New Testament that I wrote for them, read to them long before they could

> read, and no young people can have had an earlier knowledge of, or interest in, that book. It is an inseparable part of their earliest remembrances. (128)

Dickens never published his manuscript, and it was not until his last surviving child died that the text was published in 1934, under a title not attributed to Dickens, *The Life of Our Lord*. The first of two annotated editions was completed in 1983. The author, Madonna Egan, explained her goals in annotating the entire text:

> Following the charting of each chapter and its sources is an analysis of the text which focuses on close reading, use of sources, Dickens's pedagogical techniques, relationship to other writings of Dickens, comments on language and style, and any insights provided by studying the chapter in its manuscript form. (54)

However, her specific commentary on pedagogical techniques is sparse and even disjointed. This results specifically from her attempt to analyze Dickens' text as static, written pedagogy instead of as interactive oral pedagogy.

For example, Egan encounters difficulty when she attempts to credit Dickens with "vocabulary adjustments to help the children's understanding . . ." (90) but then finds that words elsewhere have been changed "so that the children will not be misled by a too literal interpretation" (202) and that additional "vocabulary strikes us as cumbersome and inappropriate for small children . . ." (226). Such an approach is not what Egan variously labels in her first chapter of annotation good pedagogy, careful pedagogy, or good religious pedagogy. Rather, it is an attempt to limit Dickens' pedagogy to the word of the text instead of relating the written word to the context in which it was orally provided.

In 1992, Michael Piret, author of the second annotated edition, misinterpreted Dickens' oral pedagogy as well. To support his "view . . . that Dickens was rushing when he wrote the latter part" (180) of the text, he asserts:

> For example: when we recall [Dickens'] careful explanation of what a camel is, in the second chapter, we may well ask why, in the eighth, he tells the children that the crowd in Jerusalem shouted "Hosanna!" to Christ; but does not pause to tell them what the word means. (181)

Piret is fruitlessly searching for consistency within a static written text. Whether Dickens wrote the latter part of his manuscript in haste or not is irrelevant to Dickens' implemented pedagogy. Presenting the text orally with his children during their nursery years allowed Dickens innumerable opportunities to answer any son's or daughter's question, "Papa, what does 'Hosanna' mean?" or to provide the requisite information, even if not asked.

For example, the full "camel" passage in Chapter the Second reads:

> You never saw a locust, because they belong to that country near Jerusalem, which is a great way off. So do camels, but I think you have seen a camel? At all events they are brought over here, sometimes; and if you would like to see one, I will shew you one. (Dickens 1981, 23)

There is no reason to suppose that every time Dickens reached this passage, he read its question aloud, word for word, and then renewed his promise to take his children to the London Zoo to see a camel for the first time. His promise would have to remain unkept, in order for him to renew it at each teaching of the second chapter. Moreover, at some point each child could be expected to have sufficient knowledge of a camel to enable Dickens to preclude any further commentary.

Of course, in a curriculum of Jesus' life and teachings, the existence of camels and locusts has less significance than, say, Jesus' parables and miracles. Therefore, just as Dickens would edit his oral presentation on an as needed basis and just as Dickens would answer his children's questions during and after his oral presentation, surely Dickens would have interrupted the text on occasion to satisfy himself that a lesson had been learned.

Educational historians do have a basis for deeming Charles Dickens an authority on a particular aspect of education, and this basis is quite independent of knowledge and interpretation of Dickens as a novelist. Philip Collins was more insightful than he realized when he wrote in his concluding chapter that Dickens "seems . . . at his best as a writer . . . on the earlier years of childhood and on the simpler basic needs of education" (1964, 219). Charles Dickens personally provided some of those simpler basic needs of education to his own children.

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The Utility of the Great Books Program

Teresa Hermiz
University of Dayton

A tiny college in Annapolis, Maryland, and its second campus in Santa Fe, New Mexico, offers one curriculum to every student for four years. During those four years each student reads, critiques, and reflects on the same one hundred books. Initiated at St. John's College in 1937 under the leadership of President Stringfellow Barr and Dean Scott Buchanan, the curriculum is called the Great Books Program (Barr 1967, 1). These books have been chosen on the basis of their influence on Western Civilization and span the humanities and sciences, including philosophy, history, logic, rhetoric, mathematics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, music, visual art, and literature. The faculty at St. John's College is responsible for additions or other changes to the reading list. The concept of the Great Books Program is not unique to St. John's; the classics of Western Civilization were taught in Europe's colleges from the thirteenth century. Furthermore, the first colleges in the colonies drew on the classics in order to pattern their colleges on the model of Oxford and Cambridge. The ultimate purpose of this curriculum has been and continues to be to develop individuals who think clearly, deeply, and independently, and thus are able to make good decisions for living.

According to the St. John's catalog, the Great Books Program is arranged in chronological order and is taught through seminars, preceptorials, tutorials, laboratories, and lectures. The seminar, which is the heart of the program, is conducted entirely as discussions of the assigned readings. All students are expected to participate. There are only two rules: 1. all opinions must be heard and explored regardless of any sharp clashes and 2. every opinion must be supported by argument. An unsupported opinion is discounted. Preceptorials, which are only for juniors and seniors, are similar to the seminars but the tutors guide the discussion. Each year tutorials are given in language, math, and music. Classes meet three or four times a week to analyze the given subject. Discussion is free but more focused on assigned tasks. Students meet in the laboratories to perform basic experiments from elementary physics and biology and to discuss and analyze them. Lectures are on Friday evenings and are followed by discussion. First year books are by Greek authors, second year books are from the Roman, Medieval, and Renaissance periods, third year the studies are from the Seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and fourth year the nineteenth and twentieth century writers are studied. This order gives a historical perspective and a sense of what is permanent through all the shifts and changes in history (St. John's College Catalog 1994).

The Great Books Program is opposed by advocates of vocationalism on the grounds that it is not utilitarian. They ask how the study of ancient books can prepare one for earning a living. Yet the proper study of these books is eminently utilitarian.

This is supported by a survey conducted by St. John's which shows that an education in the classics provides a foundation for employment or further study. Forty percent of the alumni, over a period of fifty years, responded to this survey done in 1993 with the following disclosures: 20% are engaged in business; 18.5% are in teaching or educational administration, with over half of them in colleges and universities; 8% are in law; 6.5% are in writing and publishing; 6.4% are in health professions with 5% being physicians or psychiatrists; 5.5% are in social services; 4% are in government and politics; 3.8 % in research; 3.6% in computer science; 3% in engineering; and 3% in visual and performing arts. This is evidence that this program prepares students for a life of continued learning and develops the cognitive skills, self-reflection, and independence.

Ignored by the vocationalists is the method of instruction which is as important as the books themselves. This method is dialectic (St. John's College Catalog 1994). That is, the students discuss the ideas found in the books and argue their opinions. No idea is accepted as automatically true; searching the books for truth and error is done by way of logic rather than from common assumptions.

Before the Great Books Program was established at St. John's College, Robert Maynard Hutchins and Mortimer J. Adler had started a Great Books Program at the University of Chicago. It was offered for two years to high school juniors and seniors. The program at St. John's was the full realization of what they had wanted for the University of Chicago. Hutchins and Adler argued that people would continue to repeat the errors of history by accepting, even inadvertently, the philosophies that created these errors. More than that, Hutchins and Adler believed many students were not getting an education that developed their character or their ability to think independently and make critical judgements. They thought a return to the classics would correct this situation. The classics contain the best and the worst that man has thought. They are referred to as classics because of their power and relevance to the urgent questions of every age. The focus of the Great Books is on those basic principles that are universal to all of humankind and not on those things we refer to as the individual differences (Hutchins 1936, 73, 75, 78).

In his book, *The Conflict of Education* (1953), Dr. Hutchins wrote that Americans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries generally thought compulsory free education would be sufficient for dealing with the issues raised by freeing the slaves, giving everybody the vote, and developing industrialism. It was thought there would never be a barbarian conqueror because war now requires knowledge of the arts and sciences. An educated man could hardly be a barbarian. We now know that an educated conqueror is even more dangerous than his predecessors. Nor has free compulsory education solved the problems created by freed slaves, women voters, and industrialization.

Authors such as Allan Bloom (1987, 141-145), Leonard Peikoff, (1982), and Ayn Rand (1982, 1-11) write convincingly of how world events are a direct result of the teachings of philosophers. The professors of St. John's College are working to develop students who, because of their careful and critical study of the most influential minds in Western Civilization, are capable of seeing these effects and can sort out the complexities in our world.

The opportunity for an individual to analyze and reflect on the diversities afforded by the Great Books Program leads to introspection about his own character and intellect, thereby enabling him to achieve a basic vital intellectual ability: the ability to abandon his cherished beliefs in the face of evidence and reason. If we are to save the world it will be through education: education that does everything possible to develop individuals who are able to change their minds when reason demands it.

Most important, the focus in the Great Books Program is on principles. The St. John's catalog refers to the authors of the classics as the actual teachers whose ". . . example encourages us to strengthen our faculties for grasping principles among particulars and discerning the essential in the apparently haphazard."

A life of continued learning is almost guaranteed by the intellectual nature of the classics as the reader is constantly challenged to delve more deeply into what is meant. Adler claims that we fail to give our students an education that prepares them for citizenship or a life enriched by continued learning (Adler 1988, xxv). He tried to invent an educational system that prepares all students for citizenship and a life of continued learning before embarking on a career, whether the student will become a truck driver or a physician.

Probably the greatest hindrance to the spread of the Great Books program is the fact that Adler and Hutchins were advocates of both logic and faith (Hutchins 1936, Adler 1977) and neither saw this as an untenable position. Reason, they both believed, was the answer to the dilemma of their times. This put them on firm ground, but when they spoke in support of faith their arguments became unarguable.

Both drew on logic, but, because they held certain beliefs that were outside the laws of logic, they were unable to prove their points. In the areas where reason was abandoned, neither could use logical argument. Thus their arguments were not convincing.

Pragmatists are not the only ones who challenge the implementation of the Great Books program. Vocationalists are also skeptical of the value of this course of study. However, Hutchins thought the universities should teach the theories behind vocations. He saw the emphasis on the particulars found in educational vocationalism as highly expensive and counter productive because of its everchanging nature. A number of compromises have been made between those who believe the classics should be studied and those who promote vocationalism. Most often the compromise has been to have two years of a liberal education and two years of vocational studies. The results are inadequate on both counts; the liberal courses usually lack depth, and the vocational courses quickly become passe.

The emphasis on vocationalism became most widespread after the passage of the GI bill. This bill brought 88,000 veterans to college campuses by 1945. By 1949 seventy percent of all male college students were former GIs and therefore educational opportunity was no longer tied to income. The ex-GIs were more interested in job training than in their intellectual development (Miller 1988, 115-6). Pragmatism was the popular philosophy of the day. Its effect on the student was to make him ask why he should spend money developing his mind when the philosophers were telling him his mind is incapable of knowing objective reality. Much better to gain training that will be put to immediate use (an objective reality he could not escape) making a living (Adler 1988). The market has continued to demand vocationalism.

Hutchins was certain that the classics would never be popular while pragmatism held sway. He writes quite extensively about this in his book, *The Conflict in Education* (1953). To this day it is commonly asserted on college campuses that "there is no right or wrong" and "what is right for me is not necessarily right for you". This pragmatic thinking makes intellectual pursuits seem useless.

The Great Books Program is similar to an old course taught at Oxford called Ancient and Modern Greats. It is similar to the education given in the colonial colleges to our Founding Fathers. No time in history has brought together a more august group of men--the most intelligent, logical, independent, and morally aware and concerned individuals the world has ever experienced. Their thinking and independence gave the world a form of government which has produced the freest and most productive nation on earth. Of the fifty-five signers of the Declaration of Independence, twenty-seven had graduated from a college or university. Twenty others had a less formal education or became self-educated to an equal or superior degree, such as Benjamin Franklin. These were men who had read the classics extensively.

Historian, James J. Walsh, searched the archives of the nine colonial colleges to learn what kind of education these founders had actually had. His findings were published in 1935 in *The Education of the Founding Fathers: A History*. These findings reveal many similarities between the colonial colleges and the Great Books Program. Grammar, logic, and rhetoric were the principal subjects for Freshmen and Sophomores. Cicero, Homer, Longinus, and Virgil (i.e. the classics) were also studied. Arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music were studied in the last two years, but the greatest emphasis was on the three philosophies: Natural, Mental and Moral; that is physics, metaphysics, and ethics respectively. All of these subjects are contained in the Great Books Program. In addition, disputations were held weekly throughout the school terms to help the students learn the rules of logic and develop the skills of debate (Walsh 1935, preface). These weekly disputations are similar to the seminars at St. John's. In both cases a deep understanding of the subject is developed. Rote memorization of the facts is not sufficient for debating issues that require reflection.

As part of the Commencement activities all candidates for the BA degree in the nine colonial colleges were required to formally debate a series of about one-hundred propositions. Printed copies of the propositions were passed out to learned members of the audience who wanted to take part in the public disputation that followed the formal debate. These propositions summarized the philosophical studies that were the principal occupation of the students during the last two years of their college course, and for a considerable portion of the first two years.

While it is true that the colonial colleges were established by puritans who wanted an educated clergy, classical education had such a liberalizing effect that puritanism was greatly diminished among the students. A study of their theses, many of which discussed Aristotelian ideas as well as theological issues, reveal this fact. Such a study also gives evidence of the scholarliness of the students and their understanding of the classics. A short list of representative titles demonstrates this: "There are no innate ideas," "Space is not a being," "Simple ideas are the foundation of every human cognition," "Two created spirits cannot occupy the same space at the same time," and "Ethics is equally capable of demonstration as mathematics." Evidence of the liberal trend at Harvard is this 1767 title: "No religion is rational without liberty of conscience." There were strictly physical and chemical theses such as "Earthquakes are caused by subteraneous heat" and "There is such a thing as the transmutation of metals." One title, "The diversity of sensation depends on the diversity of the nerves which carry it" pre-dates what is thought to be a nineteenth century discovery. "The knowledge of particulars is prior to that of universals" was presented and debated at Yale in 1770. In the same year we find, "Privations (negative qualities) have no true and real entity" (Walsh 1935, 14-24). Part of the difficulty in examining the theses is that they are all in Latin. Since the classics were written in Latin one could not enter a colonial college until he could use Latin readily. Today we have such good translations of the classics that St. John's students are not required to study Latin.

John Hancock, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Paine, Elbridge Gerry, William Ellery, William Williams, and William Hooper are signers of the Declaration of Independence who graduated from Harvard. The three most intellectual men of the time–Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, and Henry Clay--had all studied with signer George Wythe. Thomas Jefferson became a William and Mary graduate. Benjamin Rush, referred to as the "Hippocrates of Pennsylvania", was a Princeton graduate. The list goes on as Dr. Walsh describes the education of each of the signers in the first chapter of his fascinating book.

Knowledge of the classics is evident in the writings of several of the signers. An eminent example is Mr. Jefferson's wording of the Declaration of Independence, for most of these words came from John Locke whose works are studied at the St. John's college.

Walsh said of each of the signers that they continued to study the classics all their lives. They saw that the reflections on human life made by these authors were pertinent for all times. Richard Henry Lee, Charles Carroll, and Mr. Jefferson have given abundant evidence in their writings of this continued love of learning. Macready, the well known British actor, wrote in his "Reminiscences" about meeting Mr. Jefferson: "In all my life's experiences I have never met a more finished gentleman. At his advanced age he kept up his acquaintance with the classics" (Walsh 1935, 355). Dr. Walsh goes on to speak of each of the founders with phrases like that applied to Thomas Nelson, Jr. of Virginia who was educated at Cambridge: "He acquired a taste for literature, which continued to occupy him for the rest of his life" (40). All of this suggests that Adler was correct in his idea that the classics keep drawing one back to delve more deeply into their meaning.

Mr. Jefferson gave much credit for his own development to Dr. William Small, a professor at William and Mary. Dr. Small taught mathematics, philosophy, ethics, rhetoric, and Belles Lettres. The two became daily companions. Mr. Jefferson expressed deep gratitude for his mentor who shared with him his way of looking at the meaning of life and the universe (Walsh 1935, 109-110).

From Dr. Small he learned to defend the proposition that authority for government derived from the governed. Study of the colonial theses reveals that this was the commonly held philosophy of the colleges (Walsh 1935, 111). Few men could afford to attend college but certainly these men knew how to reason and by means of reason to convince others of the rightness of their cause.

In a recent telephone conversation (13 Sept. 1996), the Dean of St. John's College, Eva Brann, said the greatest value the students received from their work at SJC was the ability to really listen to others and to speak their thoughts with clarity. The ability to speak with clarity, derived from clear thinking, applies equally well to the Founding Fathers who had the formidable job of convincing their constituents to risk their lives in order to free themselves of tyranny.

That the Founding Fathers were men of independence is an obvious and vital fact. They founded a country on that principle. Independence can only be experienced by individuals who are ruled by evidence and reason rather than by other men. Study of the classics gives men and women the opportunity to know this.

Just as independence was a result of the Enlightenment education of the Founding Fathers, so independence is a likely result of the Great Books Program. Thomas Jefferson penned a letter in 1800 to fellow signer, Dr. Benjamin Rush, "I have sworn upon the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man" (1993, 511). Patrick Henry told his colleagues "Give me liberty or give me death". The world has never witnessed a greater demonstration of independence than is embodied in these words or in the pledge to risk their lives, fortunes, and sacred honor by signing the Declaration of Independence.

Our Founding Fathers have given us a nation that is conducive to real education for its citizens. We, the governed, need to understand the fundamental principles of freedom and how best to protect it. The Great Books Program gives us, in the words of Matthew Arnold, "knowledge of the best that has been said and thought in the world."

The history of higher education clearly demonstrates that radical changes can be established when thinking is altered. Many colleges, after World War II, dramatically changed from classical to utilitarian instruction when students were convinced that vocational training would give them what they wanted. We can just as dramatically convince them that studying the very best and the worst of human thought is the best foundation for achieving their goals. To accomplish this we must first recognize, as the Great Books Program does, that the development of man's cognitive skills is fundamental. Addressing the 1974 graduating class at West Point, philosopher Ayn Rand said, "Nothing is given to man automatically, neither knowledge, nor self-confidence, nor inner serenity, nor the right way to use his mind. Every value he needs or wants has to be discovered, learned and acquired . . . . Philosophical training gives man the proper intellectual posture--a proud, disciplined control of his mind." It is for the achievement of this mental posture that the Great Books Program is eminently utilitarian.

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Education of Adults in Charleston, South Carolina in the Early National Period

Huey B. Long
University of Oklahoma

The historiography of education of adults is complicated because it has no principal institution (Long 1988). It is, therefore, difficult to grasp the historical significance of education of adults as it is spread throughout numerous agencies, organizations and institutions identified with other historical problems. Despite the pluralistic (Long 1979) character of education for adults, historians generally have limited their attention to a few institutions such as the American Lyceum (Bode 1956). Because of the nature of early American society, education of adults was the result of participation in popular activities rather than participation in formal education institutions. The early history of education for adults in America may be better understood through study of what was known as self-culture.

A review of some important monographs on adult education reveals a general neglect of opportunities and /or provisions for education of adults in the South (Grattan 1955; Knowles 1977; Seybolt 1971a; Seybolt 1971b; and Stubblefield and Keane 1994). Regular and frequent treatment of education of adults in the South is scant. As a result, it is easy to conclude that the opportunities were of such paltry quantities as to deserve no consideration. Given the customary treatment of southern education opportunities for adults in the Colonial Period and Early National Period, it is obvious that the topic deserves our attention. Following the War of 1812 through the War Between the States American education for all ages became more institutionalized. Therefore, this inquiry is concerned with the question of what kinds of education opportunities for adults existed in Charleston, South Carolina following American independence.

Charleston, originally known as Charles Towne or Charles Town until 1783, was a cultural center attracting aristocrats and planters, who left their rural estates and plantations for communal life among the social elites of the city during the winter months. This group of planters, merchants, and professionals comprised an oligarchy, which influenced the character of Charleston. Although there existed a close relationship among the elite, leadership opportunities and intellectual intercourse were "open to all (whites) with talent and morals" (Zola 1994, a.). Thus, one way to gain access to this privileged group was through education. For the purposes of this article, education is used in a broad sense, including cultural societies, library subscriptions, apprenticeships, and the lyceum.

The *South Carolina Gazette*, first published in 1773, provides a glimpse of the development and character of this bustling city during its "golden era" (Rogers 1969). Some of the cultural societies founded during this time included the St. Andrews Society, formed in 1729 by Scots, was soon followed, in 1736, by the creation of the South Carolina Society to address varied charitable and social purposes. There is evidence that as early as 1736 Charlestonians frequented the theater (Molloy 1947). By the middle decade of the eighteenth century Charleston had become a center of wealth with an awakening interest in the arts. In 1761 the city population of about 8,000 was divided approximately equally between free whites and Black slaves (Rogers 1969).

The core group of Charleston society had the leisure to read, and the wealth and desire to build beautiful homes, to travel to other parts of the North America, Europe, and the Caribbean. The rich and cultivated life associated with the planters and merchants contributed to an ambience that impressed travelers for generations. According to Harris (1979/80) Duke La Rochefoucauld-Laincourt described the city as more sensitive to European manners than the inhabitants of northern states. His views were paralleled by those of Pope who, in 1792, also described the city as European. Henry Adams is reputed to have described Charleston as America's most civilized city. Others have described it as being one of the most cosmopolitan cities in America during the Early National Period (Pease and Pease 1985). Certainly it was one of America's wealthiest cities with much of the wealth evident in 1800 (Bridenbaugh 1952).

Charleston's popular education opportunities for self-culture compared favorably with other larger cities such as Boston and Philadelphia. For example, Charleston's library, dating from at least 1698, is among the earliest "public" libraries in the American colonies (Anania 1969/1970). In 1748 Charlestonian leaders formed a subscription

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Different authors prefer to use dissimilar conceptual organizations for discussing the formal and informal opportunities for adults in varying historical periods. There is a degree of general agreement, however, on some basic points. First, education of adults is not always limited to the formal institutions of education such as colleges and schools. Second, numerous activities related to daily life objectives include education outcomes. Third, informal and formal agencies and institutions organized for purposes that are not explicitly identified as educational have educational consequences. Therefore, when education of adults is discussed, it is not unusual to include the mass media of the period under study; discussion of this period includes books, magazines, and newspapers. Hence, book sellers, libraries, and publishers are important education agents. Other activities with multiple outcomes such as the theater and social clubs often are identified as providing educational opportunities also. Finally, there were opportunities for learning associated with occupational organizations and societies. In order to appreciate the educational environment in Charleston during the period from about 1790 to 1810 it is imperative to examine a variety of sources of popular education opportunities in Charleston, they were namely, apprenticeships, clubs and societies, libraries, public meetings, religion, schools, and tutors. (Bridenhaugh 1955, Cremin 1970, Harris 1979/80).

South Carolina adopted its first apprenticeship law in 1740 (Cooper and McCord n.d)) According to the colonial act males were to be apprenticed until age 21 and females until age 18, although a mutually negotiated agreement could reduce the obligation to a younger age. This provision, however, did not apply to involuntarily indentured poor and orphaned apprentices. As in most colonies, a binding contract was entered into by both the apprentice and master. The apprenticeship law in South Carolina differed from those of other colonies as the apprentice was endowed with full contractual power when signing the indenture. A signature of a parent or guardian was not needed. Therefore, at least in South Carolina, there is legal justification for defining apprenticeships as an educational provision for adults. Unlike laws in Massachusetts and New York, South Carolina law did not require the master to provide instruction in reading and writing.

South Carolina modified the colonial laws in the Early National Period to, among other things, address issues of involuntary indenture of the poor and orphans as a means for addressing their educational needs. The policy was not limited to South Carolina, however, as it was clearly and directly based on English Poor Law of 1601 (Anania 1969/70, 139). In 1799 South Carolina added an educational clause concerning the poor and orphaned apprentices, so that they conformed more closely with those of the northern states. Harris (1979/80) identifies 176 young males apprenticed from the Charleston Orphan House between 1792 and 1812. Most of the orphaned male apprentices noted above were placed at age 14 or 13; 33 and 30, respectively.

Charlestonian society has been represented in secondary sources as being particularly interested in the "polite arts" (Bridenbaugh 1952). While it appears that this label is used in an invidious manner to imply that such interests are less desirable than other enlightenment concerns, it is obvious that the wealthy Charlestonian society was attracted to architecture, dance, and the theater. Bridenbaugh says "in truth, no other American community gave them (the polite arts) more wholehearted patronage" (1952, 108). Despite the relative youthfulness of the Carolina Society, it was most successful in encouraging music, the theater, capable painters, and a distinctive architecture. During most the Early National Period, Charleston was one of four major theatrical centers in America. Credit for the success of the stage in Charleston goes to the local stock company and a substantial amount of local dramatic writing (Zola 1994).

Given Charleston's demographics and economy as noted above, the involvement of well informed and intellectually curious adults in diverse endeavors is an easy assumption to hold. Most important for our purposes, it is not an assumption that is difficult to support as a wealth of historical information confirms such activity. The American Philosophical Society, which grew out of Benjamin Franklin's Junto, was ably represented in Charleston by Dr. Samuel Beach, John Deas, Dr. Alexander Garden, Henry Laurens, Charles C. Pinckney, and Thomas Pinckney. The society sponsored lectures which, at least, during 1809 and 1810 were open to the public and were reported as being well supported (*Courier* 18 May, 6 June, 5 July 1809, *Times* 29 Jan., 14 May 1810). Another source of intellectual stimulation was the Philomathean society. Zola (1994) credits the Philomathean Society, an elite forensic association, as being pivotal in Isaac Harby's formative years. This debating and discussion society was not greatly unlike earlier English discussion and debating societies. Topics included moral, medical, legal, and religious issues. The society was another means by which the Nobility associated with the Mobility.

Charleston accounts for several important firsts in adult education opportunities associated with social organizations. For example, The South Carolina Society for Promoting and Improving Agriculture and Other Rural Concerns, incorporated on August 24, 1785, is recognized as the first purely agricultural society in the United States (True 1969). The Botanic Society and Garden of South Carolina, the first botanical society in America, was formed in August of 1805 (Bates 1945). Charleston was among the very early American cities to form a mechanics society. Even though the general historical literature traces the Mechanics' Institute to England and identifies it in America from about 1820, Charleston established a Mechanics Society in 1794 with 74 members from mechanics, manufacturers, and handicraftsmen. This date compares with a similar organization established in New York City in 1785 with 22 members. Perhaps it was the influence of these societies that contributed to what Bridenbaugh calls an astounding number of important achievements by the medical community (1952). The presence and activity of these societies, clubs, and associations suggests that the relatively small city of Charleston, separated by hundreds of miles from the larger American urban centers in the Early National Period provided many educational opportunities for adults.

The print medium is considered to be among the most inclusive educational media. Therefore, the balance of this paper examines the opportunities for education presented by the printed word in Charleston between 1790 and 1810. The print medium as an information and education source was more popular among early European-Americans than commonly recognized. Each city of any size had a book seller, and many had printers and newspapers. According to Kraut and Fox (1944) most of the American publishing, before 1820, was local. Most newspapers focused on topics of interest in the immediate vicinity. Printers also printed and distributed copies of sermons, public speeches, government documents, and a few favorite works of fiction, and broadsides. The majority of the publications were of an immediate or utilitarian nature designed to address religious, commercial, or political interests. Harris (1979/80) reports that more than nineteen imprints were released by the Charleston press annually during the twenty year period, an average of about one item every three weeks.

Publishers and others found additional ways to support themselves based on print media. The bulk of book publishing took place on the other side of the Atlantic and local printers often provided books from England and other European centers for sale. W. P. Young's lengthy career as a bookseller and printer illustrates the strength and viability of Charleston's book market in the Early National Period. He supplied Charleston's readers with books from his Broad Street book shop for more than twenty years, beginning in 1790. An indication of Young's inventory comes from local newspapers, the *City Gazette*, *Times*, and *State Gazette* which contained numerous advertisements, some listing as many as 100 titles, between 1790 and 1808 that noted Young's books. Other advertisement reveal the interest in French and Spanish languages among residents of Charleston. An advertisement in the *Courier* featured the works of more than thirty authors in French editions and several more in Spanish (*Courier* 10 Nov. 1806). The *City Gazette* also advertised their own book stocks.

Perhaps the most famous of the traveling book-sellers to visit Charleston was Mason Locke Weems, better known to history as Parson Weems. Parson Weems is noted for his biography of George Washington. In 1806 he wrote to his publisher that he has sold $1,000 worth of books in Charleston in six weeks (Harris, 1979/80, 42). Used books were sold in a variety of ways from auctions to part-time book merchants including owners of coffeehouses who sometimes sold both new and used books (*Courier*, 28 April 1806). Despite a small population of about 7,000 white citizens, a relatively active book market existed.

Books and related print media were pervasive in Charleston during the first two decades of the Early American Period. Newspapers, however, were even more ubiquitous. By 1800, American newspapers had a relatively long history of influence on the European-American mind and action. The censorship suffered by the newspapers of Peter Zenger and James Franklin had illustrated the need for a free press in the new Republic. As a result, Charleston newspapers made much of the importance of informing the citizens of the new nation. The editors of the *State Gazette* (23 January 1794) believed that ignorance was irreconcilable with republicanism, ignorance was the "pedestal of despotism" while the twin "pillars of liberty" were comprised of "knowledge and political information obtained from newspapers."

Newspaper editors often perceived their role as instructors of the people in numerous facets of life in addition to politics. This position is reflected in the pages of the *Courier* (13 Jan. 1803) where it was stated that many individuals obtained most, if not all, of their information from newspapers. Accordingly, the *Courier*'s editor offered to provide a range of materials calculated to have an affect on readers' minds and morals though information and amusements. Examples include scientific essays, religious and literary topics, poetry, reviews of books and theater productions, along with the standard political and news items.

Newspapers of the period easily might be called political journals as their reporting of political news was most often interpreted though the editors' political screens. These missives were described by Isaiah Thomas (1810 cited by Harris 1979/80) as "vehicles for carrying on political warfare." The newspaper constituted a political forum where contributors often used Greek or Latin pseudonyms such as Americanus, Carolinianus, and Lucian. Vernon Parrington (1930, 357) labeled this period as "The War of Belles Lettres," marked by slashing acrimonious attacks by Federalists upon Democrats and vice-versa. While it is difficult to determine how enlightening these, usually well reasoned, attacks or polemics were, it is less arduous to conclude that they were effective in rousing and encouraging interest in local and national political issues.

Newspapers also made literary contributions as they provided interesting essays, poetry, and reproduced excerpts from popular literature. Short stories from the Philadelphia magazine, *The Port Folio*, often found their way into the pages of the *Courier* (1 Feb., 11 Feb. 1804). The *Courier* also published sixty three items dealing with theater criticism by Stephen Cullen Carpenter in 1803 and 1804. Despite popular views that information in southern newspapers was based on a one directional system of North to South, the *Courier* demonstrates otherwise. The paper's weekly feature, titled the Weekly Monitor, provided a variety of moral and religious essays, was reprinted in other American newspapers including the *Philadelphia Democratic Press*. A reader who used the pseudonym Lucinda praised the editors for their wisdom in including the series (*Courier*, 7 May, 1804).

Despite the questions raised about the political biases of the various newspapers, they were recognized as popular educational media. Dr. David Ramsay, of Charleston lauded the newspapers as a source of education for the poorer people who had limited access to books. He said, from newspapers, they gained "a great proportion of what they know respecting politics and government, the modern improvements in arts and sciences, and the present state of the world" (Ramsay 1809, 212).

Magazines also provided a source of enlightenment among Charleston's readers. Many of the magazines were available through agents and bookstores. Some titles were eagerly sought. The *Gentleman's Magazine* was so popular that in 1792 the Charleston Library Society requested its London book agent to pack the magazine in their annual shipment so that it could be unpacked first (Harris 1979, 1980).

Several attempts were made by Charleston residents to publish a local magazine that would compete and compare favorably with those printed in London, Philadelphia and elsewhere. At least twelve magazines were published in Charleston for short periods during the era, with most lasting less than one year. The problem of sustaining magazine publication was not unique to Charleston as similar difficulties were encountered in much larger cities. The effort to publish the magazine, however, suggests a creative talent for such an activity resided in Charleston.

Three types of conclusions are suggested by this inquiry: definitional and conceptual, historiographic or procedural, and social. The definitional conceptual conclusions are as follows: lack of agreement concerning who was an adult in 1790-1800 contributes to uncertainty about the clientele; similar problems or issues concerning the educational character of popular media and programs of agencies and organizations contribute to difficulties in assessing the educational opportunities of adults in Charleston during the period studied. Historiographic or procedural conclusions are as follows: the effects of bias in both primary and secondary sources appear to influence interpretation of the information available; secondly, it is not easy to document the effects of popular education. Finally, the social conclusions are as follows: inquiry is needed to determine the involvement of adults in popular education by social groups; the effects of the large slave population on popular education need to be examined, and exploration of the balance between utilitarian knowledge and the belle letters should prove to be informative.

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Nannie Helen Burroughs and God's School on the Hill

Traki L. Taylor
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Evaluating the life and practices of Nannie Helen Burroughs, it seems that she lived her life by the scripture, *Trust in the Lord with all thine heart and lean not unto thine own understanding. In all thy ways acknowledge Him and He shall direct thy path* (Proverbs 3:5-6). Nannie Helen Burroughs was born in Orange County, Virginia. She and her sister were the daughters of ex-slaves. Both her maternal and paternal grandparents began to acquire property after the Civil War. One grandfather owned a 'sizable' farm, while the other made a 'comfortable living' as a skilled carpenter. Occasionally, Burroughs makes mention of a male cousin who was continuously in trouble and eventually she disassociated herself from him. Nannie Helen Burroughs never talked much about herself or her family. Most of her discussions were about the National Training School for Women and Girls, God's school on the hill.

Burroughs completed her elementary and secondary education in Washington, D.C., graduating with honors from the academically renown M Street (later Dunbar) High School in 1896. Burroughs studied classical training, business education, and domestic science. She also had extensive study in the fields of literature, economics, and social science.

Upon graduation she was promised the position of assistant to the domestic science teacher in a D.C. public school. However, when she graduated, the position promised her was given to another woman. She was told that she was too young for the job. She was understandably upset when denied the appointment she had expected and for which she had prepared. Burroughs had planned to work for a few years in D.C. public schools in order to save money to attend law school in Boston. It was at this point that she decided that she would have her own school in D.C. someday. In her school, girls would receive a fair chance and assistance in overcoming their obstacles.

The school for which Nannie Helen Burroughs came to be known was the National Training School for Women and Girls, Incorporated. It would be hard to introduce this school without mentioning her roles in the National Baptist Convention. After all, it was at this Convention that she introduced her idea to begin the school and it was the Convention that she solicited for help. Eventually help would be among the least of things offered.

The National Baptist Convention was founded on November 24, 1880 and was largely controlled by men. In the beginning, a large group of concerned individuals came together to discuss forming such an organization. They were initially the Foreign Mission Convention of the Unites States of America. This new group sought to "extend our Christian influence and advance the Kingdom of Christ" (Jackson 1980, 34). The Convention was the key organization for Black Baptists.

Nannie Helen Burroughs was a strong believer in God, looking to Him for guidance in every step of her life. She believed that He had called her to open a school, and she knew where it was to be located. The only question was, "When would this vision of God's School come to pass?" In 1900, Ms. Burroughs attended the National Baptist Convention. She was the youngest and only single woman there. Her spirit dominated the meeting. Burroughs began her work at the Convention with the Women's Auxiliary, where she was elected Secretary. The Women's Auxiliary believed that she would make a good secretary and should be 'tolerated if not humored'. She worked her first year without pay and, after doing a fine job, she was paid $40.00 per month and travel expenses (Harrison 1956, 13).

The Woman's Convention was accepted reluctantly by the National Baptist Convention, whose members did not like the idea of an independent organization of women (Harrison 1956, 15). They preferred to have a Woman's Board governed by the men. In their struggle for control, the men in the National Baptist Convention eventually demanded that the women discontinue their support of Nannie Helen Burroughs and the National Training School for Women and Girls, Inc.

In 1901, petitioning to the National Baptist Convention for a training school began and continued for the next six years. It was not until 1906 that a committee to discuss the school decided on a location. As Burroughs' stated, "The object of the school shall be to train women for mission work in this and other lands. Second, to prepare women as teachers of the word of God in our Sunday Schools. Third, to train them to give better domestic service" (Harrison

1956, 17). Very few people had any hope that such a school would succeed.

When the Women's Auxiliary came up with the idea to open a school, they wanted all of the initial funds for the school to come from within the African-American community. Once open, the school did receive donations from white philanthropists. Many private schools for African-Americans during this time were supported, in large part, by whites. Considering her self-help philosophy, Burroughs thought it was important that African-Americans support their own institutions. In this vein, they could sit on the trustee board, decide on the curriculum which would be best for their people and, above all, have control over their own institutions. The National Trade and Professional School was founded by and for African-American women and girls, and supported by African-American people (Nannie H. Burroughs papers. n. d., Box 318).

The opening of this school did not come without controversy. A District of Columbia educator told Burroughs that the school would not be successful in Washington. The educator felt that a school in the District without large funding would not last in the United States capitol. Even Booker T. Washington disagreed with establishing this school in D.C. He thought, as did many others, that the South was the best place to begin a school to teach African-American girls. Washington also felt that Blacks in D.C. would not support the school.

Withstanding all criticism and lack of support, the title for the property was transferred on January 7, 1907. On October 19, 1909, the school was opened. By 1921, the six acres originally purchased had increased to eight. In addition, the one building had increased to eight substantial ones. The property value was worth more than $100,000, although the neighborhood in which the school was located was not one of the best residential districts in Washington. Burroughs did all in her power to ensure the success of this school. Outside of the money collected from tuition and that given by philanthropists (large or small), she raised funds through speaking tours. Much of the money that she gathered while traveling came from poor women and men, many of whom could only afford to give a dime and very few could give more than a dollar. In the first eleven years, the total amount raised for the school was $322,051.54. Of this sum, the Women's Convention had given only $4,375.94 (Pickens 1921, 9-10). When assistance did come from the National Convention, it was from the Women's Auxiliary and not the National Baptist Convention as a whole.

When the school opened, there was Nannie Helen Burroughs as president, five assistants, and eight students. The total enrollment for the first year was 31. The students ranged in age from fifteen to forty-three. From the outset, applications for admission constantly exceeded the accommodating space. Burroughs nicknamed the school The School of the Three B's. These B's represented the Bible, the bathtub, and the broom. Such were the school's standards for spiritual and physical cleanliness and industry. As stated by Fannie Cobb Carter, a teacher at the school, the National Trade and Professional School was "a school that offers such rare opportunities to both teachers and students to work together in the development of real Christian women. . . . We make mistakes and have much to learn, but we have the desire to live righteously (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 311).

Although, Burroughs was the primary source of support needed for the school the Baptist Convention wanted control of the school. Hence, a major problem was that the National Baptist Convention was not listed on the deed to the property. Burroughs did not claim the school as her own, but the Baptist Convention assumed this was her mission since it was not recognized in the official papers for the school. When the title for the property was signed however, members from the National Convention declined to show up for the signing which is why their names were not listed. Ultimately, the National Baptist Convention ordered the Women's Convention to withdraw its support of the school in 1938.

For many years, Burroughs stood virtually alone. She was cast from the graces of her denomination, the church in which she had invested many years of hard work. When she refused to give the deed over to the Convention, she was expelled, thereby losing her position as secretary of the Women's Auxiliary. The women did not turn away from her, however. Once she was dismissed from her duties by the men, the women wrote her a statement of confidence. The Women's Auxiliary "declares that it has absolute confidence in, and sincere appreciation for Miss Nannie H. Burroughs, . . . and pledge unstinted support to the Institution which she founded for the Woman's Convention, to which she has given years of devoted service" (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 310).

The National Baptist Convention was not satisfied with merely withdrawing support. Indeed, its main goal was to seize ownership and operation of the school. However, upon attempting to seize the school, they realized that the Convention did not own it. A letter was written to Burroughs from the Convention requesting a meeting to resolve the matter of who really owned the institution. At this meeting, Burroughs informed the men that, in her opinion, the National Baptist Convention wanted to 'change a successful policy for an unsuccessful experiment'(Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 318).

The charter for the school was in the hands of the Trustees, where Burroughs felt that it should be. Before 1917, the school did not have problems with the Convention wanting ownership. Initially, they did not want the school at all. Then they waited for the school to fail. When it did not, they wanted the charter. With the charter controlled by the Trustees and not the National Baptist Convention, the school could receive money from all denominations, rather than just Baptist. If the school was entangled in the problems of the Convention with its extreme debts, most business people and philanthropists would not want to invest in the school (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 318).

A major charge which Burroughs brought against the Convention was its practice of sexism. There were no women on the Board of Directors of the National Baptist Convention. Therefore, the Woman's Auxiliary had no voice or legal rights. They were controlled by the men. Hence, if the school was given over to be controlled by the Auxiliary, it would still be controlled by the men in the Convention. As Easter stated, "the issue was control and sexism. The Executive Board of the National Baptist Convention wanted compliance with their new charter, and they were being defied by Burroughs and the School's Board of Trustees, most of whom were women" (Easter 1992, 122).

This battle over ownership lasted for many long years. In the process, many in the Baptist Convention turned away from Burroughs and her school. When it was realized that, as stated in *The St. Louis Argus*, 5 August 1938, the Training school was "an incorporated body and that it was not amenable to the church" and that the trustees wanted it to remain that way, the Women's Auxiliary withdrew their support. Some support was wavering and even though many in the Convention left Burroughs, she refused to leave the Convention. "God was an everyday reality to Burroughs and the Baptist religion was the central core of her life" (Synott 1994, 71).

Burroughs educational philosophies fell in line with her four main principles of life; love, learning, labor, and leisure. In her opinion, "They determine the destiny of every human soul. By them we walk steadily forward and upward, or we stumble blindly backward" (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 46). These were her four 'lamps of life'. In Burroughs view, the chief purpose of any institution was to tell where the oil could be found to fill the lamps and how they could be trimmed and kept burning. When students left her school, they were to be, in her words, the 'mental, moral, social, and spiritual lights of the world'. Learning becomes worthless when it is not passed on, she believed.

Love guides the daily path and allows an individual to touch other's lives. Pass on all that is learned to others, not allowing them to remain in ignorance. This is very consistent with the advice Jesus gave his disciples. It is constant labor which keeps the lamp from burning out. When putting forth the labor to learn, what is received in return is far greater that what was put out. The most important of the lights of life is leisure. Leisure is a time for reflecting, for meditation, for recreation and restoration."

Burroughs' school did not accept "the delinquent or problem girl" under any circumstances. As she stated, we are in the "character-forming" not the "reforming" business. They also did not accept, "The girl who drinks or smokes. The girl whose academic average is low" (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 310). As stated by historian Evlyn Barnett, "Burroughs emphasized training for spiritual character, and thus the school operated along strict moral codes" (Barnett 1978, 99).

The National Training School for Women and Girls was extremely regimented. Anyone not in accordance with the rules was reprimanded. Students who were not residents of Washington were not allowed to board off campus. Students could have company only on Sunday afternoons for one hour. Visitation of any kind was forbidden at all other times. Even when visitation was allowed, only students over seventeen, with a satisfactory record of conduct and scholarship, were allowed guests. If the students were to have male guests, then the parent would have to write to the president with the names of the male callers in advance of the visit. Students were encouraged to write their parents weekly, but "continuous, useless" correspondence with other friends was not allowed.

Every student had to have her own Bible and songbook. Burroughs even specified what type of Bible the students must have. The Bible had to be "English No. 208, Minion Bible 18 mo cloth. American Bible Society, New

York." Short of illness, no student was excused from chapel. In Chapel, devotion was at 9:00 am every morning, a prayer meeting every Friday morning, Sunday School from 8-9 am and Vespers Service at 3:30 PM. on Sundays (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 310). Attendance was mandatory at school conferences, which were held to 'keep high moral tone' at the school. When the students entered the school, they had to agree to submit to discipline. Students were required to attend all religious services on campus as well as attend church services regularly.

Daily marks were given for how students kept their rooms. It was against the rule for students to borrow money or clothes. All students had to give one hour a day of service to the school. If a student wished to be relieved of her service duties, she could pay two dollars a month to the school. If students could not pay their bills, they were suspended from classes until they could do so. Yet, they were required to work to pay for boarding. Suspended students had to take exams for all of the work missed while suspended. During Christmas holidays students could go home, but they had to return a day before the vacation ended. For each day late they returned to school, they were made to pay one dollar (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 312).

Burroughs made it clear that "This is a Christian institution. While it is non-sectarian, we do impress upon each student the importance of becoming a Christian, living a consistent Christian life and taking an active part in the religious work of her denomination and in the religious activities of the institution" (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 310). She wanted her students to be able to do a special type of missionary work: to teach the Bible in local churches, to be able to raise a family or to go to foreign lands to teach, and represent Christ and the church. She proposed a program for Bible-Missionary Education and advanced religious education. In the Bible section, the women would learn the first five books of the Old Testament and the first four books of the New Testament. In Missionary education, they would learn the importance of missions in the Christian faith. They would also need to be well versed in Latin and English. The Missionary Training Department was only open to women over eighteen who felt God had called them to "engage in special Christian work." Some of their other mandatory courses were Old Testament interpretation, Biblical Theology, Methods of Bible Study, Exegesis of the Epistles, and Christian Evidence (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 310).

One of the main reasons why the school was to be built in Washington was because of the opportunities for the women to be hired as domestic servants. This was one of the largest fields of opportunity at the school. Burroughs taught the young women who attended her school skills which would enable them to earn a living. One of the reasons some men in the National Baptist Convention gave for not supporting the school was that the young ladies were being trained to be "breadwinners" (Easter 1992, 121). They believed that this was the Christian duty of men only. Another criticism of the domestic training program was that Ms. Burroughs was training the young ladies to be servants. To counter this view, an editorial stated that "Nannie Burroughs does not prepare girls for servants, but for service. . . Nannie Burroughs secures a discipline and a morale which our public schools cannot begin to imitate or rival" (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 318).

Soon, Ms. Burroughs changed the curriculum to meet the changing needs of the times and her international student body. The academic program expanded gradually to offer a junior high curriculum. Then, by 1929, junior college courses were mixed with those for trades and professions. The school was founded as the National Training School for Women and Girls. Its name was eventually changed to the National Trade and Professional School for Women and Girls, Incorporated. It seems that as the curriculum changed, so too did the name of the school. Burroughs stressed Black History and Black Pride. Hers was the only school to have a department of Black history and required every student to take a Black history course and to pass both oral and written exams on the subject (McCluskey 1989, 9).

There were extra curricula activities at the school such as basketball and interest clubs. These activities and clubs were formed to develop leadership skills. Another means for developing leadership skills was involvement in the Institute of Personal Development for students. In this institute, the girls and women were lectured on topics from the meaning of culture to poise and table manners to grooming and male-female relations. These lectures were held several times a month. Ms. Burroughs and her staff were serious about teaching the students to be ladies in good moral standing.

As well as receiving domestic and missionary training, the students were also receiving a classical education.

As stated previously, Burroughs believed in the educational philosophies of both Washington and DuBois. Her curriculum reflected that fact. Most of the curriculum information in the Nannie Helen Burroughs Paper collection reflected the courses required for the liberal arts section of the curriculum.

In looking at the curriculum, it seems that Burroughs was preparing the young women for much more than domestic work and missionary services. Her belief was that trades could not be taught without an academic background. The curriculum included classes such as English, Latin, psychology, and French, as well as U.S. history, science, typing, bookkeeping, business arithmetic, shorthand, sociology and world history, geography, and sewing (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 311). As stated in the *Washington Post,* 24 May 1992, by Mattie Robinson, once head mistress at the current school, "Burroughs believed that academics and spirituality went hand in hand."

At the high school level, several subjects were required per year. The first year the students took English, speech, spelling, penmanship, and read a classic novel. The second year there was speech, composition and Rhetoric, spelling, and penmanship. Classes taken in the third year were composition and rhetoric, American literature, spelling, and penmanship. The fourth year's course load consisted of speech, English literature, spelling, and penmanship. In the third and fourth year classics classes, the students reviewed American and English literature as well as modern prose and poetry (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 311). High school students also took algebra and word analysis. Teacher reports show that at the junior college level African-American history and finer womanhood were taught. The finer womanhood class covered topics such as homemaking, courtship, and marriage (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 311).

Burroughs was a stern disciplinarian. When students violated rules they were brought before Burroughs and her staff to be rebuked. If the nature of the offense called for sterner actions, the student would be expelled from the school. When students were dismissed from the school, Ms. Burroughs would dismiss them with her well known farewell, "The arch is open, the trains are running, and God bless you." Teachers were not exempt from rules either. If they did not abstain from things such as drinking and smoking they were dismissed at the end of the school year. Burroughs sought "the highest development of Christian Womanhood" (Synott 1994, 126).

The school's code held teachers to a high standard of ethics. When dealing with students, teachers were always required to be impartial, professional, and just. The teachers were required to study, participate in educational associations, and subscribe to at least one educational journal. They were to never criticize a superior or fellow teacher when not in the presence of the accused. And even then, only constructive criticism was allowed. All such criticizing was kept confidential (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 311). Burroughs did not want the school or its staff to develop a bad name over bickering.

Teachers were to come on time to meetings or not at all (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 311). Each of these meetings was opened with prayer. Along with telling the teachers what not to do, she wrote a set of procedures telling them how to use good teaching methods. Teachers were to plan field trips, roundtable and panel discussions, various types of pupil reporting (such as oral presentations, two-way conversations, and dramatic expressions), and interviews as well as guest speakers (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 311). All of the teachers were college graduates and highly respected. As Dr. Carter G. Woodson stated, "In Miss Burroughs school the instructors teach the students- actually educate them by bringing out into action the powers of the mind" (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 318).

Believing very much in helping the less fortunate, Burroughs had a stern desire to help her needy students. If students could not afford the full cost of tuition, they were granted work study. In addition to the work study programs offered, Burroughs would allow parents to pay a portion of the school bill in vegetables, meat, lard, and eggs. Students who had no relatives were allowed to become a permanent part of the school family. Ms. Burroughs always demonstrated the skills she wanted her students to develop.

Burroughs aimed to promote an "atmosphere conducive to the development of real Christian Womanhood." If the student body had no pride, she believed, the school and buildings would suffer. All teachers and students were expected to attend social events held at the school (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 311). It was absolutely necessary that all students living on campus kept "perfect rooms." If teachers wished to hold friendly conversations beyond the 30-minute dinner period, they were instructed to do so when it did not conflict with the school's schedule. Burroughs felt that "the theme of all educational programs is character building- - every true teacher's problem" (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 311).

Desks, floors, and walls had to be kept perfectly clean, remembering that "Cleanliness is next to Godliness." Time between classes was to be used as study time. Personal appearance had to be good at all times. Talking too much was frowned upon. When in the dining hall, the young ladies could only talk to those seated at their tables. They were not to lean on the tables. Only one person from a table could raise her hand for a waitress. Even in the dormitories, the students had to remain quiet and orderly. They were not allowed to move furniture around in their rooms and could not visit other rooms in their dorms or other dormitories without permission (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 312).

She believed that four major things were needed to make the school work. These were faith, work, time, and money. Burroughs had great faith in God and was willing to work hard. Time was in God's hands. Money was in the people's hands. Nannie Burroughs, with her faith in God, her self-determination, and her willingness to work, plunged in to do the impossible (McCluskey 1989, 9). She let nothing stop her. In her mind, "It is not evidence of Christianity to have people mock you and spit on you and defeat the future of your children. It is a mark of cowardice" (Higginbotham 1993, 205).

Burroughs met many obstacles and overcame all of them. When there was not enough room for the students to sleep, she rehabilitated the barn to give them places to lay their heads. When classroom space was needed, she cleaned out other parts of the barn to make room. When the water pipes were broken and there was no money to get them fixed, Burroughs walked down to a well at the foot of the hill with tubs and buckets to get water. She filled them with water, carried them to the top of the hill, then to the third floor of one of the buildings, and filled up the water tank. She did the same when they needed heat one winter. The hill on which the school was located became too icy to drive up so the delivery man bringing the coal dumped it at the foot of the hill. Ms. Burroughs went to the foot of the hill and brought the coal up in buckets. Whenever anything was needed, Burroughs was willing to do what had to be done. Because of her contributions and those of her faithful supporters, her school had nine buildings, two brick and seven frame, all of which were debt free. The school, which was purchased for $6,000 and had one building, was worth more than one half million dollars by the time Burroughs' had completed her work (Harrison 1956, 13).

She expected the same diligence and hard work from her staff. "When I give people something to do, I let them do it, and when I find out they can't do it, I let them go." When she did not do this, the school "is hurt, damaged, destroyed, defeated by petty, selfish, weak, lazy teachers" (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 46).

Graduates of this school were employed in nearly every state, and also in such places as Puerto Rico, Haiti, South America, and Africa. They were employed as teachers, principals, nurses, doctors, civil servants, church workers, entrepreneurs, administrators, and, of course, missionaries.

In her treatment of her teachers and students, Burroughs could be seen as controlling and almost as a tyrant. She definitely possessed perfectionists characteristics. The students had no choice but to graduate with high standing. The school climate was dogmatic and regimented. Many students were refused admission to the school because of unsatisfactory grades. Preference for admission was given to women who wanted training in Christian leadership (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 163). Criticism of the school by teachers as well as others was viewed by Burroughs as unprofessional. In her own words, "it shows a lack- a woeful lack of standards, of principles, of ethics. . . . This [the school] is no place for anybody who is not mentally, morally, and socially fit" (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 46).

Financial woes were a constant visitor to the school. Once the school had to be shut down for three years. During the Depression, the school only opened during the spring, summer, and fall months. Junior high, high school, and junior college students would spend three winter months at home. This helped to cut cost by fifty percent. A new department at the school, the children's department, remained open year round. Burroughs thought it was better to open the school in the spring and remain open than to open in the winter and be forced to shut down because of a lack of funds. A group known as "The National Training School Pageant Players" traveled the country to 're-sell' the school and its ideals. They began a nationwide campaign for new contributors, food, and coupons. They also published literary materials to arouse interest in the school (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 46).

All an all, Nannie Helen Burroughs presided over her school with what she referred to as "twelve keys to God's Resources." These twelve keys were knowledge, faith, prayer, obedience, determination, faithfulness, hope, patience, good works, golden rule, love, and joy (Burroughs Papers n.d., Box 46). Her knowledge provided her the ability to run the school effectively. Her faith allowed her to see her mission through even when she did not know how things would turn out. Her determination to provide a good school for African-American women and girls and her faithfulness to the mission played a part in the school's tremendous success. Her hope, patience, and good works brought about many supporters. She taught the Golden rule and she exhibitedlove and joy.

Throughout her life, Nannie Helen Burroughs held strongly to her faith in God and did what she could to help those who were less fortunate than she. She served as secretary of the Women's Convention Auxiliary for twenty years and then served as president of the Woman's Convention Auxiliary to the National Baptist Convention, Incorporated. Her most noteworthy contribution was her founding of the National Training School for Women and Girls, Inc. in Washington, D. C., where she served as president.

Ms. Nannie Helen Burroughs died of natural causes on May 20, 1961. In 1964 the school received its third name. The Board of Trustees, as a memorial tribute, re-named the school "The Nannie Helen Burroughs School, Incorporated."

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Pestalozzi's Spheres of Life

Silvia Schmid
Loyola University Chicago

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) was a Swiss educational reformer. Strongly influenced by Jean-Jacques Rousseau's philosophy of naturalism, Pestalozzi used concepts of Rousseau and modified them into a philosophy of education. He believed it best to teach the child by the nature of things themselves, not with words. The child should himself learn to see, hear, find, stumble or be mistaken. Nature teaches the child better than men.

In his numerous writings Pestalozzi explained his understanding of the concepts of God, nature and education. He defined man as a moral, intellectual, and physical being with innate potentialities. Education should draw out these inherent powers and develop abilities through activity. His method of natural education (development of head, heart, and body) is based on the principle of "Anschauung," translated as observation, sense perception, and sense impression. It is defined as face-to-face experience of the realities of the universe and can be summed up as "things before words," "concrete before abstract," or "concept formation."

Pestalozzi's philosophy is based on "Lebenskreise" (Spheres of Life), three exterior and one interior, rooted in a firm focal point, namely God. The spheres describe man's existence, going through several developmental stages, revealing the interrelationships of man within his world.

Pestalozzi begins with the concepts of Love and the Good. As did Rousseau, he claimed that human nature is good. Man is the work of nature that God had given as creator of the universe. Therefore, nature and everything that is natural is good. Driven by his needs man finds his way to this truth in the innermost of his nature (Pestalozzi 1927-77). Nature forms the child as an indivisible whole, as a vital organic unity with many-sided inherent moral, intellectual, and physical faculties. Where nature has influence on the child, she develops the child's heart, intellect, and body into a harmonious unity.

Pestalozzi often drew an analogy between a child's development and that of the natural growth of a plant or an animal. Pestalozzi saw the new-born child as a seed which already contained the essence of the child's intelligence and personality. All faculties unfold during a child's life time. The individual and separate organs of the child form gradually into unison, and build up humanity in the image of God. In line with this concept of the laws of nature, Pestalozzi defined education as the natural, progressive, and harmonious development of all the powers and faculties of humans. The child acquires knowledge if it is subjected to a certain order of succession. The unfolding of the child's powers and their progress are kept parallel to his development.

Pestalozzi modified and extended Rousseau's educational philosophy by urging the education of all children, regardless of their circumstances and abilities; he was a steadfast advocate of universal education. Pestalozzi's contention was that poverty could be relieved and society reformed only by the intellectual and moral development of all people.

The three exterior spheres begin with the sphere of "Home and Family." Pestalozzi was convinced that a child's education starts at birth. From the beginning, every day in a child's life and every source of influence play a part in forming character and personality. In the cradle the child hears its mother's voice and enjoys an emotionally secure environment created by the mother as she speaks to the child while nursing, feeding and dressing him. The atmosphere of love creates a lasting impression on the child. Pestalozzi stressed the power of love in education. The child's loving relationship with the mother provides a climate of emotional security. If a child is given love and care by his mother, it will grow into a person capable of giving and receiving love. Pestalozzi explained "The new-born learns from the mother. She develops love and gratitude in the child. The domestic life is the climate of modeling virtues and moral values" (Pestalozzi n.d.).

In the home, equal development of all the human faculties can be directed and assured. Pestalozzi valued the home as a model of all education, the only place where a child can live a complete life, a microcosm of the larger social world outside. The family is the center of society, education starts in the home, and the mother is the child's first teacher. Educational efforts must be conducted within the sphere of "Home and Family" and radiate to the needs and desires of the people in society. External human knowledge, power, and motive have to coincide with the internal essence of our nature.

Gertrude, the heroine of Pestalozzi's novel *Leonardo and Gertrude*, is the ideal example of how to teach children by providing a secure and loving home environment. The children contributed to the family's living by spinning and gardening. Education, however, does not imply working and making a living alone. Gertrude nurtured the powers of the children's heart so that they could grow in independence and individuality. Pestalozzi's idea and aim of elementary education were human salvation from evil. According to Pestalozzi, nature does not give birth to any evil. Everything that comes out of her is essentially good in the sense of innocence. Man leaves the state of contentment in which he achieved satisfaction of his desires without special effort and develops into a barbarian who asserts his will. The regeneration of the home and the family will have an impact on education, on society, and on a better world structure. Nature, the mother's devotion, and the domestic surroundings are the components to incite and impel, direct and guide the child towards a natural and solid development. In the home, the foundation is laid upon which education in the school must be built.

The second sphere of "Vocation and Individual Self-Determination," indicates individuality and inherent force of human character. The basis for education, according to Pestalozzi, is the individuality of man with his natural provided dispositions within his special condition. Unique by nature, man still can choose to mold his individuality. Pestalozzi declared: "You don't live for yourself on this earth. Therefore nature educates you also for and by external circumstances" (Pestalozzi 1946-71). This educational process by external conditions or relations implies knowledge and experience within them and will radiate into the next conditions or spheres, already having experienced perseverance.

The starting point is to take the individuality of each single child and to cultivate it. The basis for natural development of all the needs lie in the faculties of the individual child that ought to be educated for a life within his sphere, as Pestalozzi pointed out: "View point of life, self-determination of man, you are the book of nature. In you lie strength and order of this wise leader. All education which is not built upon her foundation leads to error" (Pestalozzi n.d.).

Pestalozzi rejected a school system that focused on knowledge acquisition. He was disgusted by memorization and any one-sided method of instruction. Pestalozzi believed such schooling could never be natural because it is almost impossible for the teacher to meet the individual needs of the pupils. Pestalozzi called for a teaching method based on "Anschauung," observation or sense-impression. The sphere of "Home and Family" expands and radiates into the sphere of "Vocation and Self-determination." The individual child, while still being rooted in the sphere of "Home and Family," can now participate in a larger sphere. The child develops his individuality. He grows in independency and takes responsibility within the society and becomes educated.

Pestalozzi always kept in mind the role of society as part of the individual's environment. He felt strongly that education must support "Individualbestimmung," individual self-determination. Gerd-Bodo summarized: "Vocational training should be subordinate to the goal of man's character development. Each person possesses natural characteristics, unique to that person" (Gerd-Bodo 1984).

The principle of head, heart, and hands has priority over particular vocational education. With these ideas, Pestalozzi criticized society because schooling at that time did not respect individual education but was focused on discipline and memorization.

In the third exterior Sphere of "State and Nation" Pestalozzi expanded the parent-child relationship to the community, to the state and the nation, to society as a whole. His model combined domestic life and the world with God as the creator. Pestalozzi believed that a common faith as children of God would guarantee stabilization of the government. The blessings with which God endowed the sphere of the home influences not only the child's education, but society in general. Pestalozzi declaimed: "Therefore, home, you are the basis for natural education. Home, you are the school of ethics and the school of the government" (Pestalozzi n.d.).

Pestalozzi called for a tolerant humanity. He believed in a social structure where the poor as well as the rich would enjoy respect, equal rights, and dignity. Every human ought to be treated with dignity. The ills of society ought to be remedied by educating each individual morally, intellectually, and physically.

Pestalozzi developed the character of squire Arner in *Leonard and Gertrude*. Arner, open-minded and helpful, having already become suspicious of the deceitful inn keeper and bailiff Hummel, listened to Gertrude's complaint. With help of the pastor, Arner was able to remove the misery that Hummel and his complices spread over the village. He then established a new order in the village for social and moral improvement.

The interior sphere is described as "Inner Sense." Pestalozzi called the inner sense of man "Seelengefüge," the structure of the soul. Pestalozzi believed that the inner sense had a directing function. The inner sense is a safe guide for truth and duty.

Man must be educated to acquire an inner peace. This peace can be successfully found through the satisfaction of natural needs, drives, and prosperity. It leads to great joy. Inner peace is the way to truth by which man rightly operates (Spranger 1947).

Pestalozzi made a distinction between natural and artificial needs. Pestalozzi saw natural development in the process of the realization of truth. Inner peace is obtained by engaging in modest behavior and believing in and living with God, a goal to which man should aspire.

Pestalozzi's focal point within the spheres of life is "God." The closest relationship man possibly can have is with God who alone is able to understand the innermost part of a human being. The inner sense of man is able to seek and to find God's very existence. Pestalozzi defined God as being the only one who is capable of handling any extraordinary life situation. God, then, becomes projected in every good person. The good exists in human nature. Pestalozzi with his humanistic concept equalized God and man in nature and identity. Man did not, according to Pestalozzi's philosophy, inherit original sin but is essentially good.

Pestalozzi saw religion and faith in God as pre-suppositions for education (God - mother). The principle of a close relationship (mother - child) reappears in the personal and intimate climate between teacher and child. He emphasized body contact, communication, and personal encouragement. Pestalozzi was convinced that deeply rooted religious faith in a man's heart was the basis of man's very humanity. He took the Bible as a book of instruction with models to be imitated and followed.

The home and domestic life are the starting point of the "Lebenskreise," the "Spheres of Life." It radiates to the sphere of vocation, individual self-determination, and thirdly, flows into the sphere of society as a whole and then to the nation or the state. The nation or the state influences the home and family, vocation, and self-determination, and vice versa. There is a reciprocity between the spheres, an intermingling; the center, however, is the steadfast God who leads through the developmental stages. Without God or without faith, it is impossible to create an atmosphere of a loving home or to build and run a just and effective government. The intermingling of the spheres correlates to the ups and downs with times of inner peace or emotional turbulence in each persons life. Yet all the spheres are centered around God who is Love itself.

Pestalozzi's spheres of life represented the framework of his philosophy. He stimulated educational theory and practice and his principles have been absorbed into modern elementary education in many countries.

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Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich. n.d. Der befriedigte Saugling lernt, was ihm seine Mutter ist auf dieser Bahn, und sie bildet in ihm Liebe, das Wesen des Dankes. Je familienhafter das ganze Leben sich gestaltet, um so echter und sittlicher ist es.

_____. 1946-71. *Samtliche Briefe.* 13 Bände, Bearbeitet von Emanuel Dejung und Hans Stettbacher. *Zurich:* Pestalozzianum, Bd 1, 271. Aber du lebst nicht für dich allein auf Erden. Darum bildet dich die Natur auch für aussere Verhältnisse und durch sie.

_____. n.d. *Samtliche Werke.* Bd 1, 261. Daher bist du, Vaterhaus, Grundlage aller reinen Naturbildung der Menschheit. Vaterhaus, du Schule der Sitten und des Staates.

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Spranger, Eduard. 1947. *Pestalozzis Denkformen*. Stuttgart, 38. Der Mensch muss zu innerer Ruhe gebildet werden. Zu dieser inneren Ruhe gelangt der Mensch durch Befriedigung der naturlichen Bedurfnisse, Triebe und Anlagen. So erreicht er eine Stufe des höchsten Glucks. Die innere Ruhe ist der Weg zur Wahrheit, nämlich zu der Wahrheit, aus der man richtig handelt.

Konnarock: A School Whose Spirit Lives On

James E. Gay
Robert Young
University of Dayton

Every year a number of people gather in Konnarock, a small village in a remote mountainous region of southwest Virginia, to attend a reunion of alumnae of a small private boarding school called Konnarock Training School. The school permanently closed its doors almost forty years ago. Modern highways made it possible for children of the area to attend the public schools.

The building that once housed Konnarock Training School is still standing, empty for years and in bad need of repair. It will probably never be used again, and someday will fall victim to the wrecking ball. But the spirit that characterizes the annual gathering of Konnarock alumnae is in no way similar to the state of the school's decaying physical plant. On the contrary, the loyalty, allegiance, and love for Konnarock Training School exist as strongly today among the alumnae, all now elderly, as they do for the most recent graduates of any school anywhere.

What makes this flame burn so brightly, years after the enterprise that fueled it ceased to exist? The answer to that question provides an insight into what people believe is important; how people are products of their environment; why "home" can be anywhere one finds or creates it, even in a school; and how profoundly a school can shape the lives, character, and personalities of its students.

Konnarock Training School (KTS) was founded in December 1924 by the Women's Missionary Society of the United Lutheran Church in America as a girls' elementary school. Its purpose, stated by its first principal, was "to minister to the spiritual, mental, and physical needs of the children of the Appalachian mountains (Morehead 1925 a). The school opened in a rented building with nine girls in Smyth County near Whitetop Mountain and Mount Rogers. North Carolina and Tennessee are only a few miles away. Marion, Virginia, is 25 miles north and Bristol, Virginia/Tennessee, is 48 miles west. These distances seem short today, but at the time these cities must have seemed light years away. One had to cross a mountain to enter or leave the region, on dirt roads difficult in summer and impassable in winter.

It was instantly obvious that the demand for this kind of school was overwhelming. Before the first class was held, there was a waiting list of 30 applicants. A decision was made to build a new building, and the year 1925 was one of furious activity. The president of the local lumber company donated 225 acres of land and personally supervised the construction of a building that was both school and living quarters for 35 boarding students. A 200 seat chapel, barn, garage, and chicken houses were also built that summer. Funding came from the sale of shares (Morehead 1925b), from the Inner Mission Board, the Women's Missionary Society and other church groups, and private donations (Morehead 1926).

One year after the first nine students enrolled, KTS opened its new building to students from five states: Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, West Virginia, and Kentucky. KTS also served as a public elementary day school for the Konnarock community, and thus came under the jurisdiction of the Virginia state board of education. The school focused on teaching the girls home economics -- cooking, cleaning, sewing, gardening, child care, and health -- along with academic subjects.

First enrollment figures in 1927 show that KTS had 30 resident students, all girls,ages 12 to 20, and 40 day students from the Konnarock community, both boys and girls. Twelve of the students attended high school in Konnarock (Cox 1927, 27-8). In January 1928, there were 35 boarding students, nine in high school, the rest in grammar school. There were also 60 day students -- 36 boys, 24 girls (Cox 1928,24-5).

Prior to 1924, lumbering was the dominant industry in the region. Small farms dotted the area, most of which were capable only of growing food for the families. Because of its location and religious affiliation, the school was appropriately characterized as a "mountain mission school." Not surprisingly, religion was a part of the core curriculum for the boarding students. Many people in the area came from Baptist and fundamentalist backgrounds and were distrustful of "outside" religions. Thus, although KTS was founded and largely funded by Lutheran interests, the staff at Konnarock took great care in their religious work to not to offend the people of the region.

The poverty of the region served by KTS was so severe and widespread that the school founders soon waived most student financial requirements. Most of the continuing financial support came from the Women's Missionary Society, with additional support from the Smyth County School Board. Other income came from tuition (those few who could afford to pay), sales of clothing made by the girls, and gifts from various Lutheran organizations.

Poverty affected all aspects of everyday living. Housing was primitive, and a lack of sanitation facilities had predictable side effects: poor personal hygiene, dental and tonsil problems, colds and flu so chronic that they were thought of as normal, premature aging, and epidemics of typhoid and scarlet fever.

Many homes were little more than one or two room wood shacks with cracks in the floors, holes in the walls, leaks in the roofs, and doors that did not keep the heat in or the cold out. Water and sewer systems did not exist. Most homes had no electricity and were heated by the kitchen stove (Hatcher 1930,15-7).

The existing road system was built primarily to serve the lumber industry and only incidentally for the homes in the area. Many homes had no direct access to a road, and residents had to walk paths along creek banks, fields, and woods to reach a road. Many KTS day students walked several miles a day to school.

A secondary feature of the region was a general lack of education among the population. Most parents had a fourth or fifth grade education at best, and some had none at all. Children attended school not because of any perceived intrinsic value of education but rather because that was what children did. The few public schools in the region were small, offered only a partial school year of six months or less, and were staffed by uncertified and unqualified teachers. Many of them were one room schools in which all grades were taught.

Early marriages were another by-product of this environment. It was not unusual for a girl to marry in her early teens. These marriages reflected the pattern of their parents' marriages. Farming alone could not support a family, and men took jobs at local lumber companies and as truck drivers, miners, and general laborers. Many jobs required the men to be absent for long periods, creating a *de facto* single-parent family environment.

Birth control was either not available or practiced, and average family size was 7.3 children, often with a mother not yet turned thirty. With large families and absentee fathers, the mother did the domestic work of cooking, washing, sewing, ironing, and child care, and the outside work of working in the fields, milking cows, chopping wood, carrying water, maintaining a garden for food, and feeding the pigs and chickens. Children were expected to work, and older children took care of the younger ones.

With so many demands placed on them, mothers were hard put to give each child the individual attention that every child needs to develop assurance and self-esteem. Close observations of family life and chronicles describing the time and region reveal that mothers took little pride and often little interest in their children's school activities. Sometimes, mothers invited to KTS for recitals or convocations paid little attention to their children's presentations. Parent teacher meetings were met with indifference or simply a lack of understanding on the part of the parents. This was the general environment in which Konnarock Training School was founded (Hatcher 1930,18-20).

The contrasts of life at home and life at Konnarock Training School were many and all pervasive. The basic need of housing took on new dimensions for a student entering KTS. The main building was a solidly built three-story frame structure with large, well lighted rooms, indoor bathrooms, electricity, central heating, and a fire protection system. It housed dormitory rooms, classrooms, and two home economics laboratories, one for sewing and craft work, one for cooking. The school library contained about 1500 volumes and subscribed to magazines and a daily newspaper. The chapel boasted a pipe organ, two pianos, and a violin.

The highly productive school farm deserves special mention. Boys worked on the farm, and girls processed the farm produce. From the gardens came fresh fruits and vegetables in season, many of which were canned or preserved for winter consumption, and apples and potatoes for an entire year. Poultry was raised for both meat and eggs. Any surplus was marketed locally. Hay, oats, and soy beans were cultivated to support a small dairy herd that provided milk for the students and staff (Hatcher 1930,6).

The school served both as a private boarding school and a public elementary school. The latter had to meet the requirements of the state board of education, and teachers were paid by the county board of education. The faculty and staff were comprised of a staff of nine, plus a farm laborer. All were qualified for their positions, and certified where required. The principal had a bachelor's degree from the College of William and Mary, the home economics teacher was a graduate of Simmons College, and other classroom teachers held professional certificates. The school nurse was a Registered Nurse and a graduate of the Richmond School of Social Work and Public Health. The Supervisor of Farm Activities, although not a college graduate, practiced scientific farming methods.

When KTS girls reached high school age, they attended Konnarock High School in adjacent Washington County, along with boys from Iron Mountain School For Boys, another Lutheran sponsored boarding school. The two groups from the Lutheran schools made up approximately 50% of the total enrollment of this public high school (Virginia Final Annual High School Report 1939). Washington County charged $4 per month for every boarding school pupil. These fees came out of the Lutheran school budgets, and the school's principal addressed a plea for contributions for that purpose (Umbarger,1929,504-6).

The teacher/student relationship at KTS was markedly different from other schools in that some of the staff lived with the girls in the main building, dormitory style. Although they had lived and had been educated elsewhere, four of the teachers from start to end of term became part of the isolated environment in which the girls had lived all their lives. The association was mutually beneficial; its closeness enhanced the homelike environment for the girls and helped the teachers see the world through the eyes of their students.

The four teachers from the local area were paid by the Smyth County Board of Education. These teachers found boarding accommodations locally, and thus were aware of how the local adult population viewed the school's attempts to teach the students. Additionally, when the local county authorities were not able to provide care for some children, they petitioned KTS to take them (Morehead 1926,73-4).

The school curriculum was general enough to provide a basic education, and specific enough to meet the community's particular needs. English, mathematics, science, history, and writing made up the academic part of the curriculum. The subject matter had both depth and thoroughness. English included sections in reading, spelling, composition, grammar, literature, dramatics, and debating. Science included geography and physiology, as well as general science. Mathematics included arithmetic to prepare students for high school algebra.

Religious education and character building went hand in hand with academics (Hatcher 1930,125-9). A daily chapel service and Sunday School were offered. Older girls taught Sunday School after they completed the necessary training. A more formal church service, "preaching," was held when itinerant ministers, mission workers, or students attending theological seminars were available. Special religious services were held at Easter, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. Vacation Bible Schools were held, often with the older pupils teaching the younger children. Two religious organizations were in place: the Light Brigade for younger pupils, and the Luther League for older ones (Umbarger 1930,305-10).

No pupil can engage in such activities without getting the feeling of doing something useful, with its attendant rewards. Small wonder that pupils at KTS developed strong emotional ties to the school. The school was a godsend to the impoverished region. If it did nothing more than what it had originally set out to do, it would have accomplished its purpose, but with the principles put into place, the character and identity of Konnarock Training School was shaped until it closed its doors in 1959 (Umbarger 1930,307-8).

What did Konnarock do for its students? For children from impoverished homes with bleak outlooks for a better future and with little understanding of the world outside their mountains, KTS provided them an opportunity to be somebody and an environment in which that could happen. It gave them a life.

How do KTS graduates feel about their school? Why do they return to Konnarock each year to rejoin their fellow students? What are their thoughts and their feelings? For answers to these questions, the authors consulted publications (Tannen 1995) and the alumnae themselves.

A student from 1934- 1942 said,"Konnarock was not just a school for me. It was a community of girls and teachers who had fun, shared life experiences, and became friends and family. KTS in a very large way contributed to what I am doing today."

Another added, "I was at Konnarock for six years, and oh! it was the most wonderful place! A lot of girls got an education that they wouldn't have otherwise. We came from all over the mountains and none of us had much money. You can guess what a treat it was to have some comforts."

Konnarock Training School had a truly remarkable history. It represented an effort in which a religious institution cooperated with two county boards of education to enable a significant number of children to obtain an education that would have been denied them otherwise. It provided faculty members, whose dedication to students is exemplified by their decision to live with the students during the school term. KTS provided religious services for the community twice a month, and presented religion in such a manner that members of other denominations worshipped together with their Lutheran brothers and sisters.

Although those in authority might have believed that the success of KTS resulted from the type of curriculum and the school organization, the authors believe that there is more to the picture of why the school was so successful as seen by its students. The students perceived that the institution nurtured them because the teachers cared for them and believed that every student had the potential to grow in the spiritual, physical, emotional and academic domains. Those who were in contact with the students were perceived as living examples of the second great commandment of Christianity as stated in the book of Matthew -- to love your neighbor as yourself.

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Social Constructions that Influenced the Education of the Blind

Ronald Ferguson
Ball State University

The perceptions the general public has held about blindness and blind persons have gone a long way in constructing a mendacious view of their abilities and worth. Possibly the most oppressive burden of blindness is not blindness itself but, as Helen Keller wrote, "The attitude of the seeing to the blind is the hardest to bear" (Platt 1950, 57). The condescending attitudes she is referring to are largely formed from generations of myths and misconceptions about blindness. "Policy archaeology" (Scheurich 1994) maintains and this paper supports the belief that the sighted population's attitudes toward the blind are socially constructed (Ferguson 1995, 34 - 43). The purpose of this paper is to apply the analytic methodology of policy archaeology to identify some of the significant forces and ideas of the past three millennia which have influenced educational policy related to the blind, specifically the establishment of residential schools for the blind in the nineteenth century. This paper will begin with a brief description of policy archaeology, followed by an historical overview of some of the beliefs that have shaped the public's perception of the blind. The final section will illustrate how misconceptions of blindness influenced the school promoters in their establishment of residential schools.

A recent development in policy studies which provides a very useful framework for examining the history of the blind is "policy archaeology," which is a methodology for analyzing educational and social policy. In his article "Policy Archaeology: A New Policy Studies Methodology," James Scheurich argues that this methodology goes beyond traditional and postpositivist policy analysts' frameworks, which are restrictive because they "accept or presume a commitment to the larger liberal world view in which they exist" (Scheurich 1994, 299). In contrast, this new methodology provides "a radically different approach to policy studies in virtually all its aspects, including definitions of problems and problem groups, discussions of policies and policy alternatives, and presumptions about the function of policy studies within the larger social order" (299). Accordingly, policy archaeology is well suited to the investigation of the role of the marginalized voice of the organized blind.

For the purpose of analytical investigation, policy archaeology can be divided into four arenas. In arena I, the education/social problem arena, the focus is on the study of the social construction of specific education and social problems. The basic assumption that a certain social problem is an empirical given or is a natural consequence is questioned. Arena II identifies the network or grid of social regularities across education and social problem. These grids define the parameters from which acceptable policy choices are drawn. Arenas I and II are the focus of this paper. The next arena concentrates on the study of the social construction of the range of acceptable policy solutions. Consideration is given to how the grid of regularities sets the boundaries or context for policy solutions. The final arena, arena IV, is concerned with the study of the social functions of policy studies itself. This is done by examining the function of traditional and postpositivist policy studies within the larger social order.

On careful examination it becomes evident that many of the beliefs about the blind are misconceptions. Unfortunately, these misconceptions are reinforced in all types of literature and research related to the blind. Michael Monbeck, in a widely circulated book in the blindness field, *The Meaning of Blindness* (1973), wrote that "while the treatment of blind people has historically changed somewhat, beliefs about blindness and blind people have shown very little significant alteration over the last several thousand years" (Monbeck 1973, 24). Therefore, it is essential to give careful consideration to the study of the social construction of specific educational and social problems underpinning educational polices for the blind.

From ancient times some of the prevailing notions of the blind included perceptions that they were a useless burden to society, miserable due to their loss of sight, and worthy of disdain because it was believed that the blindness was the result of some punishment for a misdeed (Lowenfeld 1975, 22, 23). For example, Friedlander and Wissowa describe the daily existence of the blind in ancient Rome as miserable beggars often accompanied by a dog and existing on the discarded scraps from those who took pity on their plight. According to the writers, "Their refuge may have been an open shelter...[t]heir food may have been dog food, their only possession a staff, a cover or mat, and a knapsack, and their only deliverance death in a lonely corner" (22). Given this perception, some questioned the prudence of showing any benevolence to the blind since the "aim was to exterminate physically defective individuals, among them the blind . . (23). In keeping with the thought of the time "[t]o give food and drink to such an unlucky person is a double evil. You lose what you give and only lengthen the misery of the receiver" (23). With this type of exhortation it is easy to see that "blindness was looked upon as the worst misfortune that could befall a man . . ." (23).

For over three thousand years sighted people's responses to the blind can be broadly identified by three categories–pity, sin, and myth. Each of these has influenced, in a pejorative way, the understanding of disability as it relates to the blind. One of the most insidious notions about the blind is that they are to be pitied because of their disability. The widespread feeling of sorrow for those who are perceived to be helpless and hopeless seems to be the consequence of a variety of misconceived ideas regarding the blind. One of these ideas is that the sighted have assumed they must provide custodial care for the blind because the blind are not capable of managing their own lives. Two common sources of this notion of pity came from religious beliefs and low expectations of the blinds' capabilities.

Pity, inspired by religious sympathy, was a popular theme in the writings of Richard French, Michael Monbeck, and Barthold Lowenfeld, three influential figures in the blindness field. French highlighted the benevolent efforts of the early church to care for the blind. Monbeck explored how various religious writings have inspired feelings of pity. Monbeck drew on the Bible, Koran, Talmud and Midrash to support his "idea that blind people are particularly deserving of pity and sympathy" (Monbeck 1973, 26), because blindness was described as the "worst of infirmities" and "the greatest evil" (French 1932, 36). Thus, the afflicted are to be pittied because, "The blind man is as one dead" (Monbeck 1973, 28, 29).

Another perception of the blind is that they are blind for a reason, somehow deserving the tragedy that has visited them. Chevigny wrote in his autobiography *My Eyes Have a Cold Nose*, that: "With variations in circumstances and time. . . every man who suffers a calamity of the objectively tragic quality of blindness finds himself, like Job, surrounded by people who, in effect, debate with him on the nature of the evil which has befallen him" (48, 49). There are numerous passages in the Bible which could influence one to associate blindness with punishment for sin, giving rise to the belief that blindness is a punishment. The Pentateuch contains many instances of God warning the Hebrews through the prophet Moses that the guilty will not go unpunished. In giving the Ten Commandments Moses wrote that God "does not leave the guilty unpunished; he punishes the children and their children for the sin of the fathers to the third and fourth generation." Thus, blindness in children or grandchildren could be interpreted to be a punishment as a consequence for some sin of the fathers. A New Testament passage which deals directly with the issue of blindness as a consequence of sin is in St. John's Gospel. While walking with Jesus, his disciples noticed a blind beggar who was blind from birth. They asked Jesus, "Who sinned, this man or his parents, that he was born blind?" The response from Jesus was, "Neither this man nor his parents sinned but this happened so that the work of God might be displayed in his life." This passage is quite interesting because it goes on to describe a conflict that was occurring between Jesus and the Pharisees. They were upset over the healing of this blind man on a Sabbath. The Pharisees questioned the man who was healed and the formerly blind man turned the tables, in that he was instructing the Pharisees regarding religious teaching. This further upset the Pharisees. "To this they replied, 'You were steeped in sin at birth; how dare you lecture us!' And they threw him out." What is interesting is that while Jesus refuted the idea that blindness was a punishment, the Pharisees reinforced the notion.

Myth is a third category which has been a source of damaging notions about the blind. These myths powerfully influence the sighted to view blindness as a disability. Jessica Langworthy has researched the portrayal of the blind in works of fiction. She concluded, "No matter what the blind person's talents or lack of them are, all that he does, whether good or ill, is a result, in the minds of most people of his handicap" (Langworthy 1930, 270). Blindness is a very powerful identifying characteristic. Identity equals blindness much as identity equals gender. Some of the myths of blindness she discussed are that the blind are in darkness, they are miserable, helpless, useless, maladjusted, and compensated for their blindness.

The myth of blindness as darkness is a construction by the sighted population. The only relationship the sighted have with blindness is to close their eyes or stand in a darkened room. The sensation they experience is one of darkness; therefore they impose their perception on the blind and assume all they experience is darkness. In reality, a totally blind person sees nothing--the absence of any sensory stimuli. Nevertheless, the perception that the blind live in darkness creates all types of unfortunate misconceptions due to the sighted person's fears of darkness and the negative connotations associated with the dark.

The sixteenth century Dutch painter Pieter Breughel (c.1520-1569) vividly communicated the message that the blind grope helplessly in darkness. One of his paintings titled "The Parable of the Blind Leading the Blind," depicts six blind men walking in a line, each with one hand resting on the shoulder of the man in front of him. The lead man falls at the edge of a creek with the second one falling on top of him and the others poised to fall like dominos. Also of note is that the blind are painted without eyes, only empty sockets. The message of the picture summarizes the feelings of the sighted about the abilities of the blind.

Another powerful myth about blindness is that their disability causes them to be miserable. This theme has woven its way through literature, poetry and music for centuries. John Bunyan (1628-1688) described a blind child in *Grace Abounding*. He wrote, "Poor child, thought I, what sorrow art thou like to have for thy portion in this world! Thou must be beaten, must beg, suffer hunger, cold, nakedness, and a thousand calamities, though I cannot now endure that the wind should blow upon thee" (Merry 1933, 19). Best echoed this attitude, as he lamented their misfortune. He concluded, "In the mere absence of the sense of vision, there results to a human being a deprivation to which few if any other earthly ills are to be likened" (Best 1934, 289). This perception of misery is one of the central assumptions humanitarians, social reformers, policy analysts and organizations for the blind have about the blind.

Maybe the most grievous and detrimental myth about the blind is that they are perceived to be useless. Koestler wrote, "The belief that blindness equals uselessness has prevailed so long and so firmly in Western culture that its traces have yet to be fully erased" (Koestler 1976, 3). One conclusion that proceeds from the idea of the blind as useless is they must therefore be dependent on sighted people to survive. Basically the only thing a blind person can do is beg. The blind beggar is probably the most pungent picture of devastation of the disability of blindness that the sighted have constructed.

The notions of sin, pity, and myths contributed to the social construction of disability. Social reformers in the nineteenth century, influenced by this social regularity, established residential schools for blind students. Although this policy solution was not immediately endorsed by all citizens, the reasonableness of the solution did not take long to be accepted.

In the early 1830s three residential schools for the blind opened their doors to receive students--Perkins Institution and Massachusetts Asylum for the Blind, New York Institute for the Blind, and The Philadelphia Institution for the Instruction of the Blind. The directors of the first three residential schools were John. D. Russ at the New York School, Samuel G. Howe at Boston and Julius R. Friedlander in Philadelphia. Of the three Howe usually receives the most attention, possibly due to his active role in promoting residential schools in other states.

The basic educational beliefs of Howe were similar to those of his friend and common school promoter Horace Mann. Howe's educational ideas revolved around three assumptions:

> Each blind child must be considered as an individual and be educated according to his interests and abilities; the curriculum of the residential school should conform as closely as possible to that of the public day schools, with added stress on music and crafts; blind students must be trained to take their places in the social and economic life of their communities (Roberts 1986, 3).

Howe valued the intellectual benefits stemming from education and believed blind students could achieve high goals. One of his biographers, Laura Richards, noted Howe's optimism about the potential of the blind. He believed that the blind should "assume and perform all the relations and duties attendant upon that age" (Richards 1935, 81). Howe went on to write, "In short, forgetting that he is blind, he should associate with his fellow-citizens, and labour with the most intelligent and virtuous of them for the promotion of the public weal" (81). It is interesting to note that French tried to temper Howe's high regard for the potential of the blind. French wrote, "Howe, in his enthusiasm, perhaps overstated the educational possibilities of the blind, drawing a rather rosy picture of their future as professors of music and teachers both of the blind and of the seeing, as well as craftsmen" (French 1932, 117, 118).

A particularly important idea of Howe's, and one that was used throughout the years to justify large expenditures to fund blind education, was that investing in the education of the blind would have economic benefits. Howe, in one of his early reports, wrote that "it should become a matter of state policy to educate the blind since nine out of ten of this class of persons if left to themselves would in some way burden the community with their support, while every one who is educated and thereby able to provide for himself is a citizen rescued from the almshouse and made a happy and useful member of society" (Gabriel 1950, 23). In his report of 1833 Howe stated that an objective of the institution was "to take from society so many deadweights and enable them to get their own livelihood: and society ought to consider any capital so invested as a sinking fund for the redemption of its charitable debt; as a provision for preventing the Blind from becoming taxes to the community" (French 1932, 117). This reflects the human capital theory which values persons provided they have an economic value to society.

Although the residential schools were to follow closely the common school curriculum, there was one significant addition to the blind schools which subtly reflected the attitude that even if blind children were given a similar education, they would still not be able to compete with the sighted when it came to employment. This feature of the residential schools was the establishment of vocational workshops which employed blind students who graduated from the school in the blind trades. All students, regardless of their academic or career goals "had to acquire skill in one craft and apprenticing in this craft was at least of equal importance with the academic learning offered" (Lowenfeld 1975, 92, 93).

With this background of the rise of residential schools it is now important to examine how attitudes people had about blindness impacted the funding, establishment, and expectations of these schools. The first three schools for the blind in the United States were private institutions supported by individuals as well as with some state monies. A primary means of raising public support was to appeal to people's emotions. Best noted that, "[i]n the creation of the schools for the blind in America the chief appeal was to the heart. It was usually only necessary to invoke commiseration for their lot to secure the desired action" (Best 1934, 312). This is an example of the powerful influence the social regularity of disability had on the general public. Howe appealed to Americans' pride and humanitarian spirit as he conjured "the philanthropist and the patriot to assist in adding an Asylum for the Blind to the many charitable and humane establishments that ennoble and beautify our land." He went on to exhort in his first Annual Report, "Let our Hospitals, our Asylums, and our Infirmaries be cherished and venerated by us....Let these be the monuments by which our age and country shall be distinguished. They are the infallible evidence of an enlightened, refined and Christian community" (French 1932, 113). Policy archaeology leads to a different conclusion, that this type of action was the evidence of the power of the social regularity of disability.

Prior to the incorporation of the school for the blind in Ohio, the General Assembly appointed Trustees to collect information regarding the opening of a school in Ohio. The trustees reported their findings to the Thirty-sixth General Assembly. The opening paragraph of the report stated:

> It would be a waste of time, and would not be respectful to the good sense and benevolent feelings of the Legislature, to institute a process of reasoning, for the purpose of proving that it is truly a charity worthy of the philanthropist or of the enlightened legislator, to overcome, in every practicable degree, and to alleviate, by every proper means, the misfortune of those citizens who enjoy not the comfort and the profit of the glorious light of Heaven. If it is charity, heaven-born charity, to feed the hungry...it is surely charity to give light to those who are in darkness--to give the seeing eye to the blind, by furnishing those means and affording that instruction which may render feeling and hearing to admit a substitute for the seeing eye (*Report*, 3).

Note how the language used appealed to the emotions, and characterized the blind, although maybe unintentionally, as inferior persons.

The subtlety of these attitudes are evident in the early endeavors to educate blind children in residential schools. Howe, along with other school promoters, solicited support for residential schools by emphasizing the economic advantages it would have for society. Appealing to the ideas that we know today as the human capital theory, the promoters argued that the blind could be redeemed through training them to perform "blind jobs" (basket weaving, chair caning) and thus be able to recover much of the cost involved in their education plus eliminate the economic burden they would become to society if they were not trained.

Like other marginalized groups the blind were viewed as less than human, and this justified the actions taken to assume control over them. Furthermore, because they were perceived to be defective their opinions were not sought.

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Multiculturalism in Western Europe

David Poveda
Suffolk University at Madrid, Spain

Since multiculturalism has been a complex social theme, educators in the United States and Western Europe approached it differently. These differences may not be surprising in principle; however, they require attention because people seem to act as if multiculturalism exists as a universal ideological principle to guide social action. Unless these discrepancies are mediated, it is possible that multiculturalism will have the ironic effect of inhibiting social progress. This essay will present the historical underpinnings of multiculturalism in Western Europe in order to show the social problems that multiculturalism should address and the ideological framework best suited for the task.

One argument in multiculturalism stems from the field of history. Some educators assert that a substantial revision of the historical account of many countries has to be undertaken because textbooks portray an inaccurate picture of the roles that different groups played in the development of the nation. In the U.S., ideological camps are becoming well defined. Similarly, European educators ask about the historical construction of the European identity and wonder if it should be revised. They seek to establish the basic cultural traits of Western Europe and the characteristics of the Western European nation-state.

One salient aspect in the history of Western European nations has been the struggle to develop a Christian identity. The result of this long process is the reflection of one cultural and political view in such social institutions as schools and courts of law. One approach to empower minorities, practiced in the United States, is to show how they have historically contributed to the development of the country. Since many central European and Mediterranean countries have a long and important history of contact and co-existence with the Muslim and Jewish cultures, this could suggest that the transmission of European history should also undertake a similar revision.

The philosophy of enlightenment claimed to address the universal characteristics of human beings and build an institutional system that could accommodate differences among its inhabitants. This happened in the United States, a country of immigrants. Despite this historical bond, there have been many transformations in the contemporary organization of several Western European nation-states. For example, the separation between Church and State is not clear in some cases, or when it is nominally established there are still formal mechanisms of collaboration that influence many features of society.

The history of many European nation-states is characterized by the co-existence of regionally distinct religions such as Protestant and Catholic, linguistic groups such as Basque, Catalonian, and Galician in Spain, or national minority groups such as Gypsies. As a result, many countries have political organizations that recognize plurality within the nation-state. These include officially multilingual countries, or federal nation-states. Western European multiculturalism can use the cultural diversity that has existed within the nation-state as a building-block for a system that can include immigrants from non-European countries. It may require significant policy and ideological work to do so.

The basis of the current relations between Western European and non-European people can be understood by returning to the moment when Europe came into contact with the rest of the world. What was the nature of this relationship and what ideological concepts developed from it?. The answers are found in colonialism and migration.

For many scholars, modern racism can be traced to eighteenth century Europe (Wieviorka 1993). Through the development of the nation-states, the colonies, and the "scientific-comparative" analysis of human groups, the hierarchical arrangement of the world's racial groups was established. Furthermore, some of the Europeans who received the benefits of the colonies viewed the exterior world as an exotic object of contemplation and consumption.

Europe has been heavily affected by migration for the last two hundred years, serving as both a departure and a destination point. After World War II, the economical development of North-Central European countries created a labor demand that could not be met by the indigenous population. Therefore, a policy framework to recruit labor from other countries was established from the 50's to the 70's (Eldering 1989). Initially, they came from Southern European countries, and later they came from Northern Africa and Turkey. First, this influx was understood as temporary, but later they became permanent residents. This increasing number of immigrants from non-European countries is problematic. In general, there are four categories of non-European Union immigrants in European countries. First, with de-colonization many countries became hosts of large number of immigrants from their former colonies. The diverse ties that relate these migrants to their European hosts accounts for different and complex accommodation processes of each subgroup. Second, organized labor migration since the mid-sixties progressively included more North African and Turkish workers. This process lost its "original structure" in the late seventies and has evolved into generalized migration from developing countries into Europe. Third, the dissolution of the Soviet block and the economic and political problems that have developed produced a significant number of migrants and refugees into Western Europe (Carter, French, Salt 1995). Fourth, there are a number of political refugees in many European countries who have varied status and resources depending on the policies of each nation-state.

Two important questions remain: What is the situation of minority and immigrant students in Europe? What knowledge has developed in the last decades that can contribute to improve their situation? The most consistent demographical trend is urban immigration. It is crucial to contrast numbers at the national, regional and local level and in each age group to uncover the situation of target groups. While migrants in many countries may represent between 6% and 10% of the total population, in several urban areas, minorities tend to include up to one fourth of the population. Most of all, it is the current and future school-aged population that reflects the highest proportion of immigrants. For example, the total migrant population of the Netherlands is 7% while the total minority population of Amsterdam is 25%. Yet ethnic minorities probably constitute 70% of the youth population in this city (Fase 1994; Alkan 1996; Karsten 1995).

Any approach directed towards the socio-educational enhancement of minorities will have to be contextualized to the characteristics of the Western European urban settings. For the moment, European cities maintain a degree of socio-economical diversity and have a central political and social role. Although geographical stratification may exist, there is no clear picture in relation to an outer or inner city distribution of rich or poor people. In general, there have not been sufficiently large concentrations of single minority groups in specific communities to dominate the institutions of that area. Consequently, for many European researchers the urban underclass or the ethnic neighborhood are North American phenomena (Solomos and Wrench 1993).

Ethnicity is emerging as a variable in research as scholars refine the analytical tools of modern practice and break down some of the classic differences between the sociological and policy traditions of North America and Europe (Troyna 1993). Throughout the 1980s, many topics common in the United States found their way into the Western European educational arena. These include the problems of psychometric assessment for ethnic minorities, methodological concerns with second language instruction, and equality of educational opportunity in secondary education. Theoretical similarities can be explained by the academic traditions that are shared and by the great influence of North American research. Differences appear at the level of practice, which is constrained by the characteristics of the educational systems of each country. For example, some countries want to confront issues of equality of educational opportunity in secondary education and maintain the idea of different tracks, or they wish to concentrate minority students and resources in specific schools within a district.

The holistic answer to these issues is multiculturalism. In Western Europe this process involves three intertwined levels of discourse at the supra-national level, that there is a larger unit that needs to de defined. Within the nation-state, educators must acknowledge that there is historical diversity, and they must embrace the recent changes that have occurred in the composition of its society. In Europe in the early seventies, programs evolved from experimental pilot projects to the definition of topic areas to general socio-educational issues. This reflected the change in conceptualization mentioned earlier about workers becoming permanent residents.

Currently, developments in relation to ethnic minorities are at a stage where it is acknowledged that they are a part of Europe. Particularly relevant is the disappearance of internal borders, suggesting the need for a redefinition of the concept and rights of European Union citizens (Balibar 1988; Balibar 1991; King 1995). This is not simple. It requires harmonizing diverse views and combining different principles to which indigenous Europeans and first or second generation immigrants have different claims. This process has little historical precedent.

What should the principles of multiculturalism in Western Europe be? This is a complex question that deals with many pragmatic constraints. First, there should be an ethical commitment, in what essentially is a new socio-historical reconstruction (Peters 1996). Second, social scientists have the challenge to suggest what problems should be addressed in Western Europe. Multiculturalism provides a powerful framework (Hamm 1992).

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The Conflict Between Education Reformers and the Needs of Teachers

Robert J. Taggart
University of Delaware

For the last quarter-century, the most vocal and powerful educational reformers have been led by business interests in league with highly visible politicians. They have insisted that our public schools are not up to preparing American children for the future workforce to face international economic competition, and that our teachers are to blame for this. There have been repeated state initiatives to increase the accountability of teachers for student results as well as attempts to increase academic standards for students. Though there have been marginal gains in academic results, not much has really changed in the public schools. One reason for this is the lack of cooperation from the nations' teachers.

Why haven't the teachers been at the forefront of reform? There are two major reasons. First, many reformers insist that the teachers are as much the problem as the solution. For almost three decades, reformers have demanded that educators become accountable for results, implying that teachers know how to promote success in all of their students but are just too perverse to do so. Second, since legislators and many reformers believe educators are the problem, they see little reason to consult teachers as to solutions to perceived student problems. This demeans the teachers because they realize their knowledge is discounted, and angers them because they have little reason to believe reformers know much about student learning in a classroom situation. Reformers, particularly the business-led variety so prominent during the last 20 years, refuse to acknowledge the legitimacy of the teachers' culture: their ideals, needs, and motivation. The result is teachers tend to see reforms as ill-informed intrusions upon their territory by people who not only ignore their personal and professional needs, but also make their job harder and less rewarding (Biklen 1995).

The real problem is reformers and teachers do not communicate, which is caused by the reformers' failure either to understand or appreciate elementary teachers. It is ironic that reformers tend to attack current teachers, seeming to say that they are not as good as their predecessors. In fact, there is little reason to believe that noneducators have ever held elementary teachers in high esteem. This perception stems from the problems of the early teaching profession. When the public schools began their rapid growth in the 19th century, most children attended rural schools, as they did into the next century. As diaries, letters, and other written materials attest, conditions in these schools were grim. Pay was minimal, terms short, and equipment scarce. As a result, turnover was high because the only way most teachers could improve their lot was to move to another district (Fuller 1989). As late as the 1920s, rural teachers might have separate recitations for the many groups located among six or eight grades (Department of the Interior 1924). Under such conditions, relying entirely on readers or a few textbooks, teachers could do little more than drill students. As Barbara Finkelstein noted, less than one percent of the 1,000 teachers she reviewed attempted to explain the content to students or clarify ideas (Cuban 1984).

Elementary teachers have also had an unpleasant image as grim moralizers who uphold authority. As Cyrus Pierce, initial principal of Lexington Normal School, stated, the ideal teacher must have perfect self-control, mildness, a sense of moral responsibility, a "well" of obedience, and submission to her betters (Grumet 1988). The model teacher would serve as an antidote to the brutal competitive world of Victorian America by providing youth with a proper moral character, but by doing so, she lost her legitimacy as a role model in that individualistic culture. As Robert Lynd noted in *Middletown in Transition* sixty years ago, teachers were seen as "meager souls," out of touch with the world, "the sort of people one can hire for the wages of a clerk in a retail store" since they "couldn't make good in business" on their own (Lynd 1937).

The feminization of teaching extended the separation citizens saw between teachers and the more vital adult world outside the school. By 1900, women constituted three-quarters of all elementary teachers in the U.S. (Rury 1989). The late Victorians continued to think of female teachers of young children as self-sacrificing, submissive creatures whose virtues were those of the softer side of human nature. Women's personal attributes fit them well for the nurturance of young children's character development, but many men believed that such feminine virtues were dangerous to the growth of strong males able to fend for themselves in the rugged world of individual competition

(Douglas 1979). In the words of Sara Lightfoot, women elementary teachers were viewed as likely to produce in children characteristics "antithetical to the aggressive, instrumental roles needed in the world of men and work" (Lightfoot 1978).

The feminization of classrooms included the image of women elementary teachers as mothers, serving in a kind of home. The romanticization of the home justified the importance of woman as mother, but it also separated the mother role from the world outside the home. Though women might insist the home was equal to commercial and political activities in importance, there is little reason to believe men agreed with them. The school as a safe, stable, cooperative, and sensitive home environment remains at odds with the masculine world of physical effort, mobility, productivity, and individual striving. The school reforms of the 1950s and 1980s continued this dualism of the male authority of traditional disciplines and the attainment of clear standards over personal interpretation. Worst of all, schools are seen by most reformers as little more than producers of human capital, a ready workforce for the world for which there is no "soft" side (Grumet 1988). As long as elementary teachers are seen as models of the feminine part of humanity by the product-oriented male reformers who run our society, teachers will not be taken seriously by those reformers.

Another problem for teachers of young children is their lack of control over their professional world. They have had little say about standardized testing policies, grading policies, discipline codes, expenditure priorities, or what books to use. They do not control who their clients are or how many they have, the length of the day or period, or even the format of the report card (Shedd and Barcharach 1991). Their dependence on others extends to the community. As Hollingshead reminded us in the 1940s, one of the major objectives of the local board of education was to see that teachers conformed in the classroom and in their personal lives to the most conservative doctrines prevailing in the local culture (Hollingshead 1949). Elementary teachers' lack of respect by the public is aggravated by educators' vagueness about the definition of good teaching practice. Since virtually everyone has attended school a long time, he tends to believe he knows what "keeping school" is: giving lessons and maintaining control. Elementary teachers are generalists who are with young children every day, and are therefore viewed as more like surrogate parents than experts deserving respect for their expertise. The apparent lack of teacher power to control the important variables of teacher's professional lives causes much of the public to wonder if teachers' lack of power is deserved, especially when the goals of education seem ambiguous (Johnson 1990). Teachers also cannot stop the permeability of the school, though they certainly try by keeping parents at bay (McPherson 1972). Outsiders continually make new commitments for educators, while either telling them to change what they are doing or ignoring the complexity of the tasks that teachers do.

Many reforms fail because there is a fundamental clash of views between noneducators and elementary teachers as to what constitutes a professional teacher. Social scientists tend to use the models of physicians and attorneys as ideal examples. Ideally, professionals possess both acknowledged expertise, acquired in a long, rigorous academic training followed by an extended mentorship, and an authority unchallenged by nonexperts. Therefore they have significant deference from clients who pay them fees directly. They base their authority upon an objective appraisal of the facts. They also work full-time in a career with clear promotional ranks based on peer review (Biklen 1995). Social scientists argue that elementary teachers fail on all counts (Etzioni 1969). Teachers of young children have had four year college degrees only the last half-century, and few would argue their academic training is difficult. There has always been a vigorous debate about what expert knowledge teachers must possess about the "science" of education. Teachers are not accorded an unchallenged authority, since public education is, by definition, under public control. Teaching also lacks promotional ranks. The solution to these weaknesses in the profession is to gain the attributes social scientists list for them. We are then to believe that the public will give teachers status and the deference they desire, and children will then learn more from these true professionals who now have self-esteem and high standards.

There are at least two problems with this formulation. First, professionals in the U.S. are not held in the same esteem by nonprofessionals as they once were. Lawsuits against professionals frequently occur. In a democracy, Americans have always been ambivalent about those who insist they are superior and deserve deference. Second, elementary teachers believe they already are a profession. Their domain is the classroom, in which they believe they are managers of learning, not technicians of instruction, and so do not need close supervision. As Shedd and Bacharach suggest, their classroom role is most like that of a civil engineer who must analyze and interpret data while constructing a structure that must be flexible yet strong (Shedd and Bacharach 1991). It is a complicated job, requiring anticipation, reflection, adaptation, and innovation guided by intuitive hunches (Schon 1983). To elementary teachers professionals do their energetic best with the students they are given. Being professional does not mean devoting 35 uninterrupted years of service, any more than being a mother, wife, and surrogate mother to her students denigrates the professional role. Each role enhances the others.

Teachers have their own reward system which is usually at odds with reformers' ideas for improvement. Whether elementary teachers are traditional in their goals and methodology or not, they tend to look for the same intrinsic rewards. As Lortie (1975) stated, most educators believe that teaching is satisfying when positive things happen in the classroom to their students, and when they have reached students who have learned because of their efforts. In interviews, teachers say that they are most pleased when they receive positive comments from students, other teachers, parents, and principals, and get discouraged when positive feedback is absent.

Teachers also have several norms that have become ingrained in the profession. While not all teachers adhere to them, it is difficult for new teachers or nonteachers to break these down because they have served teachers well in their occupation. First, is noninterference, whereby teachers do not offer assistance to other teachers unless asked, and even then, offer as little as possible. Noninterference gives at least the illusion of protection to their control of the classroom, and it provides a legitimacy for that which teachers do control in each classroom, such as when students talk, where they sit, which tasks they do, with what tools, and with whom. A second norm is equalitarianism, in which no teacher considers herself superior to another as long as she tries to do the best she can. Teachers tend to focus on the process of instruction more than student results, in part as a defense mechanism to counter the lack of control over whom they have as clients. When nonteachers insist that treating all teachers the same in terms of salary raises regardless of student results makes it impossible to hold teachers accountable for student learning, most teachers would state that accountability is a dual responsibility in which both teachers and students must do their best. The accountability proponents of the Seventies and beyond have ignored this implied contract between teachers and students. As with physicians, good teachers diagnose each situation to the best of their ability and then prescribe a solution many times a day. Both depend upon the cooperation of the client to accept the diagnosis and to act on that basis.

Both merit pay and career ladder proposals are contradictory to equalitarianism. Teachers have often fought merit pay because it divides them in ways that presume some teachers are superior to others. Since teachers believe they have little control over who their students are, they also believe it is unfair to single out a few teachers who had good students chosen for them. Teachers dislike the implied competition inherent to merit pay because it destroys the equalitarian community that teachers believe they have (Murname and Cohen 1986).

Career ladders are rare in American school districts because they also contradict the teachers' equalitarian ethic. Promoted by private organizations such as the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy and the Holmes Group, career ladders would presumably make teaching a true career with levels determined by promotions, resulting in differentiated functions (Johnson 1990). Career ladder advocates argue that the rigorous promotion regimen will impress the public so much that they will be glad to provide the tax funds for large promotional increments. In a few wealthy districts, this has occurred. But many districts are not able to fund current salary raises adequately; why would the public pay more so that some teachers will receive higher salaries for doing an excellent job? Shouldn't all teachers be excellent? Besides taxpayers, most teachers are not excited about career ladders because they believe that all teachers deserve more pay and recognition, not a special few. Teachers have spent decades to attain equal rewards and status in nonhierarchical relations to one another, so they are not excited about differentiating pay or power within the profession (Tyack and Cuban 1995).

Teachers believe they have a momentous task. They must teach many subjects to students of different levels, with constant demands and interruptions made upon their time. Beyond that, elementary teachers would note the emotional cost of being with children 180 days a year in order to develop each child fully. There is only so much change a teacher can do. Few teachers believe they need more dissonance in their lives (Cuban 1984). However, dissonance is exactly what the endless stream of efforts to reform American schools has brought upon teachers during the past century. Reformers have always argued that teachers are inadequate and so must be required to change, and when teachers resist or do not respond fully to the proposed change, they are attacked for their intransigence. Since reformers tend to see anything less than total change a failure by educators, teachers have learned to cope by pretending to change by mouthing the rhetoric while continuing to work as before because the methods they already use work for them (Biklen 1995). Progressive education provides a powerful example of such a reform.

Lawrence Cremin and Diane Ravitch have both claimed that progressive education transformed the educational aims of the school (Cremin 1961). If so, we would expect classrooms to be student-centered, with student interests the starting point for all learning. In fact, as Larry Cuban has found, few classrooms have ever operated this way (Cuban 1984). Most classrooms have been and remain teacher and subject-centered. Teachers continued to instruct the three R's in a disciplined, controlled manner. John Dewey remarked in the 1950s that progressive reform had been undermined because educators adopted the progressive rhetoric in schools and in teacher training colleges, but ignored substantive changes to instructional method (Zilversmit 1993). The rhetoric included individualized instruction, student initiated change, and democratic classroom management. The reality was lectures, individual seatwork, and short answer tests (Cuban 1984). The so-called science of education predominated in the schools, with its emphasis on testing, measurement, and efficient organization. This fit more closely into the teachers' desire for control and regularity far better than noisy, unpredictable, democratic problem-solving through group projects. Most teachers and parents liked traditional patterns of education because they believed it served their needs and that of the children best in a competitive society. Most Americans believe social progress is best promoted by individual effort, not cooperative endeavors. Therefore, student-centered education will always be difficult for most Americans to accept unless the socio-economic system changes (Cuban 1984).

Later school reform efforts have also failed to transform classroom practice because they ignored the needs of teachers. The curriculum reform movement of the 1960s is a classic case. University professors of science and mathematics wrote new curricula without adequate knowledge of either classroom realities or children's learning capabilities. Teachers were angered because the "teacher proof" curricula were difficult to use and the in-service training inadequate. As Charles Silberman stated, the "effort was doomed to failure" because "the classroom teacher is in an almost perfect position to sabotage a curriculum he finds offensive, and teachers are not likely to have a high regard for courses designed to bypass them" (Silberman 1970). Nor was the open education movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s so favored by Silberman any more successful. Patterned after practices in a minority of British primary schools and reminiscent of previous progressive practices, open education sought to destroy the boundaries between subjects, children, teachers, parents, and the community, while empowering students to make choices as to learning methods and goals. Whereas Cuban estimates that one-quarter of elementary teachers used some aspect of informal education, most ignored it for the same reasons they ignored progressive practices in earlier decades; it made their classroom life more difficult (Cuban 1984).

Performance contracting took place at the same time as the open education movement. Military and corporation organization experts attempted to attain higher student math and reading scores by teacher-proof curricula that students learned on machines. Education had become a matter of properly managed objectives using the science of behavioral engineering. Teachers became technicians, or "instructional managers," who oversaw student drill on preplanned tasks. As with the curriculum reforms of a decade earlier, teachers were rarely consulted. Public enthusiasm diminished after outside evaluators found little or no significant difference between experimental and control groups. Federal funding ceased, and the movement was dead by 1975, just like open education (Gramlich and Koshel 1975).

By the 1980s, another wave of reforms burst forth as if nothing had occurred before. Spurred by the economic malaise of the Seventies and the Reagan administration, business-led reformers claimed that our public school students were performing at such a mediocre level as to put our nation at risk from international rivals. The excellence movement, as it was called, demanded more time in school for students completing academic tasks, with clear standards for all. By the 1990s, the Bush administration authorized the New American Schools Development Corporation "to achieve a quantum leap in learning." It was to develop the best schools in the world by assuming "that the schools we have inherited do not exist" (U.S. Department of Education 1991). As part of the Education 2000 program, the Corporation meant to transform the nation's schools. Once again, reformers ignored educators because they were the problem, not the solution. Corporation executives formed the original board of directors because they believed educators did not know how to produce good learning. Ironically, reforms will have to be implemented by teachers--and who is listening to them?

States are now the foci as reformers press legislators to set higher academic standards. In Delaware, the legislature authorized funds to implement a "New Directions" program, with learning objectives students must "know and do" in science, math, English/language arts, and social studies (Delaware 1996). The main problem now, as with so many reforms, is assessment. The State Department of Education held an Interim Assessment Test two years ago that was a disaster. Students performed poorly on tests assessing information on which teachers had not instructed them. This angered teachers and parents so much that the legislature canceled last year's follow-up test. Educators now are more anxious than ever about negative consequences to low test scores; many must wonder whether they have any reason to trust reformers or even cooperate with them (Miller 1996).

Restructuring is another current goal of reformers, that is, a total change in the organization engineered from the top, with extensive cuts and new functions assigned to employees, all in the name of efficiency and productivity. Unfortunately, it has been applied in the business world to achieve higher profits, a goal different and far clearer than school success. In Delaware, there are supposed to be restructured schools by 1997 with shared decision making among teachers, administrators, and parents. The major question is whether local boards or administrators will allow meaningful control over school functions by teachers and parents.

If teachers can make sense of change and retain control of the daily routine in their classroom, then they will accept at least some of that change. If reformers insist on systemic, complicated change, then those changes will fail. Effective educational change is best achieved school by school. There seems to be little historical evidence of system-wide changes in education that actually transform practice in a majority of classrooms. There have been no revolutions in education as far as teachers are concerned; just endless skirmishes which teachers attempt to fight on their own turf. They have learned to use what they can to help them achieve their classroom goals, and ignore the rest.

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Differences Among Urban and Rural Teachers in Indiana (1820-1860)

Kathleen Ann Murphey
Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne

The literature on nineteenth century schooling and teaching generally falls into two categories: the history of urban school teaching (Tyack 1974) and the history of rural or country school teaching (Fuller 1982, Gulliford 1984). The portrait of teachers in each group is distinctly different. Other studies do not make an urban/rural or city/country distinction at all, such as some studies specifically on women teachers (Hoffman 1981, Kaufman 1984), making it difficult to overlay their results on the studies of urban and rural educators.

This study looks at teaching and teachers in mid-nineteenth century Allen County in northeast Indiana, and compares the developments in its largest city, Fort Wayne, with the developments in the surrounding, rural nineteen townships. It asks in what ways the rather sharp distinction between urban and country teachers was a true portrait of the reality in Allen County, and why it is important to understand the precise nature of the differences and likenesses in order to accurately assess the history of the educational labor force in the mid-nineteenth century.

This study begins with the founding of Allen County in 1824, soon after the founding of the state of Indiana in 1816, and moves through the birth of Indiana's public schools in the 1850s. The city of Fort Wayne had evolved during this period from a military outpost of the U.S. government and trading center, previously a stronghold and trading center of, respectively, the British, French, and various Native American groups, to a medium-size, industrializing urban area. In the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s Fort Wayne attracted immigrants from many areas of Europe, but especially Germany, as its economy developed with the building of plank roads, canals, and railroads. The outlying townships around Fort Wayne in Allen County came into existence during the 1830s and 1840s as the farming population grew. While there was ethnic diversity among the settlers in the townships, settlers tended to be migrants of English and German background from Eastern and Southern states, as well as new immigrants to the U.S., largely from Germany (Brice 1868, Griswold 1917, Hawfield 1992, Poinsatte 1976).

Religious diversity in both Fort Wayne and the surrounding townships was great, and denominational rivalries spurred some of the earliest developments in education. In Fort Wayne between 1820 and 1860 Quakers, Baptists, Old and New School Presbyterians, American and German Methodists, French, German , and Irish Catholics, German and English Lutherans, Episcopalians, African Methodists (A.M.E.), Orthodox and Reform Jews, Swendenborgians, Christian Disciples, and Universalists formed religious congregations (Mather 1992). The religious diversity in the surrounding countryside was also great (Helm 1880).

Fort Wayne's economic development in the mid-nineteenth century came to be more industrial than the development in its neighboring townships. Educationally, however, Fort Wayne and the townships shared a common heritage. Indiana, which had evolved out of the old Northwest Territory, had inherited the legacy of district schools as spelled out by the Northwest Ordinance, i.e., the land or the proceeds from lease or sale of one section, the sixteenth, of each congressional township, was allocated for education. The spirit of this Ordinance was reproduced in the enabling legislation for Indiana statehood in 1816. This led to numerous small, one-room schools throughout Indiana. The funding was insufficient to support the schools, however, thus most district schools also charged a subscription rate, or tuition. Until states explicitly allowed cities, towns, and townships to establish schools, a change that came in Indiana with Common School legislation in 1852, the district schools had to suffice for city children as well. Thus, private venture, entrepreneurial, and denominational schools began to fill the void, especially in cities (Barnhart and Carmony 1954, vol. 1, vol. 2, Boone 1892, Cotton 1934, Newman 1926, 229-276, Madison 1986).

Common schools, or state overseen, public schools did not come about easily in Indiana. In 1848 a vote was taken statewide regarding the establishment of public schools. Fifty-six percent of the voters in Indiana supported the proposal (Boone 1892, 107-8), yet the state legislature passed no enabling legislation. In 1851 a new Indiana constitution set the ground work for legislation in 1852 that provided the administrative structure and funding to make public schools possible. Civil townships would be the new unit of administration. The former congressional township funds would go to the state to distribute according to student attendance in each township. Townships had new powers to tax, as did cities and towns, which could form separate school corporations. Opposition arose, however, over the new method of distributing the former congressional funds beyond their local borders and over the new local taxing powers. Both measures were contested in court and eventually found unconstitutional. As cases came to court and new laws were written, Indiana's public schools, including those in Fort Wayne and the surrounding townships in Allen County, struggled to survive (Barnhart and Carmony, vol. 2, Boone 1892, Cotton 1934, Thornbrough 1965, Herrling 1940, 3-14).

For Fort Wayne this meant the schools opened in 1853-54, closed, then reopened in 1857, closed in the Fall of 1859, and re-opened in 1860. The openings and closings had to do with extended and withheld state funds, as well as local opposition to Common Schools. In the townships around Fort Wayne the opening of the first public schools varied, reflecting, like in Fort Wayne, the degree of local support for Common Schools, as well as the fluctuating success of Common School legislation at the state level (Kirby 1979, 13-25, 1980, 50-60, 1981, 1-10, 1983, 3-15, Murphey 1995).

In Fort Wayne, prior to the advent of Common Schools, a varied array of schools and teachers had emerged. The first school in the Fort in 1820 was run by a Baptist missionary, ostensibly for the children of the local Native American tribe, the Miami. It folded after two years (Hawfield 1992, 18-19, Mather 1992, 8-14, McCoy 1840, Steele 1973, 1-12).

From 1824 to the mid-1830s a county seminary opened in Fort Wayne, which ran on some public monies, but was largely a subscription school, taught by a series of male teachers for one or two years. Most men came from business careers and left to resume them, or they earned money as they studied law, or made contacts to pursue a life of public service. Some moved on into the ministry, or taught in addition to their clerical duties to earn money. In 1836 two women teachers, Susan Man and Alida Hubbell, were recruited from Catherine Beecher's Hartford Female Academy by a couple of the founding fathers of Fort Wayne to start a school. The women had barely arrived when they were convinced to work instead with a Lutheran minister, who taught a school in the basement of the Presbyterian church for children of all faiths. The minister died, the women teachers married, and the two men who continued the school, Alexander McJunkin and William W. Steevens, did so for only a short time before starting their own schools. Both men taught for many years, but later went on to careers in business and law (Cook 1926, Irwin, 1894, 252-272, Richards 1984, 3-15, Truitt 1971).

Lutherans opened a school in 1839; Presbyterians and Catholics opened schools in the mid-1840s; Methodists opened a college in 1846. While the Catholic and Lutheran schools maintained themselves and grew, the Presbyterians floundered but began again in 1853 and made their way until 1867 when they turned over their school to the public schools. Jewish and Episcopalian congregations also started schools in the 1850s (Cook 1926, Irwin 1894, 252-272, Mather 1992).

The denominational and subscription or private venture schools in Fort Wayne were taught by clergy and non-clergy, of the same faith as the students and founders or not, men and women, married and single. The schools each had only one or two teachers, thus the fate of the school and the fate of the teachers were synonymous. If the teacher left, the school usually closed; if the school closed, the teacher had to find other work. With a couple of notable exceptions, i.e., McJunkin and Steevens, most private venture schools were of very short duration; most denominational schools had high teacher turnover (Cook 1926, Irwin 1894, 252-272, Murphey 1995).

In Fort Wayne most subscription school teachers had no specific training for teaching, though most had received some advanced general education. Careers in education were, for the most part, short, as tradition led men and women, for different reasons, out of teaching. Men followed other careers, most single women married. In Fort Wayne, competition among schools further shortened brief careers. By 1853, the year the public schools began, there were many private venture and denominational schools in Fort Wayne (Ibid.).

In Allen County's nineteen townships surrounding Fort Wayne, the story of schooling and teachers was similar, though much reduced in scope, before the establishment of the first free schools in the mid-1850s. Adams Township, southeast of Fort Wayne, was typical. After the fall harvest residents began to consider "the idea of a winter school . . . and each subscribed a certain amount for the school fund of that year." Finding a teacher was difficult:

> "Usually, a stranger made his appearance in the settlement, recommending himself as a teacher. He was engaged for the term, and sometimes the services of a good teacher were thus secured, and a course of instruction given which was of vast benefit to the scholars. At other times, the teacher proved to be of inferior attainments, and the winter school was scarcely more than a farce."

A log schoolhouse had been built in 1829 on the land of a local farmer. The first schoolteacher "was a man of fine acquirements, and conducted what was unanimously pronounced "a good school," but his services could not be secured for more than one term" (Helm 1880, 142).

This system of subscription schools in Adams Township continued until 1854. At that time three school trustees called an election to vote in a school tax. It aroused "violent opposition," as it had in Fort Wayne. The tax was defeated. The State Superintendent encouraged the trustees "to call another election for the same purpose, and to do so repeatedly, if necessary, assuring them that their cause would gain an increased number of votes each time." Each trustee then canvassed a portion of the township, and, "when they thought the question had been placed before the people in its proper light, another election was held, and the result was a victory for the free schools" (Ibid.). The first free school was then erected in 1854, and the school at New Haven, a town in the township, was converted into a free school.

In Aboit Township the first subscription school was taught in a cabin on a farm in 1837; the farmer "donated the stove and boarded the teacher." In Cedar Creek Township the first school house was also built in 1837, but it was inaccessible because of its location near a swamp and far from children. It was left to decay. Schooling did not begin until 1857 with the first public school. In Eel River Township the first school was built on a farm in 1837. In Jefferson Township a subscription school was erected in 1838 on a small corner of farm land donated for that purpose. It was abolished when the first free school was built in 1854. The first schoolhouse in Jackson Township was the public school in 1854. Lake Township reported no schools; La Fayette Township built a schoolhouse in 1850, and a Miss Eliza Ogden taught there (Ibid., 145, 147, 150, 154-6).

In Marion Township, in the 1837-38 school year and again in a subscription summer school, a Mrs. Parker taught in a log cabin. She had "enjoyed advantages of a fine education in her native state, New York, and opened, in the wilderness, a school far superior to the crude institutions by that name which characterized this county in the earlier years of its history." In the winter of 1840 Judge Nelson McLain opened a subscription school in the front room of his home to about a dozen students. It, too, was considered a superior school, but it brought little financial reward to the Judge: "It might well have been called a labor of love, as the emoluments derived from it would not have kept body and soul together, had he been compelled to buy his daily bread." The first schoolhouse was built in 1841 and run as a subscription school for four winters. In 1845, with congressional township funds supplemented by contributions from residents, a hewed-log schoolhouse was built on the property of Judge McLain. This arrangement lasted until 1853 when the new school law took effect (Ibid., 158).

In Monroe Township the first school in 1843 was a log cabin subscription school built on a farm; the first free school was initiated in 1854 (Ibid., 160-61). Although Monroeville, a town within this township, "had its share of wandering pedagogues, with the customary fluctuating standard of ability," the town perceived its major problem to be funding: "During the supremacy of the subscription-school system the important question was not 'Is the man able to conduct a good school?' but 'Can the town raise the necessary funds to maintain a school during the winter?'"

Madison Township tells a similar story. A hewed-log building first housed a subscription school in 1840. Teachers were of varying ability, for there were no standards, only the teacher's "own declaration of ability." This changed in 1854 (Ibid., 162, 164).

In Maumee Township the first school, taught in 1842 in a log house by Miss Eliza J. Curtis, was continued as a subscription school every winter until 1853 when the free school system began. In Milan Township the first school was taught by Miss Catharine Shell in 1845, and it, too, remained a subscription school until 1857 when the first free school was built on the same lot. Schools were soon built in all the other districts of the township (Ibid., 165-6).

In Perry Township, in 1835, "a lady who had acquired a good education in the East," taught in the first log cabin subscription school, which was "was greatly in advance of the subscription schools of that period . . . ." A second school in the township was taught by a man in 1837. In 1856 three men incorporated a seminary and employed a professor to teach. Students came from all the surrounding counties to learn languages, higher mathematics, philosophy, and astronomy. It prospered until 1862 or 1863 when its professor resigned and many students left to enlist in the army (Ibid., 168, 173).

In St. Joseph Township outstanding teachers also dominate the record. James Daily started a subscription school in 1836. Another was started the following year by James A. Royce, who "brought into his work a rich fund of knowledge, gained in the schools of New York, as well as by years of practical experience." The next school, taught in 1839 by Ebenezer Ayers, also of New York, was, also, exceptional, because "after school hours, or during the long winter evenings, the teacher entertained his scholars with addresses on astronomy, geology, philosophy and other scientific subjects, in language which made it to them a lesson instead of a dry, incomprehensible lecture . . ." (Ibid., 173).

In Springfield Township two subscription schools, one started in 1840, taught by Sarah Bracey, and one in 1841, predated the common schools in 1854. In Scipio Township the first subscription school was taught in 1841 by Nancy Palmer (Ibid., 175, 177).

Washington Township dates its earliest subscription school from 1829 or 1830, a system that continued until the first free school in 1853. The first teacher, Alexander Waldron, is remembered for his failings. He did well with the young children, "but when the older scholars were called upon to recite their lessons in arithmetic, his deficiency was painfully apparent, and the young men took a mischievous delight in giving him problems which he was unable to solve" (Ibid., 178).

In the townships the diverse religious congregations did not start schools, as in Fort Wayne, though many did establish Sunday Schools, which had high attendance, sometimes far exceeding that of the established subscription school. Often a subscription school was held in a building built by a congregation for a Sunday School, or a Sunday School was held in a subscription school building (Helm 1880).

The educational labor force in Fort Wayne and the surrounding townships from roughly 1820 to 1860 was dependent on the willingness of the local patrons for financial support because public funding, i.e., money from the congressional township fund, was inadequate to cover the costs. Funding problems were particularly acute in the rural or country schools. In both places accommodations to meet the situation emerged. The accommodations in Fort Wayne were more varied, there were more of them, and new accommodations were continually being tried. Teachers and schools competed with one another for students; if the schools failed, new ones were established. Women teachers had been educated in academies or the new women's seminaries; most men teachers had been educated for, or were being educated for law, the clergy, or business. Many of the men are known to us today because they are visible in their other, or earlier, or later walks of life. Denominational schools competed with each other and with private subscription schools for students (Murphey 1995).

In the surrounding rural townships, this non-system of quasi-public, quasi-private alternatives operated on a much reduced scale. Teachers did not compete with one another; there usually was only one teacher, when the township was lucky. If anything, the rural township schools competed with Fort Wayne for its teachers. There were more children in Fort Wayne and more opportunities for teachers to set up a school, or work for one already in progress. Religious congregations were active in the townships, but they usually set up Sunday Schools only. Thus, schools run by religious congregations were a major player in the educational alternatives available in Fort Wayne; they were barely so in the countryside.

In the townships, as in the city of Fort Wayne, teachers included men and women, married and single, and people en route to or, in fact, in other careers, such as Judge McLain in Marion Township. The variety of teachers in both places defies the stereotype of Ichabods and Ralphs (Irving 1893, Eggleston [1871] 1984), i.e., of the itinerant single man.

Schools in the townships began later chronologically than those in Fort Wayne. This was due to slower population growth and lower population density in the rural areas. A very short school year reflected the demands of the agricultural seasons. Most communities were happy to be able to retain a teacher at all, and even happier yet if the teacher were educated and could teach. Good teachers were particularly difficult to retain.

Rather ironically, the historical record is more complete about the teaching, both effective and ineffective, of the rural school teachers, even though there were fewer of them, the school year was shorter and less predictable, and the turnover among teachers was higher. In Fort Wayne we know of many subscription schools and a lot of teacher turnover. Lore about discipline practices, particularly of some of the men teachers, like McJunkin, who taught a long time, survives, too. Letters of a couple of teachers shed some light on the teachers' lives (Richards 1984, 3-15; Truitt 1971, 12-17). The county histories, however, are rich in details and judgments about their pedagogues. Perhaps the scarcity of teachers made those who did teach, for better and for worse, all the more memorable, and the basis for the continuing historical visibility of rural school teachers.

Schooling changed in Fort Wayne and the surrounding county with the passage of the Common School laws. The new system, that began at various dates in the mid-1850s throughout Indiana, brought system, organization, funding, age-grading of students, and new requirements for teachers to schools, and all schools gradually moved in the direction of incorporating the changes (Helm 1880, Murphey 1995).

Irving's *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow* (1893) and Eggleston's *The Hoosier Schoolmaster* ([1871] 1984), show us only a slice of school life in the past. The record indicates that the history of schools and teachers before public schools in Indiana is much more varied than these accounts would allow us to imagine. The differences between urban and rural schools and teachers were more of degree than kind. There were more schools in the city, initiated by a greater variety of denominations and individuals, and propelled to some extent by the schools' competition with one another. The coming of the Common School, however, dramatically altered the framework of education in all geographic areas. The Common School greatly lessened the differences between urban and rural schools and teachers, as versions of the "one best system" came to dominate city, town, and township schools. The effect would be to build an economically stable system, with a more consistently trained work force of professional teachers that could serve the industrializing cities, as well as rural farming communities. The conceptual differences between the quasi-public, quasi-private schools of the 1820s-1860s and the new Common Schools were much more important for the future development of schooling, than the sometimes more visible differences between urban and rural or town and country schools.

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African-American Teachers and Black History in the Curriculum Before Desegregation

Anna Victoria Wilson
The University of Texas at Austin

William E. Segall
Oklahoma State University

This historical inquiry focuses, in general, on the concept of equal educational opportunity in a democracy and the maintenance of racial segregation in education. In particular, this inquiry focuses on how Black teachers confronted stereotypes as well as absence of attention to their race in their educational materials. Many of these textbooks portrayed negative ideas about African Americans specific to physical features, dress, mannerisms, living conditions, occupations, and abilities. Four African-American teachers describe their incorporation of Black history into the segregated curriculum.

Mrs. Clara Luper (1995), a retired Black teacher, described her childhood in a segregated society,

> It was like being put in a closet with the doors shut with a little hole where you could peek out to the real world. It was like looking up in the sky and you could see the sun but only like it was a shadow.

Although African-Americans have played a significant role in history since the dawn of civilization, their contributions have been ignored by historians and their faces rarely appeared in history texts. Even Paul Revere's famous drawing of the Boston Massacre portrays a battle among whites, despite the fact that African-Americans were present and one leader, Crispus Attucks, was among the five American martyrs. Historian Benson J. Lossing had transformed Attucks into a "Nantucket Indian"(Katz, 1968)!

Mrs. Luper commented:

> You can't separate Black history from white history. Many of my white students have been unable to understand that. For example, let's just take a course in Black history--the Revolutionary Period. The first person to die for this country was a young black by the name of Crispus Attucks. You can't study about Crispus Attucks unless you study about all the white solders who were there with him. Therefore it has been an experience in both [Black history and white history]. If you study slavery, you have got to study the abolitionists. You study the civil rights period, you have got to study the blacks and whites, especially you have got to know about Lyndon Johnson.

In spite of the lack of general knowledge about African-Americans' many contributions to this nation, African-American teachers shared their knowledge and resources to give their students accurate portrayal of their history. Mrs. Iola Taylor (1996), an African-American social studies teacher, reflected on her need to portray accurately their history to her students in a segregated school system. She said,

> I didn't go through college thinking I had the same rights as whites. I didn't grow up thinking I had the same rights. That was just simply unrealistic. So I never thought I had the same rights. But it is most interesting, however, despite the knowledge that there was difference and that it was not right to some. There are principles that catch you up in American history — I think will grab anybody regardless of where you are in the schema and I think those principles are important to me.

Because her classroom was not directly monitored, Mrs. Taylor was able to incorporate a 'sense of Black History' into her social studies curriculum. She believed most Black teachers approached Black History in similar fashion.

> No one came to sit in my classroom when I first taught — my principal would listen and see how you were doing. But even there was a sort of an academic freedom as long as there was no disruption that got out of your classroom. Ideas could be discussed and so more Black teachers were sensitive to — not just teaching our young people — the textbook — but incorporating into the textbook a sense of Black History. Of who we were and what we were about. To some extent, the system forced you to do that — by virtue of the fact that you had to survive psychologically and your students had to survive psychologically too and so to accept totally that you were a 'no-no' would destroy your ability to survive and that totality was never accepted by any Black teacher.

For African-American students, a correct portrayal of the African-Americans' part in history served justice as well as truth. *Amsterdam News* columnist James L. Hicks recalled his days at Central High School, in Akron,

Ohio:

> I was the only Negro in my history class, and the way my Beard and Beard history book presented the Negro and the way my history teachers taught what little they did teach about the Negro was more than enough to make me cut history classes and almost enough to make me cut out from school altogether (Katz, 1968, 8).

African-American teachers, particularly those who taught history and government, were in a unique and difficult position. Textbooks used in many Negro schools were discarded texts from the white schools. They were seriously outdated, marked up by former students, and often had missing pages. Ms. Woolfolk (1994), a U. S. Government teacher at Ullman High School (c.f. Wilson, 1996) in Birmingham in the 1960s, remembered:

> American history was not correct. Historians have taken history and rewritten it. We know African-Americans did more than just come over here as slaves. Many inventions which Blacks contributed to America, whites were given credit for. White society did not want Blacks to read or write or be educated. How then could we go back and correct our history for our students?

Incorporating Black History into the high school curriculum was important for these teachers. For example, Mrs. Luper taught her students that

> African-Americans explored the West with Lewis and Clark or Fremont, that an African-American named Matt Henson (with the Peary polar expedition of 1909) was among the first men to stand atop the world, that African Americans contributed a thousand patents to America's industrial thrust just a half century after Emancipation, that an African-American surgeon performed the first successful operation on the human heart, and that an African-American, Mme. C. J. Walker, was the first American woman to earn a million dollars.

African-American teachers were creative in finding ways to inform their students of the inaccuracy of the history as presented in their textbooks. Mrs. Luper remembered:

> Not only did I study history at Langston, I also studied it in high school and our parents taught us about Black people who had made contributions such as Black writers. I was extremely interested in Black history. In high school we would study Black history for a week around Lincoln's birthday. I was extremely interested in Black history and white history. I was never able to separate one from the other.

In Mrs. Luper's and Mrs. Taylor's classes, Black students learned how

> The Ninth and Tenth Calvary, composing a fifth of all the cavalry assigned to pacify the West, were all-African American regiments. Despite discrimination they earned their share of Medals of Honor and could boast the lowest desertion rate in the Army. Among their proud commanders was John J. Pershing, who won his nickname of "Black Jack" leading a company of the Tenth against Indians and bandits in Montana, against Spaniards in the charge at San Juan Hill and against Pancho Villa in Mexico.

African-American teachers knew they were solely responsible for bringing their history into the curriculum. Mrs. Vernice Smith (1996), the only African-American teacher at Austin High School, described her incorporation of Black History into the English curriculum.

> When I went to Austin High School, they had never heard of Black History. . . I wrote and made my lesson plans and since I knew they had not dealt with it at Austin High with Black History or heard of it, I sent my lesson plan to the principal's office with a note that this was the plan that I had to teach Black History — at first it was just a week but finally it became a month. He said he was proud and appreciated that. I explained to them what Black History was all about and I let them choose different Black people to write about. And one group were to report on Malcolm X. Our librarian went crazy because — I think the Unitarian church — had given them that book. And this girl knew they had given Austin High this book. She went to the library to check out Malcolm X and they did not have it on the shelf. And whatever this church was — had given a number of books — they took back all the books when they found out that the librarian had not shelved Malcolm X. And

> of course I went to the librarian and raised a little Cain — the librarian was too late — the kids went to the city library and got the books that they wanted! During this time, I was ill for several days and when I returned to school, my students were just angry. A young substitute teacher had decided to improve on my lesson plan and she told them "that Blacks ate salt pork and molasses for breakfast," and Blacks fought with guns, Mexicans fought with knives and whites fought with bare hands. When I came back — my kids were so upset— apparently it had made her [the substitute] mad that my kids had done so well on their papers. She had even made notes on my lesson plans about Blacks — she was way back in slavery times!

Many teachers developed annotated bibliographies of the available materials which they shared with one another. In this way, resources were developed without regard to local availability and, in particular, the textbooks that were handed down from the white schools. Not surprisingly, African-American teachers taught from an integrated curriculum long before the concept of integrated history curricula became accepted.

Each teacher in this narrative attempted to teach the historical contributions of African-Americans to America. These African-American teachers tried to provide an enriching and empowering experience for their students, as their words so clearly reveal.

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Training for Leadership: The General Education Board Fellowship Program, 1902-1954

Jayne R. Beilke
Ball State University

In 1902 John D. Rockefeller endowed the General Education Board (GEB) with $1,000,000 in order to "promote education in the United States of America without distinction of sex, race or creed" (Fosdick 1962, 8). The focus of the GEB quickly became Southern education and higher education in particular. From 1902 to 1924 the Board's main thrust was to increase the endowments of those institutions which best exemplified the Hampton-Tuskegee philosophy of curriculum. Other interests included the allocation of funds to supplement the salaries of Black college faculty and to support the development of college centers (to be located in Nashville, Tennessee; New Orleans, Louisiana; Washington, DC; and Atlanta, Georgia) by combining the services of what were determined to be the academically strongest, most financially solvent Black institutions. Over the course of the GEB's existence (1902-1954), over $122,000,000 was dedicated to education for Blacks in a variety of wide-ranging programs.

As early as 1902 the General Education Board (GEB) addressed the lack of trained leadership in the field of education by awarding fellowships or scholarships to southern white normal school teachers who needed scholarship aid to attend Teachers College, Columbia University, in order to complete their professional training (Fosdick 1962, 298). During the early 1900s, the South had few highly-regarded institutions of higher education for either whites or Blacks. In fact, Edwin R. Embree, who served as the president of the Rockefeller Foundation and later became president of the Rosenwald Fund was reported to have stated in an address delivered at Duke University in 1937 that there was not a first-class university in the South for white people, let alone Blacks (Thompson 1939, 135).

By 1905 a web of contacts had been established in the South who could recommend suitable candidates for fellowships. From 1905 to 1920 fellowship aid was distributed in several areas related to the development of leaders in public education. A more formal fellowship program was enacted in 1921-22, with the appropriation of $50,000 "for the purpose of awarding stipends for scholarships and fellowships to persons having definite opportunities of leadership in the field of education" (GEB Papers, McCuistion 1937, 7). In 1924 the GEB began to award fellowships to promising Black instructors in Southern institutions (Fosdick 1962, 300-301).

Fellowship programs had previously been a component of the various Rockefeller boards such as the Rockefeller Foundation, Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and International Education Board. The GEB Fellowship Program began informally, patterned after that of the Rockefeller Foundation and influenced by the results of surveys of educational conditions in the South. The first survey--*Negro Education: A Study of the Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States*--was compiled by Thomas Jesse Jones in 1917 and funded by the Phelps-Stokes Fund. This controversial evaluation concluded that only 33 of the 653 private and state schools for Blacks were teaching any collegiate subjects and that only three institutions--Fisk University, Howard University, and Meharry Medical College--"possessed the student body, teaching force, equipment, and income sufficient to warrant the characterization of 'college' " (Jones 1917, 17).

In 1928 Arthur J. Klein, chief of the Bureau of Education of the United States Department of the Interior, prepared a report of a survey of 79 Black colleges and universities. While the survey's recommendations stressed the interdependence of elementary, secondary and higher education and the need for higher standards at all levels, Klein viewed the effects of higher education on mass education as the solution to the following three problems: 1) it would ensure proper training of elementary and secondary teachers; 2) it would add to the economic stability of the race; and 3) it would provide a Black professional and technical leadership (Klein 1929, 2-3).

During 1924-25 the GEB began to administer a fellowship program which had two main thrusts: medical education and public education in the South. The latter was intended "for the purpose of cooperation with state and local authorities in obtaining advanced and special training for men and women occupying or about to enter important posts in the field of administration, supervision and teacher training" (GEB Papers 1925, 9)The Board awarded 36 fellowships for white educators and advanced training of Black leaders in education. Two specific fields were targeted;

administration and supervision (19 fellowships) and teacher training (17 fellowships). The trustees and officers of the GEB began to formalize the fellowship program in 1926 by examining the principles and methods of appointing fellows, administering the details of the fellowship, and evaluating the results.

From 1922 to 1933 the GEB targeted medical education in an attempt to relieve the teacher shortage in that area. The fellowships afforded a few Blacks the opportunity to study in Germany after graduation from American medical schools, but the real thrust of the program was the provision of qualified teachers for Meharry Medical College and the Howard University School of Medicine. The fellowship was intended more for remedial instruction than for the refinement of skills. Beginning in 1940 the GEB confined its activities entirely to the Southern schools, channeling fellowship money through Southern institutions and awarding scholarships to Black faculty members from Southern colleges and universities for graduate work.

From its inception, the fellowship program of the GEB displayed an instrumentalist bent, with money being awarded to the institution rather than the individual. The term "instrumentalism" in the philanthropic sense denotes, according to Bruce Sievers, "an orientation toward the use of the most efficient means to attain objectively measurable results" (Sievers 1995, 1). It was not unusual for the officers or trustees of philanthropic funds to debate the merits of instrumentalism versus the philosophy of making awards to persons of promise no matter what their field of interest, however. But there was far less ambiguity surrounding this issue for the GEB than for the Rosenwald Fund, which was the only other major philanthropic foundation to administer a comprehensive fellowship program. In the context of historical philanthropy, Sievers' definition of instrumentalism could be expanded to denote the preference toward an agenda which furthers the aims and objectives of the fund, rather than those of the individual. In other words, the GEB was clearly more interested in what the fellowship recipient could do to contribute to his/her institution than what the fellowship could contribute to the individual's professional goals. In the opinion of Board associate Frank P. Bachman, the objectives of the fellowships were as follows: 1) "to stimulate as many persons as possible to secure needed school training through their own efforts;" and 2) "to provide needed school training for persons working in fields wherein the Board is actively cooperating with state authorities." The fellowships were intended for "persons in 'key' positions, such as teachers in normal schools and university schools of education, and to an occasional outstanding supervisor, high school principal, or superintendent" (GEB Papers 1924, 3). There is no mistaking the GEB's desire that fellows should return to the South after their fellowship year in the North had ended. In fact, the fellowship application forms specifically asked whether or not the candidate intended to return to the South upon completion of the study plan.

In 1932 Fred McCuistion, a field representative of the Southern Association of Colleges and Universities, pointed out that not a single state-supported institution in any segregated state was open to Blacks who desired graduate and professional training (McCuistion 1933, 5). In 1939, the first systematic study of the difficulties involved in the attainment of graduate education by Blacks was sponsored by the GEB and conducted by McCuistion. Defining graduate instruction as work beyond the bachelor's degree generally leading to a master of arts, McCuistion reported that no historically-Black college offered work beyond the master's level. At the time of the survey, Blacks were enrolled as graduate students in seven Black colleges in the South and eighty-two colleges outside the South (McCuistion 1939, 5-12).

Although the option to attend graduate school in the North was theoretically available, southern Blacks were often academically unprepared and financially unable to do so. The crux of the problem, then, was that Blacks who remained in the South for advanced schooling were unable to obtain a doctor of philosophy degree or even a master's degree of real substance, while Blacks who chose to attend schools in the North often faced a succession of summer school sessions and were not automatically free of discrimination. In occupations where Blacks had to work in close proximity with whites (e.g. medicine, social work, and teaching) northern schools often relegated Blacks to alternative experiences. Some northern medical schools advised Black students to take at least two years of their medical education in Black schools due to the difficulty of placing them into integrated clinical situations. This argument was also used to discourage Black education majors from practice teaching because "Negro teaching problems were different" and, by inference, not applicable to white schools (Frazier 1933, 330).

By 1934 the GEB began to grant the fellowships directly from its New York office instead of sending the funds to sponsoring universities. Early fellowship recipients were selected in an informal manner, screened by college presidents and agency officials and then recommended to the officers of the GEB. As the program became more formalized, awards were divided into training fellowships and research fellowships. The presidents of the colleges had to "sponsor" candidates, who were then interviewed by officers of the GEB. Written references, as many as seven, had to be furnished, and medical reports and study plans submitted. It was important for candidates to be goal-oriented, acceptable to the institutional president, possess a "good personality", be majoring in a desirable field, and young enough to show promise. But of paramount importance was the candidate's ability to render service to the institution which employed them and to which, it was expected, that they would return.

One of the goals of the GEB, after all, was to provide personnel who could develop the national university centers by staffing new departments and teaching courses leading to the doctorate. But the difficulties of involving institutional presidents in the candidate selection process was noted by Charles S. Johnson, director of the noted Social Science department at Fisk University and a member of the Rosenwald Fund Fellowship Committee, who feared that "institutions may regard fellowships as awards for loyalty or meritorious service or financial need not primarily related to scholarship; or as a means of strengthening weak men in weak departments" (GEB Papers 1938, Johnson, 1).

The monthly stipends for whites receiving training fellowships and studying at northern universities was 100-$120, while white researchers received up to $150. Blacks received stipends of 75-$100 and up for training fellowships and up to $150 for research. Whites studying at southern universities received 90-$100, while Blacks received $40-60. There was also an allowance for dependents for whites of $50 for a wife and $10 per child. For Blacks, it was $25-50 for a wife and $10 per child, not to exceed $30 for each (GEB Papers 1934, Hill letter).

When examining the source of the recommendations, there is a discernible trend toward the granting of awards to whites on the part of sponsors affiliated with state departments of education. The recommendations for Blacks, however, rarely came from personnel at state departments and almost always emanated from institutional presidents or deans of Black colleges such as Tuskegee, Morehouse, Kentucky State, Fisk, Howard, and others. Most of the GEB fellowship awards granted under the Southern Program went to education candidates during the years 1922-1937. White researchers in education received 317 of 432 total awards; Black researchers in education received 166 of the 609 fellowships given to Blacks.

In 1951, a fellowship directory was published as a result of a confidential inquiry of fellows. The directory included 2000 fellows from 1922 to 1950, listing personal information along with professional information such as degrees held at time of the fellowship, institutions which granted them and dates. Data related to the fellowships included the institution with which the fellow was affiliated at the time of appointment, the major field of study, and location of institution. Occupational information including later degrees, field of study, present address, and current position. Selected examples of education majors include Francis L. Atkins, who, when awarded a fellowship in 1923-25, was a "teacher in a colored high school in Winston-Salem, North Carolina." He stated that he "also assist[ed] the principal of the State Normal School in certain lines of office work. " He is listed in the directory as president of Winston-Salem Teachers College (GEB Papers, Atkins file, n.d.). Florence O. Alexander was a supervisor of practice teaching at Langston University (perhaps Colored Agricultural and Normal University of Oklahoma). She became "assistant supervisor for Negro schools, state department of education and director of teacher placement for Jackson College, Mississippi " (GEB Papers, Alexander file, n.d.).

In fact, the directory is replete with evidence of upward mobility for education majors who received fellowships. But whether that mobility is directly attributable to the fellowship is not easily discerned. Fellowship programs yield few dramatic results, and their efficacy is difficult to measure over time. What is not difficult to discern is the extent to which the fellows heeded the admonition to return to the South. The directory reveals that 84. 9 per cent of the fellows resided in the South in 1951 (Directory 1951, xvi).

In April, 1953, letters went out from the Board's officers stating as follows (GEB Papers, 1953):

> "It has not been the purpose of the GEB to continue in perpetuity. Our assets have now been reduced to the point where we must think of an early termination of all activity and it has occurred both to the officers and to the trustees that it might well be useful and appropriate for the Board to provide

> for a substantial continuation of fellowship and scholarship aid. This might still be of strategic value to southern colleges and universities in their efforts to provide training for their staffs and to recruit able young people for careers in teaching and research. In a sense, this might have been the final legacy of the Board at the termination of its own program.

By 1954, the resources of the GEB were diminished and the fellowship program was transferred to the Council of Southern Universities under the title Southern Fellowship Funds, where the goal was to promote graduate and professional education in the South. In retrospect, Fosdick wrote that "nothing threatened the outcome of this race more than the absence of trained leaders" and quoted Robert M. July, a GEB officer, as stating in reference to the fellowship program in 1953: "The philosophy for all fellowship programs is based on the very sound notion that any organization, from a total society to the smallest and most casual group, will be productive to the extent that it contains enlightened, educated individuals of sound judgment and intellectual curiosity, of emotional stability and unprejudiced minds, of mental discipline and broad social responsibility" (Fosdick 1962, 314).

While a great many of the talented individuals who took their places as department heads, deans and presidents of Black colleges and universities were the recipients of a GEB fellowship, the "value," or objective measurement, of fellowship programs is not easily quantifiable. While McCuistion stated that the fellowships "represented a sound and enduring investment," he also felt that their greatest impact had been in state departments of education, although "many colleges, schools of education, and other departments have been greatly strengthened through fellowship aid" (GEB Papers 1937, 4). In the collective opinion of the officers of the Board, "the results of the fellowships or scholarships granted to Negroes had been "somewhat disappointing" (Fosdick 1962, 313). But McCuistion admitted that "evaluations or comparisons of achievement through the various activities of the Board are difficult "(GEB Papers 1937, 4). It is tempting to speculate about the Board's satisfaction with the state departments of education, which largely represented white fellowship holders, and its admitted disappointment with Black fellows. For the purposes of this paper, however, it is sufficient to draw attention to the underdeveloped methods of evaluation. It is just as unproductive to compare the wide-ranging Board activities to each other, as McCuistion suggests, as it is to draw comparisons between the development of Southern state departments of education with that of Black colleges. In fact, the instrumental philosophy that was a hallmark of the Board contributed to the difficulty by insisting upon the separation of individual achievement from that of institutional progress. Evaluated within the context of the provision of Black higher education in the South, the fellowship awards undoubtedly contributed to the formation of a cadre of leadership whose influence persisted into the 1960s and 1970s.

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The Children's International Summer Village of 1951

James L. Green
College of Mount St. Joseph

It was the summer of 1951 and the Korean Conflict had greatly intensified Cold War tensions between the existing super powers and their respective allies. Still reacting to the earlier antagonisms and devastation that had been produced in Europe during World War II, a small group of influential Cincinnatians opened an international youth camp for a group of eleven year olds as a transcultural experiment for promoting global understanding and, hopefully, world peace. Under the auspices of the newly established Children's International Summer Villages organization (hereafter referred to as CISV), founded by psychologist Dr. Doris Allen of the University of Cincinnati (Green 1995), forty-nine children from seven European countries and Mexico were brought to Cincinnati in June to join six local children for a month long experiment in international living. Amongst them were differences of race, ethnicity, language, nationality, and religion - all exacerbated by the relatively recent experiences of World War II. Some of these children had fathers who had fought for opposing sides, others had direct, personal memories of the conflict, and a few were even considered war damaged children (Ruth Allen 1951, 29-5).

The purpose of this paper is to examine the outcomes of CISV's first ever summer village through the eyes of the social scientists who were assembled to do research. As a prototype for subsequent villages which have since served nearly 127,000 participants worldwide (Sally Stein 1997), the results from this first action research effort were instrumental in planning and promoting future summer villages.

The first CISV summer camp (the terms "camp" and "village" will be used interchangeably) consisted of fifty-five eleven year old children, plus seventeen adult delegates who served primarily as chaperons and translators. Nine different nations were represented, including Mexico and the United States and from Europe the following: England, France, West Germany, Austria, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. Seven different languages were spoken by these children, which led to the researchers' first question: How would they communicate?

The camp program and schedule were very similar to a typical American summer camp of the 1950s (Allen and Shepard 1952, 5). Children began the day with breakfast and a cleanup of their living quarters. Then followed an hour of nature study and another of arts and crafts, ending the morning with free swimming and swim lessons. Swimming was very popular with the children and a relief from the hot and humid weather typical of summers in the Ohio Valley. Recreational swimming was an integral part of the camp. The camp staff viewed it as an ideal form of athletic activity in that it and the concomitant swim lessons could be promoted easily in a non-competitive manner unlike some other sports in which competition was unavoidable. They felt that competitive sports would have been detrimental to their efforts to bridge cultural differences. In fact, when the only competitive athletic event was held, the camp staff arranged for a local soccer team from a nearby school to play a combined squad of CISV children in a match. Apparently, this event helped to especially unify the Europeans and was noted most enthusiastically in camper Ingvild Schartum-Hansen's diary (Schartum-Hansen 1954, 80-83).

After lunch, the daily scheduled program continued with a rest period, in which the campers were encouraged to either write home or make entries in their camp diaries. The children's diaries were to provide data demonstrating changes in the children's thinking respective to transcultural experiences. Unfortunately, very few children seriously kept diaries with the exception of the previously noted Schartum-Hansen of Norway, whose work was later published as Ingvild's Diary. By mid afternoon an hour of non-competitive sports was informally held, featuring typical playground games from the children's native countries, which they in turn would share with others. For example, British boys were seen teaching American lads the finer points of cricket, while at the same time being introduced to baseball. It was just these types of cross cultural experiences that the CISV leaders had in mind when they planned the camp. Late afternoons were usually scheduled with a return to the swimming pool plus free time for children to spend with the professional camp counselors, who were separate from the adult delegate chaperons who had accompanied the children to America. After supper, the children would entertain themselves with skits, songs, and dances from their native countries which would be shared with all. At least once during the month long camp, each national delegation was responsible for entertaining the entire village. Once again, transculturalism was being encouraged.

Camp governance often involved input from the children not unlike what might have been advocated by Progressive educators of the time. This is not surprising considering that Ted Wuerfel, the camp director, was also headmaster of Lotspeich School, one of the most respected private schools in Cincinnati and long known regionally as a model for Progressive education. As a child centered educator, Wuerfel wisely scheduled enough free time, including most of each Sunday, for the children to partially make their own decisions regarding what to do and with whom. The subsequent interaction amongst these diverse children would provide grist for the researchers' mill.

Finally, the camp program and schedule furnished just enough special events to provide variety to the regular schedule. Besides the aforementioned big soccer match, other events included a professional Cincinnati Reds baseball game, a shopping trip to the downtown, an enthusiastically received exhibition of Native American dance and song, and a wonderful celebration of mid summers eve sponsored by the Scandinavian delegation but involving, in true cross cultural CISV fashion, everyone. Nevertheless, special activities, particularly away from the camp, were kept to a minimum, so that the actual experiences of living, working, and playing in the month long village could have its transcultural effect on the children - plus, provide an adequate laboratory for the research efforts of CISV's social scientists.

In addition, tourist type activities away from the camp site were also minimized, because Doris Allen and other CISV leaders did not want this first village to be seen as a propagandist attempt to promote the "American Way" of life (Allen and Shepard 1952, 5). This fear that CISV's first efforts might be used by someone in our government as a form of Cold War propaganda was heightened by concerns over the potential uses of a State Department film which was produced at the 1951 village. In fact, the actual film did not result in a propaganda piece, but rather was "very perceptive about the idea of Dr. Allen, and how it worked out in practice at the first Village" (Matthews 1991, 43).

Conspicuously absent from the camp program was any type of focus group activity, or any other technique, which would have required the children to consciously examine their differences and/or similarities. Here Doris Allen apparently borrowed from Gustave Carlson, an anthropologist from the sociology department of the University of Cincinnati. Speaking before the CISV adult delegates, Carlson suggested that to productively get a diverse group of people to come together one must do it "with reference to something removed from the differences that keep them apart" (Ruth Allen 1951, no page number). He noted that interracial dinners held to discuss race problems were often quite unproductive. Instead he recommended the following approach as a more productive model for the children's camp: "bring people together, but not on the problem that keeps them apart. Do not collect Jews and Gentiles into a group to discuss anti-semitism. Get them together on another problem. It is working on a common problem in which the differences are suppressed that counts" (Ruth Allen 1951, no page number). His approach to transculturalism would prove to be quite similar to that of the first CISV village.

To summarize, CISV's 1951 summer village was organizationally similar to so many typical U.S. summer camps, yet very different because of its unique mission of peace education within the context of a transcultural experience for pre-adolescent children. Remaining to be seen was whether it would work.

As conceived by CISV's founder Dr. Doris Allen, each summer village was to consist of three components. The first was the actual summer camp for children - a month long experiment in international living, previously described. As the second component, the adult delegates were organized into a separate Adult Institute. It was carefully planned that the adult delegates, who chaperoned the children from their native countries, would have very few responsibilities in the operation of the camp program, for which experienced camp counselors were hired. Other than sharing meals with the campers, the adult delegates mostly met on their own and were housed at a separate, but nearby camp site. For the most part, their meetings consisted of cross-cultural discussions, presentations from outside experts, and various activities as well as planning for future CISV villages. The final and third component of the initial summer village was an elaborately designed and conducted research project led by Dr. Allen. Cledary, she felt the research component was critical to the success of CISV as a peace education organization and as important as either of the two other components. In fact, Matthews suggested that Allen had first regarded the research as "even a raison d'etre for Villages" (Matthews 1991, 97). Not surprisingly, Allen believed, "There is no more urgent task today than that of finding a way for human beings to live together without the recurrent mass destruction which we call war...Our object in presenting this paper is to interest thoughtful citizens and public officials in the possibilities of fostering research and action directed toward peace" (Allen and Shepard 1952, 1).

Designed with the object of promoting peace, Allen implemented an action research project based primarily on the social science disciplines of psychology and sociology. Assembling a local team of social scientists, she also enlisted the aid of a national advisory committee whose most well known members included Robert Angell, head of the Sociology Department at the University of Michigan, and noted enthnographer Margaret Mead. The research team met weekly in planning sessions for two months prior to the opening of the camp.

Allen's primary hypothesis was "that children of different nationalities, who have not yet had an opportunity to acquire strong national prejudices, will be able to cooperate better than adults" (Allen and Shepard 1952, 3). In a sense, the children of the village were the experimental group, while the control group was represented by the adult delegates. From the above hypothesis, other hypotheses followed, such as "international understanding has to be learned," "face to face contacts provide the best situation for learning social relations," "pre-adolescent children are more easily educated than older persons in whom prejudices are more firmly set," and "an informal camp experience for one month in a group of equally numbered child delegates from five to fifteen countries can foster international understanding in children under twelve years" (Allen and Shepard 1952, 4). As noted by William Matthews, a long time administrator for CISV, Allen's hypotheses were driven by such questions as how children from different languages would communicate, what would be the main obstacles to international understanding, and would a child's ability to transcend cultural barriers be more determined by their personality than their nationality (Matthews 1991,56)?

The setting for the study was St. Edmunds, a Presbyterian camp located in Glendale, Ohio - a northern suburb fifteen miles from downtown Cincinnati. It consisted of an excellent sixteen acre residential site, which included a main building with cafeteria, dormitory facilities, an arts and crafts workshop, an outdoor swimming pool, a chapel, and large open playing fields bordered by woods. The primary subjects of the research were fifty-five children, age eleven, from seven European countries plus the United States and Mexico. Nearly all of the national delegations were evenly divided between boys and girls.

Based upon her "Research Report - Part I," Allen's research methodologies centered primarily on group observations augmented by sociometry, a technique for measuring social relations in a group. Yet, in fact, as noted by William Matthews, Allen's research techniques included more than just group observations and sociometrics. In addition, there were individual interviews at the beginning and at the close of the camp to assess a child's personality as it related to their ability to deal with cultural diversity. From the interview reports, we learned that a certain Austrian boy was "apparently in a state of conflict around the acceptance or rejection of an introjected authoritarian ego ideal" and that he tried "to maintain `peace' between the warring components through strong intellectual control,"; and that another boy from England revealed "himself as a scared, physically weak person," who felt "castrated and physically inept" (Doris Allen Papers, Box 1, F - Research - 3 DAT 1951 - Analysis). Researchers concluded that the camp had been more beneficial to the first boy's development. In another file, a Mexican girl camper was noted for her high level of interactivity with other children from outside her delegation. The researchers concluded her personality was the main factor explaining her ability to successfully deal with cultural diversity and not her nationality, since the other Mexican girls were unable and apparently much less willing to bridge these cultural differences (Doris Allen Papers, Box 1, F-W. Research 8 Reports, 1951). However, for the most part, it is somewhat difficult for an historian to now comprehend the value of some of these psychological reports as they related to the hypotheses of the research project. Interestingly enough, even Allen herself did not expend much space in her final research report on the specific results of the individual psychological reports.

Besides the psychological interviews, other less important research techniques included the audio taping of the children in camp meetings, filming of samples of camp activities, collecting of relevant data through the children's diaries, and finally projective testing of the child delegates, including the Rorschach and a specially designed three dimensional projective instrument developed by Dr. Allen. The latter measuring tool utilized abstract objects, which the children could handle before they told a story about them (Ruth Allen 1951, no page number). According to Allen, Matthews, and Schartum-Hansen, the children eventually grew weary of the psychological interviews and the other testing. Indeed, Ingvild Schartum-Hansen suggested in her diary that maybe the adults should be the ones tested (Schartum-Hansen 1954, 108). Again, there is not much in Allen's final research report discussing the results of these lesser used techniques.

Based upon group observations, the researchers measured interpersonal relations along the following three variables: 1) the frequency of the contacts across and within national delegations, 2) the origins of the interpersonal contacts, were they initiated by the children or by the adult counselors or as a result of the camp program itself, and 3) "the feeling tone of interpersonal contacts," thus were they positive, negative, or neither (Allen and Shepard 1952, 7). Observations of various activities were done, including nature study, arts and crafts workshops, sports and games, and of course recreational swimming.

The basic findings noted a total of 4504 observed contacts among the children in the month long camp of which 64% were between children of different nationalities while 36% were within the national delegations, thus a two to one ratio favoring transcultural contacts. Interestingly, boys were observed accomplishing more interactions both within and outside their national delegations than girls - a result not been seen in more recent villages. As for the origins of these interpersonal contacts, it was determined that 72% were initiated by the children versus 28% by the adult counselors or the camp program itself, thus nearly a three to one ratio favoring child initiated contacts. In short, the children were not forced to interact with others from different cultures but chose on their own to do so. Of course, the central question remains - what would be the quality of the transcultural, interpersonal contacts? The results revealed that 62% of the child interactions were deemed positive in tone, while 33% were considered as undetermined in emotional tone, neither positive or negative. Most revealing and probably gratifying to Allen's researchers was the finding that "of the 4504 total observed child inter-actions, less than 5% - 4.8% - were scored as negative responses" (Allen and Shepard 1952, 9).

Beyond the aggregate data, further extensive analysis was done by nationality and gender, generating some rather detailed statistics. For example, the Austrian and Mexican delegations had a significantly higher number of negative tone interpersonal contacts as compared to other delegations. The English were noted as high in their total number of interactions with other delegations while the Danes were rated low.

Not to be lost among the data collected above were the results of the sociometric studies, in which one setting was utilized - the dining hall. The children were permitted to sit with whomever they wished without adult interference, either from the camp counselors or their adult chaperons. Observed were 3,334 child meals, each one "defined as one child eating one meal in the dining hall" (Allen and Shepard 1952, 28). As one might guess, reams of data were generated including numerous diagrams of cafeteria tables with their occupants. Although children sometimes ate with others outside of their nationality, they more often remained within their own delegation for meals as compared to other camp activities. It was speculated that after crossing cultural boundaries all day long in other activities that the children might have felt the need for the perceived comfort of eating within their own national delegations. Further research was deemed advisable.

Doris Allen and her research team concluded that "the 1951 United States Camp was a success" (Allen and Shepard 1952, 38). Children from different international backgrounds had been brought together successfully and had transcended their cultural differences with broader implications for peace education. They realistically noted the above results were not without some exceptions. William Matthews, in his work entitled *Here in This Village*, noted the following: "It was clear that there had been some fights between the children. Were they just personality clashes, or were they international fights? In a number of cases they had been the latter" (Matthews 1991, 87). Evidence of such fighting was also noted in the minutes of the meetings of the adult delegates (Ruth Allen 1951, 26-1), in which Austrian, Danish, Norwegian, and German boys were involved. However, researchers concluded that some level of fighting was to be expected within any group of children, but that the very small amount which had actually occurred in the first CISV village did not negate its overall transcultural success.

Interestingly, the media uncritically reported that the first CISV village was a total success. For example, Look magazine ran an article with the subtitle: "Forty-eight youngsters from eight foreign countries and U.S. show adults from all over the world that they can find nothing to be unfriendly about in Cincinnati." Later in the story, it reported that "all international relations at the Children's International Summer Village were as good as chocolate ice cream" (*Look* August 28, 1995, 13). Similar accounts appeared in *McCall's*, *General Motors Folks*, *The Christian Advocate*, *The Times Educational Supplement*, *New York Times Magazine*, *The Cincinnati Pictorial Enquirer*, and *Recreation* magazine, whose conclusion echoed the other periodicals: "At the end of the month, all campers had lived and played harmoniously together" (Schroder 1952, 501).

Although it is evident that its contemporaries viewed the first CISV village as a great success, how might we view it today, from a more critical perspective, especially as a research project. Perhaps its greatest flaw is that the subjects, thus the children, were not really randomly selected from any larger population. To be sure, a rigorous selection process was employed, but part of its criteria unavoidably included a predisposition toward international experiences, and in fact a few of the children had even already had some exposure to such cultural diversity. One might even argue that CISV was preaching its transcultural message to the choir, but this would ignore the fact that there was still much that divided these children along cultural lines. It is a mark of CISV's first success that rather than develop larger cultural barriers when the children were brought together face to face, which could have happened, that in fact the opposite took place - a truly positive, transcultural experience.

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Announcing a New Book

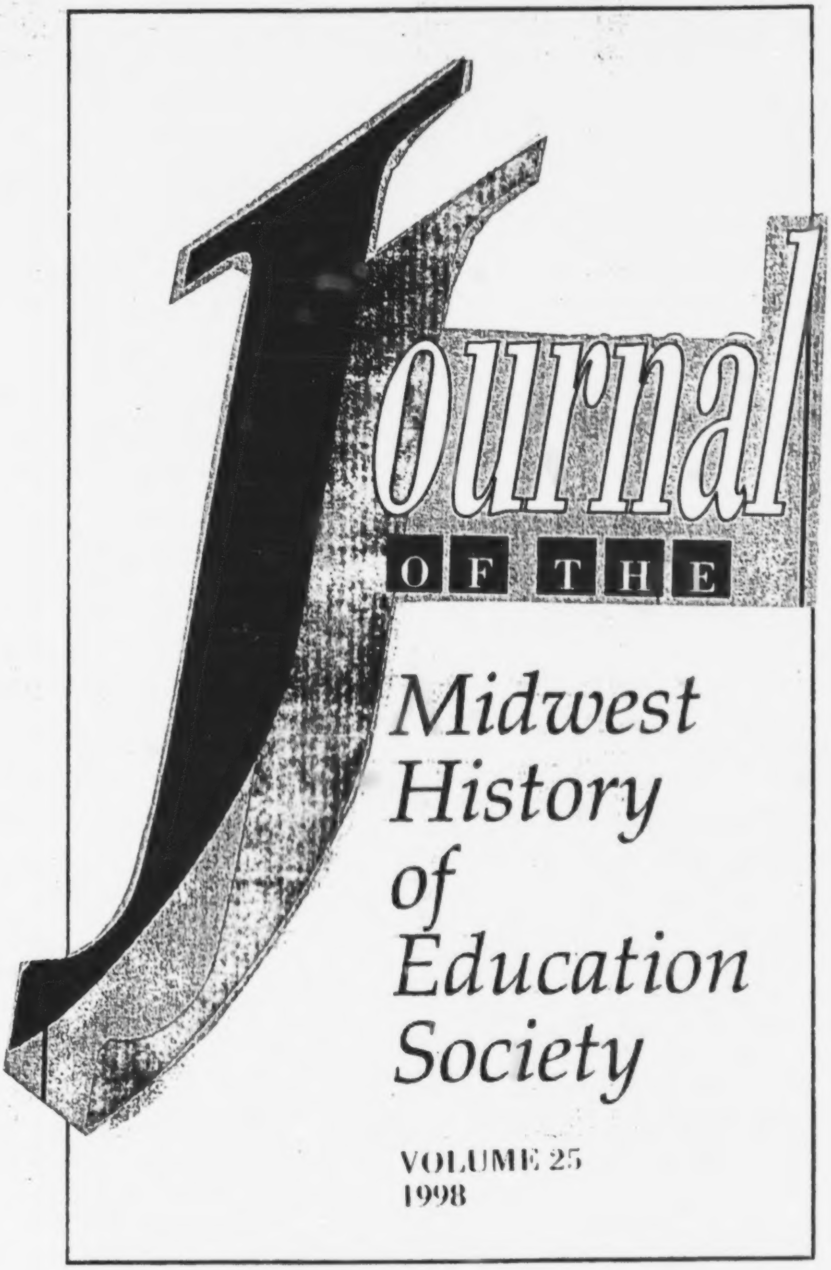
The editors of the *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* are proud to announce that Garland Press released *Politics, Race, and Schools: Racial Integration, 1954-1994* by Joseph Watras, a professor at the University of Dayton. As part of the series "Studies in Education/Politics" edited by Mark Ginsburg, this new book looks at racial integration in urban neighborhoods and in public, private, and church related schools.

Although there are many excellent studies of racial integration, *Politics, Race, and Schools* offers three unique features. First, it combines descriptions of how public, private, and church related schools underwent racial desegregation. Second, by focusing on a moderate sized city, Dayton, Ohio, the book shows how national trends influenced local schools, religious institutions, and technically unconnected aspects of city administration. Third, it shows how curriculum theorists responded to political changes.

Dayton serves as an excellent place to test ideas about racial integration in northern cities. The city is representative of other parts of the country. It has a mix of manufacturing, agricultural, and military activities, and the citizens lack the isolationist impulses found elsewhere. Further, since the city is not as large or complex as Chicago or New York, a scholar can explore such diverse activities as city planning, community activism, private philanthropy, and religious development. However, Watras does not let the Dayton case stand alone; he repeatedly compares and contrasts the experiences in Dayton with those found in previously published studies about other parts of the country.

Watras divides the book into three parts. In the first, he considers the national role played by federal courts and churches in school desegregation. Here, he offers a brief description of the NAACP campaign to integrate society and the response of politicians, educators, and church people. With the second section, Watras narrows the focus to Dayton, Ohio looking at the ways city administrators, neighborhood activists, and black separatists influenced racial integration. In this part, he describes the response of local private and Catholic educators. In the third section, he evaluates the ways that curriculum development influenced racial integration, the effects of compensatory education programs on racial integration, and the roles that schools play in social reform.

Watras relied on a variety of research sources. He interviewed almost two hundred people, collected documents from the schools, read the many affidavits NAACP lawyers submitted to federal district court, and searched local archives. As a result, the book is densely packed with information; however, the prose is clear and direct.



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Editorial Policy: *The Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society* is devoted to the reflective examination of educational issues and problems from the perspective of diverse disciplines. With the *Journal*, the Midwest History of Education Society encourages communication among scholars of varied disciplines, nationalities, and cultures. Papers published in the *Journal* discuss comprehensive issues and problems confronting educators throughout the world.

The *Journal* has published authors from disciplines ranging from political science to philosophy to marketing to instructional technology to adult education. Its editorial board consists of a diverse group of professionals who referee articles according to their expertise. While the main criterion of acceptance consists in a well articulated argument concerning an educational issue, the editors ask that all papers offer a historical analysis. Authors should contact the editor to receive a copy of the style sheet before writing the paper.

Articles published in the *Journal* do not necessarily represent the views of the editor, the editorial assistants, the members of the Society, or the University of Dayton. The authors of the articles are solely responsible for the accuracy and truthfulness of their work. The authors are solely responsible for ensuring that they do not infringe on copyright, violate any right of privacy, and do not use libelous or obscene language.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in
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Midwest History of Education Journal
Volume 25 Number 1 1998

From the Editor

Several people made possible this issue of the *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society.* The Dean of the School of Education at the University of Dayton, Dr. Patricia First, supported the project generously. The authors whose papers appear in these pages offered work of the highest quality. The editorial board and the associate editors worked diligently and carefully. Anna Victoria Wilson of North Carolina State University set the format of the journal.

The *Journal* offers an important outlet for mature scholars and for students beginning professional careers. In these pages, as at the annual meeting of the Society, papers of all types appear together each reinforcing the other.

Joseph Watras
University of Dayton
Dayton, OH 45469-0525
watras@keiko.udayton.edu
(513) 229-3328

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Influences of the 1957 School Desegregation Crisis on Little Rock

Michael J. Bercik
University of Pittsburgh

The purpose of this paper is to clarify how the community of Little Rock was influenced by the US Supreme Court's school desegregation order in 1957. This paper will examine the response of the Little Rock community to the desegregation crisis from three distinct perspectives. First, the desegregation order's influence upon the polarization of white and African American groups within Little Rock will be analyzed. Second, study of the anti-federalist reaction on the part of white Southerners to the intent of the 1954 Brown vs. the Board of Education decision will be explored. Finally, the roles which women undertook in the Little Rock community during the desegregation crisis will be brought into clearer historical focus.

The determination of the executive and judicial branches of the federal government to implement the legal intent of the 1954 Brown vs the Board of Education and the 1955 "With All Deliberate Speed" decisions would have a profound influence upon the attitudes and way of life within the Southern community of Little Rock. Until the Brown decision, legal school segregation existed in seventeen states Arkansas was one of these states.

Virgil T. Blossom was chosen to be Little Rock's superintendent of schools shortly after the announcement of the US Supreme Court's May 17, 1954, Brown decision. Before coming to Little Rock, Blossom lead a successful desegregation effort in the school district of Fayetteville, which is located in Northwestern Arkansas (Nelson 1975). As early as the Summer of 1954, Blossom began to develop a plan of gradual racial desegregation for Little Rock's school system, the Blossom Plan. The Blossom Plan would allow for a limit on desegregation for only two high schools in the fall of 1956. This would accompany desegregation for junior highs in 1957 and elementary schools in 1958.

Little Rock School Board members were in favor of an alternative approach to school desegregation, the Little Rock Phase Program (Williams 1987). This would limit school desegregation to only Central High School, and the time frame for initiating desegregation at Central High School would be set for the Fall 1957. The Little Rock School Board minutes explain this time delay. "Since our school system has been segregated from its beginning until the present time, the time required in the process as outlined should not be construed as unnecessary delay, but that which is justly needed with respect to the size and complexity of the job at hand" (*Minutes of the Board of Education of Little Rock School District*, May 24, 1955).

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (Williams 1987). saw the compromise plan of the Little Rock school authorities as an instrument of delay tactics to appease white opposition segregationist groups like the Capital Citizen's Council. Not until 1957 was the N.A.A.C.P. seriously listened to. However, there were moments in Fall of 1957 when not all African American organizations reacted in a unifying manner during of Little Rock's desegregation crisis. The Little Rock chapter of the Urban League was one such African American organization.

During the early beginnings of the desegregation crisis in Little Rock, there was indication of African American solidarity within and outside Arkansas for the efforts of the N.A.A.C.P. in Little Rock. *The Arkansas State Press*, an African American publication, republished in its October 18, 1957, issue an editorial titled "Support The NAACP To Erase That Guilt". Essentially, the editorial was encouraging African Americans to support the N.A.A.C.P. with financial contributions and by becoming registered members.

Months before the September 1957 desegregation crisis, white citizens groups, who were not sympathetic to the court order for racial desegregation for Little Rock's schools, made their influence felt. FBI Interview Report, #LR 44-341, written by FBI Special Agents Alfred J. Mobley and Richard T. Hradsky concerned a September 6, 1957, interview with Harold James Engstrom, a Little Rock School Board Member, at his place of employment, the Arkansas Foundry. Even though Engstrom was adamant in his denial of any knowledge concerning the existence of white supremacist groups, he did indicate that he was aware of the existence of a White Protective Association over the course of the past six months. Engstrom informed Mobley and Hradsky that he and fellow Little Rock School Board members had been discussing the existence of the Association. However, Engstrom and his fellow school board members believed the Association's existence did not amount to much until the last two or three weeks before the opening of school in September 1957.

Underneath much of this growing tension between African American and white organizations was a reflection of Southern attitudes. In an American Broadcasting Company series titled *Survival & Freedom*, broadcast journalist, Mike Wallace, interviewed James McBride Dabbs, a Southern scholar, during the height of the Little Rock crisis. In the initial phase of the interview Wallace reminded Dabbs how African Americans had been an influential force in the South since 1865 but that their plight had been often forcibly maneuvered out of sight in Southern society and politics. Dabbs suggested part of the problem between African Americans and whites in the South had to do with economics, when the African American was frequently denied opportunity or discriminated against in the market place.

Some outsiders to the crisis in Little Rock do not know of the influential role certain women fulfilled from the outset. This is also true for the long demanding legal and political battles occurring in the years following the intervention of U.S. Army troops. Section 7 of an FBI report written by Special Agent Eldon C. Williams on refers to an organization known as the Mothers League of Central High School. "This league was formed during August, 1957, and it has been said by some of the members of this organization that it was formed for the purpose of keeping Little Rock schools as they had been previously" (segregated). . ." and to use peaceful and legal means to accomplish this purpose" (ASAC Williams 1957, Section 7). However, the League did not abide by its philosophy. Many members declared they had been working in an uncoordinated effort to encourage whites in Little Rock to gather on the grounds of Central High School on the morning of September 3, 1957 to demonstrate their opposition to school desegregation. This gathering was anything but peaceful.

Another group of white women established an organization titled the Women's Emergency Committee in September of 1958 to oppose attempts to close the public schools entirely (Murphy 1997). "The Women's Emergency Committee to Open Our Schools is dedicated to the principle of free public school education, and to law and order. We stand neither for integration nor for segregation, but for education" (Murphy 1997, p.101). Irene Samuel was one of the W.E.C. members who was capable exemplifying the mission of the W.E.C. when she spoke to a group of Alabamians in the town of Mobile in June 1963. Her speech carefully reviewed the problems and lessons resulting from the desegregation crisis in Little Rock. She stated, "Furthermore there was a total lack of communication between the white and Negro communities. This communication is essential. A good-working bi-racial committee, composed of white and Negro community leaders could have alleviated many of the difficulties we encountered" (W.E.C. Notes 1958-1963, p.16, Box 6, Folder 9).

This paper has attempted to provide a better understanding of how the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 Brown vs. the Board of Education decision was responsible for influencing traditionally accepted communal educational and social practices between whites and African Americans from the summer of 1957 until June 1963. Hopefully, an improved historical understanding of how school desegregation genuinely influenced Little Rock has emerged.

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Segregation In The North Through Redistricting: A Case Study

Brad Frey
Geneva College

In the northwest corner of Beaver County, a section of Pennsylvania just northwest of Pittsburgh, Beaver Falls High School had for years serviced not only the Beaver Falls School District (which included White Township and Eastvale Borough) but also provided grades 9-12 for Highland Suburban Jointure and Big Beaver Jointure. In November of 1963 the State Board of Education had adopted "Standards for School District Reorganization," which put counties on notice that plans to consolidate school systems were to be developed. Act 150 of the General Assembly in 1968, a supplemental bill, created two new districts in northwestern Beaver County (Reorganized School Districts 1970, 1-7). This formation of new districts caused racial tensions to erupt.

State Act 150 separated 14 municipalities in Beaver County into two school districts. Eleven of those municipalities had previously all attended Beaver Falls High School. Three of the municipalities, South Beaver, Darlington Township and Darlington Boro, had made up the Northwestern School Jointure. To understand the racial dimension of this split, Table 1 lists the total population and number of minorities in each municipality (U.S. Census 1970).

TABLE 1
Municipalities Forming the Big Beaver Falls School District

Municipality	Population	Minorities
Beaver Falls	14,375	1736.00
Big Beaver	2,739	0
Eastvale	421	21
Homewood	212	0
Koppel	1,312	9
New Galilee	624	11
White	1,747	350

Municipalities Forming the Blackhawk School District

Municipality	Population	Minorities
Chippewa	6,613	1
Darlington Boro	344	1
Darlington Township	2,	4
Patterson	3,442	11
Patterson Heights	777	32
South Beaver	2,339	25
West Mayfield	2,152	5

When the redistricting had been completed, the lines seemed to most racially gerrymandered. Four of the municipalities lay parallel to each other running one after the other along a long ridge. The newly formed Blackhawk District contained Patterson Heights, Patterson and West Mayfield. The Big Beaver Falls District maintained White Township. Both Patterson and West Mayfield had less than 1% minority population and Patterson Heights had 4%, while White Township had 20%, the largest minority population of any of the municipalities.

While median income data is not conclusive, five of the municipalities comprising the Blackhawk School District had a higher median income than any of the seven municipalities comprising the Big Beaver Falls School District. The Blackhawk School District represented those well off, while Big Beaver Falls represented those who were economically struggling. So severe was the split that the Big Beaver Falls superintendent hosted a breakfast for area realtors to try to convince them not to recommend clients to avoid the district, a longstanding practice.

The result of these actions was to create a segregated situation in the area schools which had never existed before. While much of the country was going through the trauma of desegregation, this area was able to reverse that trend and bring segregation where there had not been any educationally.

How was the plan that separated these two districts developed? The September 9, 1968, minutes of the Beaver Falls School Board contains some of the history supporting the desire to have one large unified district instead of two separate districts. The minutes note, "Every respected authority in the field of education who has studied the structure of the school systems of the northwest area of Beaver County, unbiased by local parochialism, local politics or local emotions, has recommended the combination of the four school systems (all 14 municipalities) into one administrative unit" (Beaver Falls Minutes 1968a).

Those same minutes reference two other important facts. On May 10, 1961, the then Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Dr. Charles Boehm, recommended a combining of the four school systems of the northwest area of Beaver County (Beaver Falls Minutes 1968a). The following year, on May 25, 1962, a committee of experts given the task of reviewing a survey report done by the Northwest Beaver County Planning Committees (Dr. Earle Liggitt, Dr. Charles Saylor, and Dr. Howard Stewart) also recommended that the entire area be combined and organized into one administrative unit. They believed this would best meet efficiency concerns, quality concerns and community spirit concerns (Beaver Falls Minutes 1968a). Finally, in 1965 a Supplemental Order from the State Board of Education also suggested a total merger (Beaver Falls Minutes 1968a).

The rationale for dividing the area into two rather than one district was explained in two different interviews. Dr. S. Robert Marziano is currently the Director of the county's Intermediate Unit, what the county board of education evolved into. Dr. Marziano had recently been hired as a school psychologist by the county board when these events were unfolding. When asked what role politics may have played in developing a plan which changed course from earlier recommendations he said, "None." He said it was quite simply a matter of misjudging population growth. He said the formulas they were using to make their projections were just wrong (Marziano 1997).

A second perspective was advanced by Dr. Charles Groff. Dr. Groff was the Supervising Principal of the Highland Suburban Jointure (the largest piece of what would become the Blackhawk District) until 1970 when he became an Assistant County Superintendent. He said there had been a plan drawn up that would include all four districts in one but there was a sticking point. The high school was overcrowded and a new facility needed to be built. The people in the Highland Suburban Jointure insisted that the building be built outside of Beaver Falls because it would be too congested to have the school in town. From Dr. Groff's perspective this was totally unacceptable to the Beaver Falls Board because of their arrogant attitude. It was clear to Dr. Groff that if there could have been agreement on where to build a new high school, there would have been a single district (Groff 1997).

When the county announced its plan for separate districts, Beaver Falls School District and the Big Beaver Jointure prepared an appeal. Their appeal raised several significant issues. Most of the issues revolved around the belief that bigger is better. A bigger district would have more resources, allow more opportunity and have a wider blend of experiences. The appeal contended that "it is highly questionable whether any other of these systems (except combining all four) will meet the racial integration standards pronounced during this past year by the State Board of Education in conjunction with the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission" (Beaver Falls Board 1968a).

Another issue was contained in the State's response to the appeal. In turning down the appeal the State said there was no racial imbalance proven and that topography favored the plan for two districts (Beaver Falls Board 1968b). This response is problematic. Regardless of what levels of integration the Human Relations Commission was looking for, it is difficult to accept that creating one district with 23% minority and another with less than 1% was what was intended. If this were not primarily a race issue and mainly an issue of population misprojection and school location, it is curious that in another part of the county where those same two issues, population and school location, were at stake (Ambridge, Baden, and Economy) that the county mandated the merger into one large district (Jute 1997). The main difference in that merger was that there was no issue of race.

Margaret Moss, longtime president of the Beaver Valley Branch of the NAACP, said that the legacy of the split will always be a factor in the community (Moss 1997). At a time when many parts of the country were trying to end segregation, Beaver County effectively started it.

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Eisenhower and the Politics of Federal Aid to Education: The Watershed Years, 1953-1961

Don T. Martin
University of Pittsburgh

This paper will examine President Dwight D. Eisenhower's efforts to enact federal aid to education by analyzing his views on the major issues that emerged in the political battles over such aid during his eight years in office (1953-1961). I will identify and attempt to analyze any inconsistencies or contradictions between what he publicly stated and subsequent legislative or executive actions. I will also examine his political motivations for seeking such aid and will examine how the political times and events during his administration contributed to an emerging presidential role in the political struggles over the issues in federal aid to education

Eisenhower often spoke glibly in generalities about the necessity for improved education so that all could become "better citizens," and he talked about "the best possible education for all our young people" (Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States 1955, 243). On the other hand, he did not refer to the injustice of the vast inequality of educational opportunities between the states and between local districts. This was tempered, however, by his statements in some of his recommendations that aid be based on need and that "the greatest help go to the states and localities with the least financial resources" (Public Papers 1956, 21). Although avoiding the issue of vast inequalities in education, Eisenhower's legislative proposals were insistent that federal monies be used to help the poorest states (Public Paper 1956). However, Eisenhower was not so much concerned that the neediest states receive funds to reduce the inequality in education as he was concerned that "the firm conditions of federal aid must be proved by lack of local income" (Public Papers 1953, 32).

Eisenhower, even before becoming president, was emphatic that federal aid, especially federal aid for all states, meant federal control and expressed a deep concern about the possibility that federal control could result in a more centralized government, which he emphatically opposed (Congressional Record 1949, A3690). Yet in spite of his strong view on this issue, there were in fact elements of federal control in many of Eisenhower's legislative proposals. For example, his 1955, 1956, and 1957 proposals all stipulated that all such aid requested must be spent for the construction of school buildings (Committee on Education and Labor 1960). Similarly, his 1958 National Defense Education Act (NDEA) proposals placed strict federal requirements upon local schools to spend federal monies on improving mathematics, science, and foreign language education. Furthermore the equalization formula, contained within many of Eisenhower's education proposals, was also a form of federal control. Thus Eisenhower, who was incessant in his pronouncements against federal control, actually included strong federal regulations within his legislative proposals.

The issue of segregated schools was glaringly omitted from Eisenhower's public speeches supporting legislative proposals for federal aid to education. For example, when questioned about an anti-segregation amendment to a 1956 school construction bill Eisenhower replied that although he believed in the principle of equality of opportunity for every citizen of the United States, he was bound by what the Supreme Court had recommended, i.e. "a gradual implementation" (Public Papers 1956, 187). The same controversy emerged again and was the main cause of the defeat of the 1956 school construction bill (H.R. 7535) (Public Papers 1956, 187).

Representative Adam Clayton Powell (Democrat-New York) in 1956 submitted an amendment to a bill prohibiting federal aid to states that failed to implement the 1954 Brown decision of the Supreme Court on the desegregation of schools. The amendment caused a curious realignment of votes. Some liberals, favorable to both civil rights causes and federal aid to education bills, voted against the Powell amendment, while 96 Republicans, who eventually voted against the bill, voted for the amendment. Both groups apparently reasoned that if the Powell amendment passed it would arouse sufficient opposition from a block of southern conservative Democrats and conservative Republican votes to defeat the bill. Although there was considerable debate over the principle of the Powell amendment, Eisenhower remained silent. Northern liberals opposed to the amendment pleaded with fellow liberals to join them and insisted that the issues of segregation and school aid should be kept separate less the school aid bill would go down to defeat when the bill came to vote. That is precisely what happened.

Just as Eisenhower avoided discussion of the Powell amendment, he avoided referring to the segregation of schools specifically in connection with federal aid to education. Not even during the Little Rock crisis did the President speak out against the injustices of school segregation. Instead, he justified sending federal troops "solely for the purpose of preventing interference with the orders of the Court" (Congressional Quarterly Almanac, XIII 1957, 658).

In the post World War II years the long overdue political struggle over school segregation had begun to receive national attention mainly because the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and other civil rights organizations mounted increased political pressure upon state governments, Congress, and the president to integrate the schools. Yet most public schools remained solidly segregated and an awareness of segregation in the nation's schools was literally forced upon Eisenhower because of the mounting criticism leveled against this entrenched discriminatory practice, especially after the Supreme Court's historic school desegregation decision of 1954. Nevertheless, as President, he avoided the issue whenever and wherever possible.

The main reason for his avoidance of the segregation controversy in his federal aid to education proposals was apparent; he knew full well that his speaking out on this issue would have only antagonized vested political interests, especially his political support in the south. Historically, however, the time was right to take political action. Indeed it was a sad commentary on Eisenhower's moral leadership that he did not speak out loudly and clearly against the then vast injustices of the deep-seated segregation policies and practices in the nation's schools.

Eisenhower set up the White House Conference on Education in 1955 and appointed the Committee on Education Beyond the High School in 1956 (Committee for White House Conference on Education 1956). Composed of distinguished educational leaders and lay personnel, its task was to study and make recommendations in the field of higher education. The committee issued an interim report to the president in November, 1956 pointing out issues in higher education that needed careful scrutiny. In his January, 1957 Special Message on Education, Eisenhower referred to an important issue in the interim report: "It [Committee's Report] pointed out that much more planning is needed at the state level to meet current and future needs in education beyond the high school" (Public Papers 1957, 93).

In 1956 Congress had passed Public Law 813 authorizing federal aid to the states so that they could establish state committees on education beyond the high school. However, Congress failed to appropriate the necessary funds. Disappointed over its failure, Eisenhower recommended that "Congress now appropriate the full amount authorized under this legislation . . . I recommend that the Congress amend Public Law 813 so as to authorize grants to the States of 2.5 million dollars a year for three years for these purposes" (Public Papers 1957, 94). Even this meager request by Eisenhower met with unfavorable action by a Democratic controlled Congress.

It is apparent that the various surveys of the schools conducted during Eisenhower's two terms in office influenced his legislative proposals. For example, Eisenhower's school construction proposals were a direct result of the reports by the state conferences and the White House Conference on Education in 1955. Clearly the surveys conducted during Eisenhower's years in office served as an important basis for discovering what the schools' future needs were and formed the basis for justifying his requests for federal aid to education. Moreover, it appears to have provided a basic rationale for federal support of educational research and planning in the years to come.

Eisenhower offered limited educational legislation for two main reasons. First, he wanted to strengthen the nation economically and militarily. Second, he thought such support was important to his political career. Thus, Eisenhower wanted the federal government to support education even if it furthered the interests of the "military-industrial complex."

The historic launching in 1957 of the Soviet spacecraft Sputnik directly and profoundly increased Eisenhower's support of federal aid to education, especially federal aid for school construction and for the training of teachers of mathematics, science, and foreign language. Although Eisenhower consistently praised the nation's teachers and their importance in our society well before Sputnik, he consistently refused to make specific requests for federal aid to support teachers' salaries. His praise of teachers revealed an increasing contentment with what he considered to be their improved status. But this was contradicted by their continued low pay, poor working conditions, and their overall poor quality.

Eisenhower's contentment, however, was shattered with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic's (U.S.S.R.) historic launching of the satellite Sputnik I into orbit in October 1957. In his Special Message to Congress on education in 1958, he abruptly shifted from his pre-Sputnik position of no federal aid for teachers' salaries to requesting limited, special support for them. With the explicit intention of improving the subject matter knowledge of science, mathematics, and foreign language teachers, Eisenhower recommended federal funds specifically for teacher training institutes. For this purpose he recommended that Congress authorize federal grants to the states on a matching basis. These funds would be used according to the discretion of the States and the local school systems either to employ additional qualified science and mathematics teachers, to help purchase laboratory equipment and other materials, to supplement the salaries of qualified science and mathematics teachers, or for other related programs. By stating that federal funds for the support of teachers was to be used at the discretion of state and local school systems, the president seemed intent on preserving the integrity of his previous statements advocating local control. However, and even given the states discretionary power, the idea of supporting teachers with federal funds was indeed clearly contrary to Eisenhower's previous position. Congress' rapid and overwhelming support of Eisenhower's NDEA request was clearly a reflection of their desire (as well as Eisenhower's) to improve the nation's position in the space race between the United States and the U.S.S.R. Education became the principal vehicle in the nation's attempt to close the space gap caused by the Soviet's dramatic breakthrough in space exploration.

Although he began his first term of office requesting an extension and expansion of impacted aid, Eisenhower soon became reluctant in that support and eventually suggested that it be significantly reduced so that aid would be provided only where federal personnel both lived and worked on federal property. He believed it was unfair for the federal government to give aid to school districts that were benefitting in tax support from increased federal activities in their districts. To give federal subsidies to a district that was already benefitting from increased federal activity was tantamount to preferential treatment for those districts. Although Eisenhower's contention that this practice was unfair was quite accurate, his reluctance to support aid to impacted areas went well beyond his concern for the inequity of this type of aid to a much greater concern that impacted aid was becoming a permanent government fixture, and a very costly one at that. Becoming frustrated over the increasingly large amounts of aid for impacted areas, Eisenhower felt compelled to reduce, or at least slowdown, the flow of such funds (U.S. Congress, House Committee on Education and Labor 1963, 66). Clearly a reduction in federal expenditures for such aid was consistent with Eisenhower's conservative fiscal policies. Since impacted aid had been such a politically popular form of aid with most Congressmen and also with most of the American public, it appeared that Eisenhower was making a politically courageous move when he sought to curb such aid. What appeared on the surface to be an attempt by him to provide a more equitable distribution of funds to poorer states for education was, however, in reality an attempt by him to hold down and even to reduce total federal spending on education, or at least, to prevent future expansion of such spending.

Eisenhower entered the 1952 campaign with a strongly negative view toward federal aid to education. He held this view long before becoming president of the United States. For example, while president of Columbia University (1949-51), he spoke often and with great enthusiasm about "democratic citizenship" (Jacobs 1992, 455) while warning about the centralizing effect of federal aid to education, and how federal aid would result in federal control. Furthermore, his early reluctance to support federal aid to education was largely a result of his opposition to what he considered "reckless spending" (Childs 1958, 108). Despite this viewpoint, Eisenhower recognized in the campaign the grave national classroom and teacher shortages and called for some federal support to relieve these conditions. Indeed, and throughout the campaign, he vacillated between providing federal aid to relieve the critical condition of the nation's neediest schools and his conservative opposition to federal spending. Any support for federal aid that he did give was nearly always tempered by a cautious concern about excessive federal spending. But neither Eisenhower nor Stevenson (Stevenson 1952, 204) devoted much of their campaign rhetoric to the issue of federal aid, and this issue was of little if any consequence in the election of 1952.

Eisenhower's view on federal aid to education changed, however, by the time he accepted the nomination in 1956; by then he was more favorable. Similarly, the Republican platform of 1956 favored such aid in sharp contrast to their platform of 1952 (Porter 1966, 500). Throughout the 1956 campaign Eisenhower increasingly spoke in favor of federal aid to education while less often invoking the dangers of federal control and reckless federal spending. The

President campaigned mainly in support of federal aid to school construction and blamed the Democrats for the failure of his school construction program. At the same time, Stevenson, although not a strong advocate of federal aid to education, increasingly spoke about the poor condition of the nation's schools (Stevenson 1952, 9).

Although both presidential candidates, and especially Stevenson, gave more support to federal aid to education in their campaign speeches in 1956 than in 1952, and although the issue of federal aid became an issue in the campaign of 1956, it was overshadowed by other factors in the election and, consequently, had little effect on the outcome.

Although Eisenhower expressed concern about the shortage and the poor status of teachers, he also commented on what he considered to be their "steadily improving condition" (New York Times 1958, 4). Such a contradiction in regards to the teachers' plight could only serve to confuse the issue and the public. Until his legislative proposals in the NDEA, Eisenhower was unalterably opposed to the idea of federal aid to teachers' salaries. It took the threat of Soviet space superiority to convince him of the need to change his position. Sputnik even caused Eisenhower to talk about "national goals" and "national standards" for teachers, strange talk indeed for one who had on many occasions spoken publicly about the need to retain local control and avoid federal control of the schools.

In his final year in office (1960), Eisenhower predictably returned to his earlier opposition to federal support of teachers' salaries. When the President was asked about federal funds to support teachers' salaries he caustically replied:

> I do not believe the Federal Government ought to be in the business of paying a local official. If we're going to do that, we'll have to find out every councilman and every teacher and every other person that's a public official of any kind . . . and try to figure out what his right salary is . . . I can't imagine anything worse for the federal government to be into (Congressional Quarterly Almanac, XVI 1960, 232).

It is apparent that Eisenhower did not believe in federal aid for teachers' salaries. His refusal to recommend it prior to the launching of Sputnik reflected his real attitude about such aid. Clearly the aid recommended in the NDEA proposals of 1958 in support of specific teacher training would not have occurred had he not been gravely concerned about the perceived national security problems caused by Sputnik.

Seldom in his early years as President did Eisenhower speak about the problems of higher education. Yet these problems continued to mount and in 1956 Eisenhower finally decided to make modest recommendations for higher education. However, Congress refused even to provide the very modest funds necessary to implement his basic recommendations. But with the launching of Sputnik, both the Congress and the President stampeded toward passage of legislation to aid higher education. Eisenhower strongly requested federal aid for scholarships and fellowships, and especially grants to improve the physical sciences. Congress then quickly approved the NDEA of 1958. It was clear that both Eisenhower and Congress were moved into action as a direct result of what they perceived to be a serious threat to national security. It was obvious that Eisenhower's lukewarm support of higher education was based on improving higher education in accordance with the nation's immediate security needs. And those proposals were designed primarily to provide only short-term emergency relief. He also knew that the kind of scientific advances needed at that time could best be provided by higher education institutions.

Eisenhower often opposed grants as a form of federal aid to education. He distinctly preferred the purchase of local school district bonds rather than federal grants. With the important exception of the NDEA, federal grants were the kind of federal aid least acceptable to him. Yet his requests to Congress for aid were usually a combination of federal bond purchases and some form of grants.

In 1958 Eisenhower abruptly shifted his requests from the purchase of bonds for local school districts to a request for federal grants. This was because his emphasis on federal aid to education had shifted from only school construction aid to aid for a variety of specialized programs. For Eisenhower, purchasing school bonds was more appropriate for school construction and federal grants were better suited for specialized programs. What enabled him to make this shift more easily was his on-going belief that the NDEA, like school construction aid, was a temporary kind of federal aid designed only to meet the "Sputnik crisis." In his 1959 and 1960 federal aid requests, Eisenhower did in fact return to a form of his earlier school construction aid, with the added change that requests were now based on a long-term plan of 30 to 35 years.

Speaking on the issue of school construction Eisenhower said, "If speedily and fully utilized, this Federal program — added to the increased basic efforts of States and communities — should overcome the nation's critical classroom shortage within five years. Once this shortage is overcome, the federal grant program can and must terminate" (Public Papers 1960, 66-67). In a later statement at a news conference, he said:

> And I have come to the conclusion that because some of those difficulties were brought about by national emergencies, [Depression of the 1930's, World War II, and the Korean War] the National Government ought to help, — and I say help only — since is it beyond the power of the State to get those buildings built. Then we should turn the whole thing back to the States, and have nothing more to do with it (Public Papers 1960, 243).

Eisenhower's strong fiscal conservatism led him to oppose permanent, costly aid and caused him to go to great lengths to prevent it from occurring. And Eisenhower's requests to Congress for federal aid were often contradicted by his earlier political position.

Eisenhower reacted to the demands of the times, especially to the continuing poor condition of American education in the 1950's, and to the international political crisis caused by Sputnik. Eisenhower supported federal aid to education because he believed that such aid was primarily in our national interest. Moreover, he was well aware that Congress was more easily convinced of the need to support it on this basis.

Eisenhower's support of federal aid to education was more a result of the conditions of his time than they were a result of his own political convictions. Clearly his efforts were directly related to the school crisis at hand; teachers had left the profession in unprecedented numbers, mainly because of low salaries and poor working conditions, and many of the schools were overcrowded, in disrepair, and badly in need of financial help. The schools were facing a crisis of unprecedented proportions and Eisenhower had little choice but to seek some federal relief. Although Eisenhower had tried to avoid the usual political controversy that accompanies federal aid to education legislation, he could not prevent himself from being drawn into it. More than any factor, it was the controversies that emerged during the political struggles over federal aid that hindered Eisenhower's modest attempts at gaining aid for the schools.

Eisenhower's enormous national popularity enabled him to speak glowingly about the virtues of local control and his belief in the continued historic responsibility of financial support by local and state governments. Yet he knew full well that the schools remained overcrowded and underfinanced. Although Eisenhower was an unenthusiastic supporter of federal aid to education, his numerous political requests and actions on such aid revealed an increased concern about federal aid to education over that shown by any previous president. He set a precedent for such federal aid to become an important national issue, and presidents henceforth would have to contend with this issue. In addition, and perhaps most important to future presidential administrations, were the many controversial political issues emphasized in the political discourse over federal aid to education that were included in Eisenhower's legislative proposals. Such issues as educational equality, flat or equalization grants, segregated schools, federal control, impacted areas aid or general aid, often formed the basis for subsequent national political debates over the nature and purpose of federal aid to education. Many of these same political issues confront Congress and especially the Office of the Presidency today. Indeed, the significantly increased political discourse and the partial resolution of such issues was a major turning point in the history of presidential support of federal aid to education. In the end the legacy of the Eisenhower years constitutes a watershed for federal aid to education policies — from a century and a half of minimal presidential support early on in our history to one of major political involvement by presidents for nearly the past half century.

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Evangelicals and English Charity Schools in the Eighteenth Century

Ronald Ferguson
Ball State University

The religious awakening in eighteenth century England infused a sense of urgency and seriousness into the Evangelicals. This was a time of social and missionary zeal. These religious radicals were convinced that society needed a transfusion of morality into the spiritual veins of the people. Sin was like a dark cloud engulfing the nation, and peoples' souls were in danger. The purpose of this paper is to examine the influence the Evangelicals had on one aspect of reforming society, the charity schools. The Evangelicals' general perception of society will be discussed first in order to show how the conditions of society motivated them to action. Next, some basic doctrinal beliefs will be examined because they provide a foundation for their educational ideas. The remainder of the paper will explore the charity schools that were supported by Evangelicals, including the pedagogical methods and curricula used for moral instruction.

Evangelicals were very concerned with the moral health of eighteenth century English society. They pointed to John Locke's writings on the virtues of individual rights and freedoms as contributing to the disintegration and fragmentation of society. This emphasis on the recognition of individual rights for the common man was evident in the literary, political and economic works of this period (see Edwards 1943, 53). From an Evangelical perspective, an indulgence in the glorification of the individual could lead to the sin of pride and hedonism and they cited many examples as evidence that this was already happening.

Drinking and brutality were often identified as two great villains of moral virtue. Premature deaths and the rapid increase in crime and violence were linked by the Evangelicals to the consumption of alcohol. The manufacturing of distilled spirits is reported to have reached eleven million gallons by 1750. This was over twenty times more liquor than was produced in 1684 (Edwards 1943, 99). During the early part of the eighteenth century deaths exceeded births (Elliott-Binns 1953, 55). According to Elliott-Binns, "This was in part due to the excessive gin-drinking. . . . Many members of the upper class shortened their lives by hard drinking, and their indulgence in any case undermined their constitutions. . ."(55). The Methodists' response to this problem was to avoid spirits and drams unless prescribed by a physician (Edwards 1943, 101).

The tentacles of brutality reached into all areas of society. Popular sports like hunting fox, boxing, baiting of bears and bulls, and cock fighting were characterized by cruelty and viciousness (Elliott-Binns 1953, 47, 48). The English also amused themselves by attending cheap forms of entertainment. These included, "The whipping of half-naked women at Bridewill, the stoning of unpopular pilloried prisoners, and public executions" (Miller 1965, 12). The English had a reputation for resorting to violence as a means for handling conflict or to protest. Miller notes that "No nation rioted more easily or more savagely--from 1774-1830 angry mobs, burning and looting, were as prevalent as disease, and as frequent in the countryside as in the towns" (14).

Evangelicals' educational ideas are grounded in their doctrinal beliefs. Therefore, some highlights of some prominent theological beliefs which relate to education will be discussed. A foundational conviction for all Evangelicals is that the Bible is inspired by God and therefore is the final authority for all matters of faith and practice. A central teaching of the Scriptures is that humankind has fallen from grace through the rebellion of Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden. The consequence of this first sin is that all people are tainted by sin from birth.

From an Evangelical's point of view, sin is a very serious problem because it separates the sinner from God. The only solution to this dilemma is to accept by faith the substitutionary sacrifice of Jesus as an atonement for sins. The Evangelicals stressed that this was a definite act at a particular moment in time (Elliott-Binns 1943, 387). Evangelicals were convinced that people needed to hear about the salvation that was possible through Jesus and they were motivated to get personally involved in all types of social and educational endeavors as a means of spreading the Gospel. Their backing of charity schools, and prison and hospital visitation "were in the vanguard of most social movements of the latter half of the eighteen century" (Sangster 1963, 20).

The Evangelicals' perception of God also had a profound influence on their lives. They portrayed God as a harsh judge, who vengefully poured out His wrath on sin in order to motivate children and adults to live a "God fearing life." This was in essence an attempt to "scare the hell" out of the person. Another method of trepidation was to use the fear of death as an educational strategy (see Sangster 1963, 145). They would instill this fear through hymns, children's literature, and sermons, often drawing on illustrations from everyday life. Rowland Hill, an influential Evangelical wrote in "Instruction for Children:"

> Two sinners God's just vengeance felt
> For telling one presumptuous lie:
> Dear children, learn to dread his wrath,
> Lest you should also sin and die (134).

There were many contemporary object lessons from life that pastors, teachers, and parents could draw on to show that God inflicts His wrath on sinners. In one instance a boy who fed his rabbits on Sunday was punished by God. The boy's rabbits died (Sangster 1963, 135). Basically, the Evangelicals believed that misfortune was God's way of getting even for a previous sin and since He was no "respecter of persons" He would inflict His wrath on adults as well as children. Conversely, if someone escaped harm or recovered from a serious illness they believed these were special dispensations of God's benevolent favor (163). Therefore, self-examination was taught in order to "nip sin in the bud," and thus keep God's vengeance at bay.

A primary aim of Evangelical educators was to prepare children for heaven and, in so doing, they would also be fighting social evils and moral decay. John Wesley, probably the most influential Evangelical of the eighteenth century, established the theoretical framework for education among Evangelicals. Wesley outlined his educational philosophy in a sermon "On the Education of Children" and in a letter "A Thought on the Manner of Educating Children." The text for Wesley's sermon was, "Train up a child in the way wherein he should go: And when he is old, he will not depart from it" (Proverbs 22:6). This task was to be a joint effort involving God and man. God's role was that of the "physician of the soul." As the Great Physician He treats spiritual diseases in order to restore spiritual health and uses men and women to be His earthly assistants in the treatment of these diseases (Wesley 1984, 7:87). Wesley described a number of "diseases" of human nature that could be cured by proper training. These included: atheism, self worship, pride, love of the world, anger, deviations from the truth, and acts contrary to justice (7:88, 89). His optimism with the role education could play was evident when he asked:

> Now, if these are the general diseases of human nature, is it not the grand end of education to cure them? And is it not the part of all those to whom God has entrusted the education of children, to take all possible care, first, not to increase, not to feed, any of these diseases; (as the generality of parents constantly do;) and next, to use every possible means of healing them (7:90)?

In "A Thought on the Manner of Educating Children" Wesley reinforced some of the points he made in his sermon. He also took the opportunity to reflect on the educational philosophy of Rousseau. Wesley proclaimed that *Emile* was, "the most empty, silly, injudicious thing that ever a self-conceited infidel wrote" (Wesley 1984, 13:474). Wesley disagreed with Rousseau's view of childhood innocence and the need to follow nature. According to Wesley, the purpose of education was not to follow nature, but to "set it right. This, by the grace of God, was to turn the bias from self-well[sic], pride, anger, revenge and the love of the world, to resignation, lowliness, meekness, and the love of God" (13:476). If possible, this was to be done gently; however, "if this does not get the desired results, then we must correct with kind severity" (13:477) . He reminded the reader that this action was necessary and of the Scripture passages which declared, "he that spareth the rod, spoileth the child" and "For, 'whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth" (13:477). Wesley made one final plea in the last paragraph of his letter. He wrote:

> In the name of God, then, and by the authority of His word, let all that have children, from the time they begin to speak or run alone, begin to train them up in the way wherein they should go; to counter work the corruption of their nature with all possible assiduity; to do everything in their power to cure their self-will, pride, and every other wrong temper. Then let them be delivered to instructors (if such can be found) that will tread in the same steps; that will watch over them as immortal spirits, who are shortly to appear before God, and who have nothing to do in this world but to prepare to meet Him in the clouds, seeing they will be eternally happy, if they are ready; if not, eternally miserable (13:476).

The Evangelicals took Wesley's advice seriously and fervently applied his educational principles in their homes and charity schools.

Prior to the emergence of Methodism some serious minded Christians were already involved in educating the poor. The Society for the Promoting of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) was a vanguard Christian society that was started in 1698 and typified the climate of the eighteenth century which "was marked by a very real sense of pity and responsibility for the children whose physical and spiritual interests were lamentably neglected. . ." (Jones 1964, 4). The members of the society were disquieted, "by the atheism and indifference of the fashionable and intellectual world" (36), and they responded by forming groups for prayer and to share spiritual experiences. In the process their attention was drawn to the lower classes and they "were profoundly disturbed by the ignorance and indifference of the poor" (36). The S.P.C.K. was able to arouse among the clergy and laymen a sense of responsibility to the under privileged--this also included those "whose parents could not afford to send them to school" (36).

One solution to this problem was the establishment of charity schools as a cheap method for effecting reform. It was inexpensive because they could use any unoccupied room and basic equipment was minimal--benches, slates and pencils, and a few books (Jones 1964, 34). Some felt all this, plus an inexpensive uniform for boys and girls, could be provided for about twenty pounds per year (31). These funds were raised through the solicitation of subscriptions, which in the eighteenth century was a favorite form of benevolence by pious and philanthropic men and women (3). Subscribers to charity schools signed a document acknowledging the need for these schools, along with their financial pledge. The document stated, in part that:

> it is evident to common observation that the growth of Vice and Debauchery is greatly owing to the gross ignorance of the principles of the Christian Religion, especially among the poorer sort. And also whereas Christian Vertue [sic] can grow from no other root than Christian Principles, we, whose names are underwritten, being touched with zeal for the honour of God, the salvation of the souls of our poor brethren, and the Promoting of Christian Knowledge among the poor...do hereby promise to pay yearly during pleasure...towards the setting up of a school within this parish for the teaching poor children...to read and write and repeat the Church Catechism (38).

The charity school was to give the student a basic education with an emphasis on Christian piety and knowledge. The master of the school had to be at least twenty-five years old, a member of the Church of England, and pass an exam on the principles of the Christian religion. In addition, he was to have an aptitude for teaching, be able to write well and understand arithmetic (Edwards 1943, 120). The Methodists, as a society, did not organize nearly as many schools as S.P.C.K. This was not because of their lack of individual enthusiasm or conviction for the need to educate the poor, but, "The lack of organised effort in the establishment of schools for the children of the poor was due in main to the concentration of reforming zeal upon the adult, in the belief that it was the quicker and more certain method of national regeneration" (Jones 1964, 138). The enthusiasm for these charity schools "began to wane after the middle of the century" (Curtis 1953, 195). It is reported that this decline was due, in part, to bad management. Probably more critical was the lack of interest by the parents of the poor to sacrifice their child's earning power in order to send them to school. Curtis notes that, "By 1780 the influence of the charity-school movement had practically ceased, and the schools of industry, never very numerous, were declining in numbers" (197).

The schools of industry were an attempt to motivate parents to send their children to a school where they could receive an elementary education, be trained for an industrial occupation, and make a small income in the process. A very influential Evangelical in establishing schools of industry was Hannah More. Prompted by a visit from Wilberforce, (1789) Hannah was challenged to abandon her plans of quiet retirement in order to help the poor in the Mendip area, a group of villages south of Bristol (Miller 1965, 73). When Wilberforce visited Hannah they traveled through the area and became acquainted with the poverty and decay. Later, in a letter, by Hannah indicated that there was little chance for improvement, since "There were thirteen adjoining parishes without a resident curate" (Miller 1965, 76). In response to this glaring need, Hannah, along with her sister Martha, started a Sunday school and a school of industry in the nearby village of Cheddar. Eventually other schools were opened in the surrounding villages (79).

These schools, like other schools of industry were supported though subscriptions (Lawson and Silver 1973, 239). Another similarity between More's school and others like it was that they were an over-all failure (Jones 1964, 155). In Hannah's case her initial intention was to teach "the children to spin yarn for the stocking-makers of Uxbridge [and this] would not only pay for itself but give them some small earnings" (Miller 1965, 79). This idea was thwarted because there was too much waste and the work was of poor quality. Thus, the focus of the school shifted from industry to a school that "concentrated almost entirely on training the children for domestic service" (79). Eventually the industrial schools were, "to be Superseded by the monitorial schools, which were seen to be able to handle more children, more cheaply" (Lawson and Silver 1973, 239).

Even though the schools for the poor started by S.P.C.K. and the schools of industry eventually gave way to other types of schools, they did serve a useful purpose and they filled the gap for education for the lower classes. However, the Evangelicals, in their efforts to take seriously the need for education for the poor, did come upon a system for providing cheap education. This innovation was the Sunday school.

The Sunday schools were the most successful form of charity schools undertaken by the Evangelicals. This movement "owed its astonishing success to the desire of the poor for learning, combined with the creation of a means which enabled them to obtain it without the diminution of the earnings, 'all little enough', which they received in six-day working week" (Jones 1964, 149, 150). In addition, the costs of running a Sunday school were minimal, especially since the Sunday schools eventually were able to be conducted with Volunteer teachers (Rice 1917, 17).

Robert Raikes (1736-1811) is credited with being the founder of the Sunday school movement in 1780 (Sangster 1963, 112). Raikes reflected the general beliefs of Evangelicals regarding their optimism in education as a means for the moral transformation of society. He proposed that, "The aim of the Sunday School is the reformation of Society. . . one only practicable by establishing notions of duty and discipline at an early stage" Jones 1964, 146). Hannah More in a tract "The Sunday School" stated that the Sunday school could improve society because it will prevent crime. She asks, "Will your property be secured so effectually by the stocks on the green, as by teaching the boys in the school, that for all these things, God will bring them into judgement" (Sangster 1963, 111)? The enthusiasm for the potential of the Sunday school was also shown by the chairman of the Sunday School Society, who in 1795 boldly proclaimed: "Sunday Schools will not fail, under Divine Blessing, to teach that 'fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom', and steadily inculcate the duties of sobriety, industry, temperance, and Subordination, as well as a due regard to and observance for, the Christian Sabbath'" (Miller 1965, 26).

If attendance is any indication of success, then the Sunday schools were undoubtedly successful. According to Sangster 250,000 had been enrolled in the Sunday school by 1787 (Sangster 1963, 112). By 1818 a parliamentary committee estimated that 500,000 pupils were attending Sunday Schools (Miller 1965, 24). Raikes stated that, "The children presented themselves in crowds on Sunday mornings at the schools. They came 'with great regularity'. Cold, dark, rainy mornings did not deter them" (Jones 1964, 147). Some of the Evangelical s attributed the Success to the fact that, "God inspired it; Social conditions and the spirit of Christianity called for it" (Rice 1917, 11). One should not, however, lose sight of great financial benefits of the Sunday schools. They met only once a week and volunteers taught the classes. These factors certainly were a significant contribution to its success. Curtis offers yet another perspective for its success. He believed that, "The Sunday School movement of the eighteenth century owes its importance not so much to what it actually achieved, as to the idea towards which it strove, namely universal education" (Curtis 1953, 201).

According to Jones, "In broad outline the Sunday school movement was a replica of the early charity school movement" (Jones 1964, 152). Therefore the following discussion of the Sunday school will shed light on the whole charity schools movement. The basic outline for the Sunday school was modeled after Raikes' school at Gloucester. A typical day began at 9:00 A.M. and continued until 6:00 P.M. The only breaks during the day were for meals and attending church services at 12:30 and 3:00 P.M. (Sangster 1963, 114).

The curriculum may have varied somewhat, but the Bible, common prayer book, and a catechism served as the basic materials. During the school day children would recite prayers, sing hymns, answer Bible questions and learn to read (see Rice 1917, 17, 18). Obviously, the choice of curriculum was intended to provide basic moral instruction as the pupil learned his lessons. Catechisms were used to, "prepare the children both for a full knowledge of their Christian beliefs and--much more important--for their personal Salvation" (Sangster, 42). The format of instruction was primarily question and answer. One Evangelical catechism that was used contained this lesson on Hell.

> Q. What sort of place is Hell?
> A. A dark: and bottomless pit, full of fire and brimstone.
> Q. How will the wicked be punished there?
> A. Their bodies will be tormented by fire (Sangster 1963, 139).

Likewise, the stories of Mrs. Trimmer and Mrs. Sherwood are packed with moral lessons taken from events of everyday life. Elliott-Binns makes an interesting comment on the literature of the Evangelicals when he states that the value of the literature was not necessarily as literary pieces but "as 'documents' which reveal the thoughts and ideals which inspired their authors" (Elliott-Binns 1953, 396). Mrs. Sherwood's most Popular book, *The History of the Fairchild Family*, contains over two dozen stories for the purpose of moral instruction. In the chapter on the Sixth Commandment, Mr. Fairchild happened upon a fight between his three children, Lucy, Henry, and Emily. The altercation was interrupted by Mr. Fairchild, but before order could be restored there was one final volley of verbal attack with Emily crying out, "I hate You! I hate you with all my heart, you ill-natured girl!" Lucy retorted, "And I hate you too; that I do" (Sherwood 1977, 53)!

Mr. Fairchild took immediate action. He disciplined all the offending parties and rebuked them by reciting the first two stanzas of the Isaac Watts hymn that appears above in this paper, "After which he made them stand in a corner of the room, without their breakfasts; neither did they get any thing to eat all the morning-, and what was worse, their papa and mamma looked very gravely at them" (Sherwood 1977, 53). At dinner time papa called them and asked if they were sorry for their grievous behavior. "'Oh! yes, Papa! yes, Papa! we are sorry,' they said" (53). Their father then proceeded to instruct them about the evils of hating others and being controlled by anger. He remind them of wicked Cain who in anger killed his brother and of the passage in the Bible that states, "Whosoever hateth his brother is a Murderer, and ye know that no murderer hath eternal life abiding in him" (55).

However, the lesson was not yet complete. Mr. Fairchild decided to use a real life object lesson to reinforce the seriousness of the consequences of hatred. He took them to an abandoned estate. They came to a broken down house with an overgrown garden. Just between a dilapidated garden wall and the nearby woods, "stood a gibbet, on which the body of a man hung in chains: it had not yet fallen to pieces, although it had hung there some years. . . the face of the corpse was so shocking, that the children could not look at it (Sherwood 1977, 57). Mr. Fairchild explained that:

> the man who hangs upon it is a murderer--one who first hated, and afterwards killed his brother! When people are found guilty of stealing, they are hanged upon a gallows, and taken down as soon as they are dead; but when a man commits a Murder, he is hanged in iron chains upon a gibbet, till his body falls to pieces, that all who pass by may take warning by the example (57).

Mr. Fairchild then recounted the story behind the hanging. He explained that there were two brothers who were spoiled and disobedient as children. They often quarreled with the servant and each other. "As they grew bigger, they became more and more wicked, proud, and Stubborn, sullen and undutiful " (58). The outcome was obvious, the one brother killed the other in anger. The lesson to be learned according to Mr. Fairchild is that by nature we are inclined to hate but we must rely an God to give us new hearts in order to love: "then I shall 'love my enemies, bless them that Curse me, do good to them that hate me, and pray for them that despitefully use me and persecute me'" (60). Upon hearing this Lucy asked Papa if they Could kneel down and pray for new hearts. Mr. Fairchild was agreeable, "So he knelt upon the grass, and his children round him- and afterwards they all went home" (60).

The moral instruction of this story is brought home though a graphic and fearful account of what could happen to children who grow up with anger in their hearts toward others. Many of the other stories are also designed to instill the "fear of the Lord" into the children who read or listened to Sherwood's stories.

The Sunday schools were funded through subscriptions, just as the other charity schools were. Wesley actively campaigned for Methodists to support the various charity school societies. He did this in part by exhorting people to consider the possessions of this world's goods as a trust from God (Jones 1964, 150). Christians were to meet the basic needs of their families, "but beyond this he had no further defensible claim to use property for his own good" (150). Many Christians must have heeded Wesley's admonition because it was certainly an age of philanthropy.

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Literacy in Eighteenth-Century Michigan: The Marriage Register at Fort Michilimackinac

Andris Vinovskis
Ann Arbor, Michigan

Literacy -- the ability to read and write -- has frequently been studied by social historians, seeking to understand the lives of our ancestors. The ebb and flow of literacy in North America has been a frequent topic of investigation. Many studies have focused on the New England region and some have been directed at other areas of English settlement. Recently the study of literacy has been expanded to include a few settlements of New France. The findings of these investigations reveal a startling fact: literacy rates in these French settlements are significantly lower than those of colonial New England. Indeed, they have some of the lowest rates of literacy in the western world in the eighteenth century. This makes the study of literacy in pre-nineteenth-century Michigan especially timely and interesting because the French settlements there represent some of the furthest westward expansion of French influence while at the same time, they provided the basis for subsequent English colonization.

Studies of eighteenth-century literacy have not examined the northern Michigan settlements which were occupied by the French until 1761 and then by the British until 1797. An examination of literacy in this far-flung outpost of early European settlement will be useful for comparison to similar studies of the cities and rural regions of eastern North America. Literacy data in the form of marriage register signatures from 1741-1821 are available in a document now kept in St. Anne's Church on Mackinac Island. By examining the signatures in this register, it is possible to estimate the rates of literacy at this French outpost during the second half of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries.

The limited number of written records left throughout the centuries are the only clues to patterns of literacy in the past, and the interpretation of these sources is subject to much debate. Wills, deeds, marriage registers, and other documents, to which people were asked to sign their names, if they could, are the only evidence of literacy skills available for analysis when detailed school records and reliable census information do not exist for a particular area. Historians use these sources to develop estimates of the levels of literacy in various parts of the world by examining how many people could or could not sign such legal documents. If a person could not sign his name, this fact was often noted on the document. An important inference drawn from these signatures is that if a person could sign his or her name, he or she was also able to read -- at least to some extent. This assumption is based in part on the fact that in the eighteenth century reading was generally taught before writing (Johansson 1981).

Although there was an overall rise in the proportion of people able to sign a document during the seventeenth-nineteenth centuries, the rates of this growth in literacy varied from place to place (Lockridge 1974, 77-78). These variations give historians the opportunity to see which societies and classes became literate and when. At the same time, they also allow historians to see if educational developments in European countries had any effect in their New World colonies. Trends in levels of literacy in North America were very likely related to some degree to ideas about education that were transferred to the New World by the new settlers as well as the initial level of education the settlers had acquired in the Old World.

In order to study past levels of literacy, historians have analyzed literacy by gender, class, and occupation. They have also studied literacy trends in new locales such as New France and New England. The analysis of the marriage register from Mackinac allows us to put these concepts to work in a study of literacy in Michigan during the eighteenth century. This article will analyze the signing rates among the brides and grooms in the marriage register and will also use entries in the baptismal record as another source of signatures for the brides and grooms who did not sign the marriage register itself.

The register used in this study is from St. Anne's parish church on Mackinac Island. The church was established at Fort Michilimackinac in the 1740's and was moved to Mackinac Island in 1780. The register was kept from about 1741 to 1821 and almost all of it is written in French. Each event is described in a short paragraph that follows a fairly standard format and varies only slightly from one record to another. Usually each entry is followed by one or more signatures. The person officiating signed and then participants and witnesses often also signed or marked the document. Entries in the register occur in a somewhat sporadic fashion and were made by priests, justices of the peace, and commandants of the fort. Although the register is primarily a record of church ceremonies, a priest was not always present at the fort to conduct the rites.

Since information was missing from some of the entries, additional sources were used to try to fill in some of the gaps. The first and most useful source is the baptismal register which is located at the opposite end of the Mackinac register. The baptismal register contains signatures by many of the same people who were brides and grooms in the marriage register. Here they signed as parents or god-parents. The lack of a signature in the marriage register did not necessarily mean that a person could not sign. It is possible that they did not sign because the register was not always immediately accessible to them. By also including information from the baptismal register, a more complete record was compiled of who was able or unable to sign as well as who was employed.

In a few cases more than one occupation was listed for the person in question. In a diverse economy some people often had several different jobs. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries most people did not specialize in one trade as they often do in the twentieth century. These multiple occupations may also be due to the lack of permanent settlers in the Mackinac area. As it is likely that there were more jobs than there were able-bodied men to fill them, residents often had to take on more than one job. In addition, they may have taken more than one job to make full use of their diverse talents or to fill positions which opened up due to the sudden death or departure of someone from the Mackinac area. Finally the fluctuating circumstances of life in a frontier region may have made changing employment necessary.

A microfilm of the original document was used to make an assessment of the quality of the signatures. The photographic images of the actual signatures allows judgements about the quality of the signature to be made. The signatures were graded on three levels: good, fair, and poor.

The ability to sign the register can be correlated with other information included in the entries in the register as well as information supplied from other sources to provide an analysis of which sub-groups of the population were able to sign. These results are presented as signature rates for both men and women as well as for all occupations at the fort and for the native inhabitants. As discussed earlier literacy is inferred from signature data based on the assumption that those who could write could also read at least to some degree.

The data set consists of 174 subjects with equal numbers of men and women. The register contains 184 subjects but ten of them were married more than once. Most remarriages were of couples who reconfirmed their civil marriages with a religious ceremony. A single entry was created for those cases where the marriage was reconfirmed. Two remarriages involved individuals who married again after their first spouses died.

The interpretation of the results of this study becomes more interesting and useful by comparing its findings with those of similar analyses elsewhere. Two literacy studies of New France and one of New England are used for comparison with these results. The data for New England were taken from Kenneth Lockridge's 1974 work *Literacy in Colonial New England*; the two New France studies are: Christine Veilleux's 1981 master's thesis done at Univérsité Laval in Quebec on the county of Portneuf (located about 30 miles west of Quebec City); and Michel Verrette's 1985 article in the *Journal of French American History* on literacy in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Quebec City.

The samples used in these earlier studies are relatively large and are drawn from several sites within the main region of each investigation. In each of these other studies the quantity of data allowed researchers to subdivide their information by different time-periods, occupations, and sometimes geographic locale. That level of analysis was not possible for the data from Michilimackinac. So, in order to present the results of all these analyses in manner comparable to the results from Fort Michilimackinac, it was necessary to re-aggregate the rates of male literacy, female literacy, and overall literacy for two of the three studies to provide comparable information. Aggregate figures for these rates in Quebec City were already provided by Verrette in his article. The data for occupations in each study were aggregated into the total number of males known to have been employed. The data from New England covers the period 1650-1762; the data from Quebec City covers the period 1750-1850; and the data from Portneuf covers the period 1740-1819. While these time-periods are different in terms of chronological dates, they are similar in being the early phases of settlement by Europeans.

The results of this investigation are divided into several parts. First overall rates of literacy in the four regions are discussed; then literacy of males and how religion and occupation influence these rates are considered. This is followed by an analysis of female literacy and the differences between male and female literacy. Finally the quality of signature is considered.

By looking at signatures throughout New England and New France, an interesting picture emerges of the patterns of literacy during the early stages of the settlement of the New World. For example, figures from the investigation of seventeenth and eighteenth-century New England by Lockridge show that overall about 71 percent of his subjects in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maine were able to sign during the period between 1650 and 1762 (Lockridge 1974, 19,39). In the study of the county of Portneuf the overall literacy rate was 13.5 percent (Veilleux 1981, 143). And according to Michel Verrette's study of literacy in Québec City, about 40 percent of the population were literate (Verrette 1985, 63).

At Fort Michilimackinac about 41 percent of the subjects were able to sign their names. This is 30 percentage points lower than the rate found in Lockridge's study of New England at the time of its settlement. It is significantly higher than the figure for the county of Portneuf and is similar to the rate for Quebec City. The rates of literacy at the fort were 27 percentage points higher than those at Portneuf and just 1 point higher than those found at Quebec City.

What might explain these variations in literacy for these four locales? The rates of literacy of any given population are affected in part by the cultural influences and occupational opportunities in those communities. In each of these early communities the religious culture was dominated by either Catholicism or by Protestantism. Occupations varied from community to community. Proximity to a port, the extent of good farming land, or the size of the town might all affect the kinds occupations prevalent in an area. These influences, religious culture and occupation, are different for the people of each region depending on the mixture of the type of religion and the nature of the work performed. It is the interplay of these influences that in the end accounts for much of the variations in the levels of literacy observed at these sites.

Both the Catholic and Protestant churches exerted considerable influence on the inhabitants of New England and New France. The Protestant church in New England promoted literacy for everyone while the Catholic church in New France did not stress literacy for ordinary parishioners. As we will see, variations in religion seems to have had a direct effect on the rates of literacy observed for men and women at the various sites. An analysis of the rates of literacy by occupation, especially in New France, will also demonstrate how the rates of literacy at various places differed according to the types of jobs available. Overall, the Protestant church was the driving force behind the generally high literacy rates in New England while variations in the lower literacy rates in parts of New France were driven in large part by occupational considerations.

Without more detailed information about the religious experiences of each individual in these communities it is difficult to specify exactly how cultural influences impacted on their literacy. However, a look at the overall levels of literacy among males at the four sites (leaving aside for the moment occupational factors) confirms the overall patterns of literacy that would be expected for Protestant and Catholic communities. Protestant areas of North America had high rates of literacy for males while the rates for males in Catholic areas were significantly lower.

Of the rates of literacy for males at the four sites, males in the New England area show the highest rate of signature. The rate of signature for New England males was 74 percent (Lockridge 1974, 19). This high rate of literacy fits with the Protestant belief in the value of literacy for everyone. In the other three communities, chiefly Catholic, the rates of male literacy were much lower. In Québec City, the rate of signature for males was just over 48 percent (Verrette 1985, 63). For the county of Portneuf, the rate of signature for males was just over 13 percent (Veilleux 1981, 143). The rate of signature among males at the fort was 57 percent. This puts the New England rate 17 percentage points above Michilimackinac, about 26 points above Quebec City, and nearly 61 points above Portneuf. Clearly there is a lot of variation among the signing rates for all the sites. This probably reflects in part the additional influences exerted by occupation.

While there was a lack of knowledge about the nature or extent of religious influence among the individuals in all of these studies, there was quite a bit of information about their occupations. An examination of the of the rates of signing among the different professions shows that literacy was valued differently by each. Males in the more skilled professions were more likely to be able to sign their names. For some occupations, such as trader, the ability to read and write was a great asset; for other occupations, such as day-laborer, the need for reading and writing was not as great.

The results for overall literacy among those whose occupation could be determined was just over 75 percent in New England and just over 64 percent at Michilimackinac (Lockridge 1974, 25). They are only eleven percentage points apart while the rate for Quebec City was 41 percent which is about 23 points lower than the rate at Michilimackinac (Verrette 1985, 74). The rate for Portneuf was just under 19 percent which is over 45 points lower than the rate for Michilimackinac and over 21 points lower than that for Quebec City (Veilleux 1981, 60).

A variety of factors may explain why different rates of literacy were found among populations of employed males in these studies. It's possible that the high rates of literacy observed at the fort reflect the fact that literacy skills were especially useful for commercial success in the wilderness. To understand the low rate observed at Portneuf, it is important to keep mind that much of the population analyzed by Veilleux was comprised of farmers and others who required little ability to write. Of the 1,921 farmers included in her study, 85 percent were illiterate (Veilleux 1981). For the numerous traders and voyagers at the fort, it was much more important to be able to write. They needed to be able to deal accurately with contracts and accounts and a knowledge of reading and writing helped them to do this. This difference in the composition of occupations may explain much of the 45 percentage point difference in rates of signature between the samples taken at Portneuf and Michilimackinac. The sample in Verrette's study of Quebec City also included a significant number of artisans and other occupations where writing ability was not necessarily a prerequisite for employment. This preponderance of illiterate artisans and farmers skewed downward the overall literacy for males at both Quebec City and Portneuf.

The rates of literacy among men were probably influenced by both religion and occupation. Women on the other hand generally did not have jobs outside the home during this time-period. For the most part their tasks were taking care of the home, helping to raise their children, producing some home manufactures, and growing food and keeping animals for the family's consumption. Consequently, their rates of literacy were probably mainly affected by their religion. The rates of signature among females were higher in New England than in New France. According to Lockridge's numbers over 40 percent of New England women were able to sign (Lockridge 1974, 39). Most likely these women could both read and write. However, there was probably a fairly significant number of women in the New England region who could read but not write. So rates of reading literacy in New England are probably significantly underestimated by calculations of only those who could sign their names. Interestingly, several more recent studies of eighteenth-century New England literacy suggest that an even higher proportion of women could sign their names than indicated by Lockridge (Perlmann et al. 1997). This high rate of signing is probably due to the stress placed by Protestant culture on education in general.

In the studies of Catholic New France, rates of signature among females were lower than those found by Lockridge in New England. The signature rate for females in Québec City was about 32 percent (Verrette 1985, 63). In the county of Portneuf, the signing rate for females was just under 14 percent (Veilleux 1981, 143). At Michilimackinac about 24 percent of females were able to sign the register. Since the settlements of New France were under the influence of the Catholic church which may have proscribed women's literacy or at the very least did not encourage it, it is not surprising that the rates of signature at all of the New France settlements were lower than those for New England women.

The females of the fort have a rate of signature that is about eight points lower than the rate for females in Quebec City and ten points higher than the rate in Portneuf. While the rate for Quebec City is not unexpected for an urban area, the fort and Portneuf, both rural areas, might be expected to have similar rates of signature, but they do not. The explanation for this difference might lie in the nature of life at the fort. The females of the fort may have had to take the places of absent men, both in the home and workplace; and to do so they would have needed to be literate.

Another interesting comparison can be found in the differences between male and female literacy at each site. In New England the difference was 34 percent (Lockridge 1974, 39); in Michilimackinac 33 percent; in Quebec City seventeen percent (Verrette 1985, 63); and in Portneuf it is less than one percent (Veilleux 1981, 143). It is interesting to note that at Portneuf, there was essentially no difference in the rates of literacy between males and females (0.7 percent). This can be accounted for by the very low literacy rates for both sexes: a low male rate due to the low literacy needs of farmers and a low female rate due to both the Catholic culture and the rural setting.

At Quebec City the difference in male and female literacy rates is moderate because male literacy was not very high due to the large number of fairly low-skilled workers while female literacy was not far behind perhaps because of the urbanization of the region -- and neither male nor female literacy was promoted by the Catholic culture. The differences for New England and Michilimackinac are quite close because male and female literacy rates at the fort are lower than the corresponding rates for New England by nearly equal amounts. As mentioned earlier the males rates differ by seventeen percent and the female rates differ by sixteen percent. It is possible that the differences in literacy rates between New England and Michilimackinac are reflecting mainly the influence of two different religious cultures.

The fairly wide gap between male and female literacy at these two sites is largely due to cultural and occupational influences. The differences in signing rates for men and women in New England was very likely due to the educational values of the time. Males received much more education in Protestant New England than females did. The difference in signing rates for men and women at Fort Michilimackinac may be due to the demands of the fur trade which required some degree of literacy for men.

Only two of the studies deal with the quality of signature, the data from Portneuf as well as the data from Fort Michilimackinac. Veilleux divided the signatures into four different categories of quality: poor, fair, good, and excellent. Although the bulk of her subjects did not sign, those who did sign were interpreted to have different levels of literacy. Subjects who had excellent signatures or who had good signatures were assumed to be able to both read and write. Subjects who had fair or poor signatures were assumed to be able to read only. Those who did not sign or who made a mark were considered illiterate in her study (Veilleux 1981, 60).

In the data taken from the register at Fort Michilimackinac, the signatures were divided into three categories: good, fair, and poor. Of the males who signed, 70 percent had good signatures, 28 percent had fair signatures, and two percent had poor signatures. Of the females who signed, 67 percent had good signatures, 25 percent had fair signatures, and eight percent had poor signatures. It is important to note that 69 percent of all who signed were classified as signing at the good level and this lends support to the theory that the signature might be a good measure of literacy. A good signature from a person means the skill was used regularly and suggests that the individual was probably engaged in other literate activities as well -- like reading.

Life at Fort Michilimackinac during the mid- to late-eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was a strong test of the settler's ability to survive in a wilderness area. The fort was a bustling trade outpost on the frontier of New France. By examining the parish register, aspects of this life are revealed even though no detailed description of the day-to-day activities was included. The people recorded in the register are predominately of French origin with a significant minority of native peoples represented through inter-marriage with the French. There is some limited knowledge of the occupations of the people in the fort. The husband's activities encompass a wide variety of occupations including tavernkeepers and traders as well as skilled artisans. The majority, though, were involved in the fur trade.

An analysis of the signatures in the marriage register at Fort Michilimackinac suggests some tentative conclusions about the level of literacy in this population. The rates of literacy were generally higher than those found in other studies of New France. There was a high rate of literacy among males. This rate was higher than that found by Christine Veilleux and Michel Verrette in their studies of Portneuf and Québec respectively, but not as high the rates found by Kenneth Lockridge in his study of literacy in eighteenth-century New England. A moderate rate of literacy was found among females at the fort. This was higher than in Portneuf but lower than in Quebec City and in New England.

The observed rates of literacy may have been related to the level of schooling people received during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Since the fort was a considerable distance from Montreal, it seems unlikely that teachers were frequent visitors to the Fort. No mention of any teacher is made in the register. Men were literate because their trades demanded it; women showed a higher rate of literacy than in the rural areas of eastern New France, but it is difficult to say why. It is possible that women needed to be able to run the household when the husband was away. In addition, there is considerable debate as to whether schooling during the eighteenth century took place primarily in the home or in a school and just what was taught is not known.

Education in the eighteenth century was far from universal and tended to be available to males before females and to Europeans before natives. The educational needs of the fur trade also helped to shape the literacy patterns at the fort. These jobs required a significant level of education, which, in turn, helped to fill the area in and around the fort with a population of white males who were literate to some degree. Thus a combination of education and remoteness of the fort as well as job specifications and religion helped to shape the patterns of literacy at Fort Michilimackinac. The intriguing findings of this investigation suggest the need for more case studies of life in frontier French Canada -- particularly in the Great Lakes Region.

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Wartime Education at New Braunfels (Texas) High School, 1941-1945

Jo Beth Oestreich
University of Texas at Austin

School was different in New Braunfels on December 8, 1941. It was the first day after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. It was the first day after the United States declared war on Japan and entered into WW II. As students arrived that somber day, they were directed to the auditorium for a special assembly organized by the school administration. The assembly began with the students reciting the *Pledge of Allegiance* and then singing the *Star Spangled Banner*. School officials and teachers proclaimed their patriotic support of the United States entry into WW II, and encouraged the students to do the same. This assembly was the first of many that would be called to support the war. These assemblies provided school and civic leaders the opportunity to speak and perhaps propagandize the importance of community and school involvement in the war. Assembly speakers and topics included: Superintendent Sahm's, "Our Part in World Affairs" and the "World Condition in General," and Mayor Walter Sippel's "Our Part in War." The curriculum was modified in order to demonstrate the school's patriotic loyalties. One example was removing German from the course offering and effectively terminating the German Summer School Program. This was a significant move since New Braunfels was a predominately German community. Nevertheless, they overtly demonstrated their support of the war.

Valuable insights into what teachers did in their classes to do their part in the war effort is gained from reading the *New Braunfels Herald,* one of the weekly papers. During 1944, the paper ran a series, "Know Your High School." The series featured New Braunfels High School (NBHS) teachers. On February 18, 1944, an interview with Edwin Harden, head of the English department appeared in the new featured section. The following passage illustrates his commitment. He stated:

> In our democratic culture where freedom of speech and freedom of the press are cardinal principles, the ability to use the English language effectively in writing, speaking and in reading is a human necessity; it is likewise essential to intelligent social organization, and to the individuals personal development and success in any walk of life. For these very sound and obvious reasons the study of English is required throughout the entire High School course of study.

Since proficiency in English is a qualification of intelligent citizenship, since it is a necessity in many vocations, and certainly a decided asset in any career, and since it is a requirement for college entrance and the successful pursuance of a college career, we believe that scarcely too much emphasis can be placed upon the study of the subject, with the time devoted to curriculum, with the instruction and guidance of trained and experienced teachers, and with student and parent cooperation, we believe that the aims herein set forth can be, and are substantially achieved.

Mr. Harden exemplifies the idea of teaching civic responsibility in the English classroom. A close examination of his interview indicates that students who read and write will uphold certain democratic freedoms the United States provides for its citizens. If the students ofNBHS are to be "true" citizens of the United States, meaning those that freely read and write, they must take advantage of the freedoms, liberties, responsibilities of being a United States citizen. He states further that they must be literate in oral presentation and in writing. As literacy is an asset to the United States. Mr. Harden inspired his students to achieve their full, patriotic literate potential.

Two months later the paper featured an interview with Miss Julie Lee Herring, who was in charge of the History and Sociology courses at NBHS. She provided the following insights on how her subjects could be used as a tool to aide the allies. She stated:

> Sociology is the science of social relationships, and we study it that we may learn how to improve the social arrangements under which we live. In order to begin making a better society, we must first have a clear understanding of the human being-his feelings, ideas, and ideals what gives him the greatest satisfaction in work, play, family life, worship, and community membership. We study to find what produces the differences in individuals, and to what extent human strength and frailty are due to environment and how much to hereditary factors. . . . What shall we need as citizens eager to play an active part in a democratic society, or make it more democratic and to insure continuance? History is to a country what a memory is to an individual. And, just as an adult's actions are understandable in

> direct parentage and early environment, so are the trends of nations better understood by knowing through this knowledge will come increased devotion to the high ideals and purposes of those who so courageously chartered the new course of civilization. American history is not just an attempt to show the broad currents that have determined the course of American civilization, economic status, social achievements and how these currents are still at work producing problems and results that are typically American.... Geography-a frontier-what effect has a frontier had on the American mind-on crime-on depressions and panics. What peoples came to American and what effect has the blending of many cultures had on our achievements and attitudes? How can we best serve our country-all these things go to make-up American History as it studied today.

Miss Herring's philosophy of teaching history and sociology emphasizes the importance of understanding our global society. The students were encouraged to critically analyze, interpret, compare and contrast a variety of global societies with respect to their history and geographic location. The students were to understand how location, environment, and a country's social history affected its development as a nation. It was theorized that these courses offered an objective study of Japan and Germany during WW II. Furthermore, it was thought that students who studied United States history could better understand the role of the United States in WW II. Miss Herring encouraged students to examine their place in history and responsibility in relationship to the events of WW II. She believed that students could best serve their country by knowing United States history and taking an active role in its democratic development. Miss Herring believed that this knowledge was power and could be used to advance freedom and democracy.

Another article in the series, "Know Your High School," featured Mr. O.C. Rode, the department head of Civics and Social Studies. He believed that:

> Civics and Social Studies are one of the most important courses in High School. The value of these courses must be judged by the use to which the pupil puts the knowledge that he acquires. Boys and girls must be made aware of the problems that lie ahead; they must be equipped to deal with these problems, and they must acquire the interest, knowledge, and attitudes [in] these objectives It is necessary to give students experience in finding facts, and studying issues, in drawing conclusions, and in carrying out civic projects.
>
> Civics is a course which deals with the study of the national, state, country, and city government.... Since the course was taught in the 8th grade, the time when youngsters would their future, we have certain definite objectives: (1) the building of character, (2) the building of Americanism, (3) choosing a vocation, (4) helping the government, (5) destroying wishful thinking, and (6) how to take care of themselves under any and all conditions.

Mr. Rode connects the school and community through the study of Civics and Social Studies. Civics was instrumental in presenting the characteristics of government responsibilities which the students of NBHS understood and responded to during the war period. This course emphasized Americanism, helping the government, and being responsible citizens. These courses, as well as the others aided in involving the students to be active citizens within their school and community during WW II.

Teachers were instructing students to apply their school work and activities to their everyday life. To demonstrate their understanding of patriotism, civic responsibility, etc., students actively participated in War Bonds and Stamp sales. They gathered scrap metal, collected nylons and baked cookies. Evidence of student involvement was demonstrated by the active participation of the students in their club activities during and after school hours. The NBHS Yearbooks provide excellent documentation of the students involvement with the war effort. The Ramblers, a boys' club dedicated to practicing parliamentary procedure and coming together with persons with similar interests sold War Stamps. They helped collect the 920, 238 pounds of scrap metal during the 1942-43 school year. The Rangerettes and the black Widow Spiders, two girls' clubs at NBHS, also sold War Bonds and Stamps. They also helped to collect nylons by going door to door in the community. A war theme illustration divides each section of the Yearbook. The club section included a drawing illustrating a giant Uncle Sam holding a large spiked "club" ready to crush a small sized fleeing Japanese soldier. This Yearbook was one students produced document that was composed of drawings, photographs, etc., that provided a special chronology of war related events that occurred during the 1941-1942 school year. Furthermore, the Yearbook of 1943, included the following statement:

> "It is not our intention to go forth into the present War torn world with the assumption that the world was created for our enjoyment; on the contrary it is our sincere hope and endeavor, that through our actions we may do our part to insure a free America, and American gifted with the three essentials of a true democracy--liberty, equality, and domestic tranquillity."

Even though the students of NBHS and the community were immersed in support of the war, there were examples of life "being normal." This "normality" included attending school, going to the movies, and holding down a job. In 1943, the NBHS Unicorns won the district football championship. The NBHS band was a first Division winner at the marching Competition Festival for Region IV in San Antonio, Texas on December 12, 1944 (Yearbook 1944).

On January 7, 1942, the school board began involvement in the National Defense Program (NDP). This program had some interesting ramifications with respect to NBHS. The board supported closing schools on certain days in order for the faculty to attend NDP meetings held out of town. At the March 3, 1942 school board meeting, the board approved the purchase of $5,000 in United States War Defense Bonds. Contributions were also made to the Works Progress Administration (WPA). School typewriters were lent for Defense work. The board also subsidized summer school, but not to the defunct German Summer School. Support was given to teachers who left to serve in the military. The school and community worked cooperatively throughout 1941-1945. The local Civil Defense Unit was given permission to hold practice drills on the NBHS football field.

Additional information demonstrating the community and school cooperating during this period was provided in the *New Braunfels Herald*. The once a week published English paper printed numerous accounts of war related articles, advertisements, etc., during WW II. The *Herald* also printed school-war related items. one example appeared in the Friday, February 24, 1944 edition titled, "Our High School and War Effort:"

> In keeping with a nationwide movement our high school has organized a Victory Corps and is working with an effort to do something constructive to aid the progress of the war effort on Tuesday of each week (1O2) of the boys of the Senior High School boys fall out for 1 hour of military drill. The work is under the direction of Lt. Jim Schumann of the Home Defense Guard. The boys receive instructions in the fundamentals of military drill and in manual of arms. Boys who take this training are excused from Physical Education classes on that day. The student body as a whole are carrying on a systematic sales of bonds and stamps. . . . During the spring semester of 1943 stamp and bond sales averaged well above one hundred dollars per week. . . . A course in home nursing is now in progress under the direction of Mrs. Effie Coenen and 22 girls of the Senior High School age have enrolled and are taking this course. Girls were not encouraged to take this course with the intentions of going on into military service, but for the purpose of training themselves in home nursing that they might be the means of being of service on the home front and by relieving someone else who might be interpreted in joining the nursing corps of the armed forces.

This project has provided an overview and understanding the impact WW II had on the curriculum and community of New Braunfels. The interviews and conversations held with a wide range of community members that went to school or taught during this time reveal a common thread of belief: that life was good, and the war really did not change lifestyles or one's moral character make-up. Yet, when one has the opportunity to review and reflect on the Friday editions of the *New Braunfels Herald*, the School Board minutes, the church minutes, the Yearbooks, the photographs, the Sophienburg Archives, and other documents, on the surface the schools responded to the war effort with little disruption, but with dedicated leadership that reinforced the responsibility of being a patriotic citizen. Life during 1941-1945 was affected by the war. Students not only participated in school functions but, extended their participation to include war related efforts, i.e. rationing, teachers and students leaving to participate in the war, students scrap metal drives, car pooling, creating victory gardens, slogan contests, baking cookies, knitting, collecting nylons, attending Civil Defense meetings, keeping an eye out for enemy war planes, and the cancellation of German language classes. Yet, on the surface, required educational goals and routine school activities were unaffected. Again, most of the individuals interviewed remember the time in a glowing, positive way. They enjoyed school, the war was on, but so was the "normal" everyday aspect that one had.

Continuity, especially in the New Braunfels schools has provided the community a unique heritage. Depending upon events that occurred, school life has been the learning center for understanding and participation in the greater global picture. NBHS was but one artifact in understanding how the curriculum affected the children as well as the community's involvement in the war. WW II came and went, but the photographs, newspapers, etc., document how the war affected the lives of every student academically and left a definitive impact on most, if not all, high school curriculums, from 1941-1945.

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The Impact of WW II on a Rural East Texas Community

Yvette C. Rosser
University of Texas at Austin

Groveton, Texas, established in 1850, deep in the piney woods 116 miles northeast of Houston, was incorporated as the county seat in 1882. Trinity County is steeped in the history of early Texas. John Wesley Hardin, the notorious outlaw turned lawyer, attended school there. The first permanent white settler was Jesse James. His name-sake nephew, Jesse, and Jesse's brother, Frank, lived there as well (Hensley 1986, 22).

The 1,200 citizens of Groveton nurture memories of family histories that shaped this fertile land of farms and forests. For decades, Groveton has served the educational, commercial and governmental needs of farming communities such as Friday, ten miles away, where in 1922, Mattie Thelma Rosser was born.

Thelma Rosser transferred from the Friday grammar school to Groveton High in the ninth grade while the WPA was constructing new buildings with locally quarried stone. Thelma graduated at sixteen and "enrolled in Sam Houston State Teachers College, [where] the tuition was $37.50 a semester, including textbooks." She vividly remembers December 7, 1941. That evening at a performance of *Handel's Messiah*, she stood for the Hallelujah chorus, tears streaming down her face, thinking about all the men who would be going off to war. From the first moment of conflict, Groveton citizens were involved.

In September, 1942, Thelma Rosser took a job at her alma mater and began her long career in education. The federal government was urging women to join the work force--"We're the Janes Who Make the Planes," was a popular song. That year tens of thousands of experienced teachers quit their jobs to join the armed services or take better-paying work in defense plants. By the end of the war, over 350,000 teachers nation-wide had left the field.

For generations, the citizens of this East Texas town and the outlying farmers, generously supported their educational institutions. Classes were often held in churches, such as Ellis Prairie, where Thelma's grandmother, Mattie Jones attended. Thelma has a receipt, dated 1860, in which her great-grand parents paid the teacher, not in dollars, but in potatoes.

Josserand, a mill town four miles from Groveton, by 1884, "had both white and colored schools" (Hensley 1986, 28). Glendale, twelve miles away, boasted the "first teachers' institute in the county," where "teachers met [yearly] to pool their experiences, develop better teaching techniques, and instruct new teachers" (Hensley 1986, 94).

The first one room school in Groveton was built in 1884. The population grew rapidly due to the timber industry and in 1898 a two-story frame school building was erected on land donated by the lumber company. It had "six large class rooms and a chapel that would seat 600 people, long porches, [and] a bell tower" (Bell 1980, 119).

By 1929, the old growth timber had been cut-over, the saw mills closed, and the trains stopped running through Groveton. The population remained stable during the Depression as did the commitment to education. During the next ten years the consolidation of smaller surrounding districts made the school building inadequate and in 1938 WPA crews began constructing the stone buildings that still house Groveton High.

When the bombs fell on Pearl Harbor, the WPA was putting the finishing touches on the new school and Henry M. Lively was director of Groveton's prize winning band, the most popular event in town. As Thelma describes the citizens of Trinity County, "Parents would do without, but their children rarely wanted for school supplies." The Groveton band played in parades and competitions throughout East Texas.

The local newspaper kept a close watch on Groveton High. Unfortunately, the office burned and with it, archives of past issues. Two large scrapbooks donated years ago to the Ex-Students' Association, contain hundreds of clippings from the 1930s and 1940s. One article titled, published in the January 25, 1940 edition of the newspaper, quotes a letter from Ruth Townsend, the English pen-pal of Dorothy James, a student at Groveton High,

> Since war has broken out . . . there is the blackout . . . half an hour after sunset all lights have to be concealed. All windows are covered up and there is no lighting in the streets . . . . The reason for the blackout is in case there should be an air raid. [The article concludes with this commentary] Ruth's letter should make us stop to think how lucky we are. Imagine harboring the fear of air raids . . . yet we argue over examinations in History! We should thank God that we're reading the book of wars, not making it!

Meanwhile, far from Groveton High, the events in Europe turned sinister. Hitler's decree of October, 1939, ordered widespread "mercy killing" of the sick and disabled. The Nazi euthanasia program to eliminate "unworthy life" at first focused on newborns and very young children with abnormalities. That January, the Groveton band held a "President's Birthday " in the gym. $72.25 was raised for "the infantile paralysis fund." While Groveton students worked to help disabled children, unknown to them, the Nazis were systematically disposing of them.

News of the war in Europe captured the attention of the citizens of Groveton and the build-up in the Houston ship yards drew on the labor force. That spring there was a talent show sponsored by the P.T.A., the basketball team had a winning season, and graduation was held May 31. That June, France surrendered to Germany.

During the fall of 1940, Mr. Lively taught the students such up beat tunes as *The Saint Louis Blues.* In the opening day parade for the County Fair, the Groveton band won first prize, "five gallons of Gulf oil." On October 16 the Selective Service Training Act went into effect. Mr. I. Friedman, took his job on the draft board seriously. His numerous newspaper articles urged boys to sign up.

Mr. Friedman had reason to be alarmed about Hitler. German born, Isadore Friedman, of Jewish descent, came alone to New York in 1894 at the age of fourteen. Within four years, he had worked his way to Groveton, selling wares door to door from a hand drawn cart. Mr. Friedman soon established himself as a businessman and a patriotic American and was even elected Mayor in 1927. In 1939, he helped his sister and her family escape from Germany. Friedman served on the Selective Service Board from its inception. After the war he was awarded the Selective Service Medal, signed by Harry S. Truman.

That spring, the band participated in the Mardi Gras parade in Galveston, with 500,000 spectators. According to Thelma Rosser Terry, "crowd went wild when the band danced along the sea wall." Their rendition of *In the Mood* was a hit. Mr. Lively developed a repertoire of "swing music, [which] on trips, made the band so popular."

The summer of 1941 was hot and humid in east Texas, the cotton and the corn were growing in the fields. Cows ambled home in the evenings. Some folks spent time in honkey tonks and some at Sunday school. Meanwhile, navy ships were escorting lend-lease shipments across the Atlantic. Henry Lively recalls "looking at teacher applications" for the coming year. Mary Alice Keeton, was hired as the Business of Administration teacher. Several other teachers who had joined the war effort were also replaced. At the national level, responding to pressure from A. Philip Randolph, the Selective Service System agreed to draft black Americans in proportion to their presence in the population. African-Americans left Trinity County in large numbers to join the military and work in defense plants. In Groveton, the school year began with the romance of Henry M. Lively and Mary Alice Keeton. Their engagement party was held December 10, three days after the declaration of war.

Marcet Williams, a junior at Groveton High 1941-42, had "been with her sister at the Sunday matinee." When they arrived home, her parents told them that "the Japanese had attacked and we might all be killed." Mrs. Williams recalls a long string of substitute teachers, many of whom had not graduated.

The February 6,1942, paper reported that "Mr. Lively went to take a physical examination. If he is drafted the students of Groveton will sincerely regret it." Mr. Lively returned to say good-bye to his new wife and his students before leaving for basic training.

Enlistment into the military continued to impact the Groveton schools. The loss of personnel was often noted in the newspaper. On March 19, 1942, an article written by Superintendent Frank E. White proudly stated,

> The teachers and pupils. . . are doing their part to help defeat the Axis powers. Last week the pupils bought $150.00 worth of stamps . . . . The teachers have pledged to buy $165.50 each month. This brings the total to $765.50 per month. This shows what can be done through systematic planning . . . . The American schools believe in American ideals and they expect to do their part to perpetuate them. We are engaged in a war to the finish; let's all buy more bonds and stamps to equip the boys on the battle fronts (Groveton High School Ex-Students' Association Scrapebook, n.d.).

On April 28, 1942, at a ceremony in the high school gym, Mr. Carl Andrew Brannen, Sr. was "awarded a purple heart for bravery in the first World War." Carl Jr., a 1941 graduate of Groveton High, is one of forty Groveton Indians who died in W.W. II and whose names are carved on large stone monuments by the flag pole in front of the school.

During the spring of 1942, the newspaper ran many stories about young men in the service. On May 23, Eugene Rushing, class of 1933, entered officers training school; John D. Collins, class of 1937, "enrolled in the Pre-Flight School;" Reed Dominy was "commissioned as second lieutenant in the Air Corps." Months later, an article states that Reed Dominy "was piloting a P-35 when shot down over the English Channel. His body was never recovered" (Hensley 1986, 312.)

Groveton Indians went marching proudly off to boot camp. It took a few years for the casualties to start mounting. Of those three young men who were first to volunteer at the courthouse ceremony where the G.H.S. band played in October 1940, one was Staff Sergeant Woodrow V. Thompson. He enlisted for "one year of training that turned out to be four years, seven months and three days" (Bell 1980, 109). He was in heavy fighting in Normandy, the day after D-Day, and at the Battle of the Bulge. He survived, worked in the Gulf of Mexico for many years and retired in Friday.

Forty other citizens of Groveton were not as lucky. One of those who did not make it home was David Stanley Hensley, class of 1940. In high school, he won prizes for playing the baritone. He became the tail gunner on a B-24, was shot down over France, bailed out, but his parachute failed to open. Clifton Scott, "class favorite" in 1940, never made it home, a nose gunner on a B-52, he had flown twenty-two missions when he was shot down over Italy; neither did Leon Wright, active in the F.F.A. in high school, who died when his ship was bombed; nor did Sam Thomas, Vice President of the Junior class of 1940, who died on Iwo Jima. In the early years of the war, when the Sylvester school consolidated with the Groveton school system, the teacher, Wilna Liles enlisted in the military service. She was killed in action. Her name is carved, along with thirty-nine other war heroes, on the G.H.S. memorial stones and into the memories of the citizens.

The people of Trinity County mobilized, raised money, collected scrap iron, grew victory gardens, sent their sons, daughters and husbands off to war. The 1941-42 school year ended in a patriotic flurry. On May 7 the Junior-Senior Reception was held in the new auditorium. The yearbook was dedicated to Mr. Lively, "Because of the splendid training of the band . . . [and] his service to his country." Twenty-three young men graduated from Groveton High that year.

No articles about African-American soldiers from Groveton appeared in the newspaper clippings pasted into the scrapbooks, though they volunteered to serve in the armed forces in as great or greater numbers as their white counterparts. Their mothers and sisters volunteered to work with the Red Cross.

The fall of 1942, Thelma Rosser Terry took Mrs. Lively's place as the Business teacher. Her brother, Felix Hoytt Rosser was a senior. She recalls "There was a scrap drive. And [students] were asked to bring in pieces of aluminum and iron."

Thelma Rosser Terry remembers that the students "were somewhat insulated from the horrors of the war." In 1942, few people realized the toll that the war would exact on their lives. Not until the spring of 1943, when the government lifted restrictions off photographs of soldiers in combat, did "horror stories" appear in magazines and news reels, and these were mostly about devastation in the countries of Europe. Anxiety mounted for Thelma when her bother graduated from high school, was drafted and sent to the front.

Dan Dominey, who was an eighth grader in December 1941, remembers the excitement when older boys were signing up for duty. "At first [they] were eager. We were going to save the world." The "picture show" had long been one of the main attractions in town. Movies about soldiers were a popular theme. The handsome soldier vanquished enemies and returned home unscathed and married the beautiful woman, waiting faithfully for him. "They were never shown in fox holes and the good guys never died." But, by 1944-45, Mr. Dominey's junior year, some of the enthusiasm had worn thin, "As the war dragged on and boys were dying, it didn't seen quite as romantic after a while." The list of war casualties was growing. The drudgery of waiting for news, the photographs in the magazines, the telegrams from the War Department, were taking their toll.

The Trinity County War Price and Rationing Board was established in 1942. Mr. Dominey, explained, "Rationing didn't hurt this community. People could buy coffee regularly for the first time." Mr. Dominey recalls that teacher attrition was high. "When teachers made just $100 a month and could go to Houston in the defense industry and make $200 or $300 a month," the lure was tremendous.

W. G. Rosser, who taught school at Friday before joining the Army, described the impact of the war on his community,

> The boys went to the Army. Old folks couldn't farm with the boys gone, most of them moved to town. Those boys never did come back... [they] found a better life. They'd tried farming. If you had two pairs of overalls and a pair of shoes you were lucky [....] cotton was nickel a pound. We just existed. ... But [we] ate pretty good because we raised it and canned it. But the war ruined all the little communities like Friday. Pennington up here had a big school then, with about eleven teachers... it's nothing anymore, it's gone! [T]he communities never sprung back from the war (Personal Interview).

The population of Trinity County in 1910 was 12,768. The logging industry was in full swing and by 1920, the population was 13,623. It remained stable during the depression, but by 1950, the population was 10,040; it declined by almost a fourth during the war years. It continued to shrink and by 1960, was 7,539, half of its pre-war size.

Dan Dominey remembers trucks of soldiers, "A convoy might be so long it would take more than an hour to get through town." The citizens would come out and cheer. Marcet Williams recalls, "We'd wave and they'd throw addresses to us," in hopes of receiving letters.

Mary Ruth Rosser, Thelma's sister, began her freshman year just after her brother entered the service. The senior classes of 1943 and 44 did not published a year book, paper was scarce. Football was suspended, there was no gas for trips, the band suffered the same fate. All able-bodied men were leaving for the service. In Groveton during the 1943-44 school year, extra-curricular activities were curtailed, and in Warsaw, 300,000 Jews were sent to death camps. That summer, Thelma returned to Sam Houston State to finish her degree. The college was full of soldiers training as "office workers." Late at night, "a soldier, who was a wonderful pianist,[would] play *As Time Goes By* on the baby grand in Old Main Building. "

Mary Ruth Rosser's sophomore year lacked the usual excitement of competitive football games, and band trips. The books they used "were old," but "there wasn't a shortage because so many people had moved away." She "never had one day of science .... Home Economics was counted as a science. They had all their equipment, and everything in the science lab, but no classes." She recalls some instructions from the Red Cross, "but basically it was just cooking and learning how to set a table and sewing."

"People made due," stated Mary Ruth Rosser, and except for the curtailment of "football and band," the students didn't object to a scaled down curriculum. The course offering during the war, added Mrs. Terry, "was just about as small as a curriculum could be. There wasn't anyone to teach the higher maths." She guessed that "students only had to have fifteen credits over a four year period to graduate."

In 1944, reports of Groveton graduates in the thick of battle, or in basic training dominated the newspaper. The Andersons had two other sons in France at the time. Claude Wilson received a Purple Heart for injuries sustained on Guam. Edwin Creasy, whose father was on the Groveton School Board, was wounded in action in Italy. He mailed his Oak Leaf Cluster and Purple Heart to his parents. "Staff Sgt. Marvin Atkinson," a 1927 graduate and the brother of the Home Economics teacher, was awarded a Silver Star "for gallantry in action in Normandy."

On August 25, 1944, Paris was liberated by the Americans. A week later, school began in Groveton. Mrs. Terry developed a reputation as a dedicated educator, She explained

> With the boys, [I had] a particular motivation. I am quite sure that if you are a good typist, and if you know how to keep records, when you are drafted or enlist, they'll give you a typewriter instead of a gun. [In the kind, melodic tones of her East Teas accent, she commented] I just wish I had kept a count of the boys who came back and said, 'I can't tell you what an advantage being a good typist gave me in the services. They sent me to the personnel office [instead of] the infantry'. But, [she added] some of them *had* to be in the infantry. Your father was one of those. He would have been the last person to sit in an office and type. He wanted to be out there where the action was (Personal Interview).

And many Groveton Indians were indeed in the thick of battle. Missing in action, awards for combat bravery, promotions, transfers, obituaries, are crowded into the scrapbooks. Japp Lott, the former drum major, was "somewhere in the Philippines," and had "over 200 hours of combat flying to his credit" That year the senior class chose as their song: *There'll Be a Hot Time in The Town of Berlin.*

On December 16, 1944, in Ardennes, a wooded area in Belgium, American troops were surrounded by German forces. Three boys from Groveton were there, two in the Battle of the Bulge, and one in Patton's rescue mission. These country boys must have remembered the hospitality of their southern roots when the Belgian people brought white sheets to camouflage their equipment in the snow. The students of Groveton High were no longer just "reading the books of wars," as in the commentary added to the English pen-pal's letter, they were indeed "making" history.

Teachers in Groveton continued to be in transition--between January and March 1945, four teachers had to be replaced. The last school board meeting for that academic year was held on May 7, the day before VE-Day. In May of 1945, the school annual was again published. At long last, during the final weeks of the school year, as the hot and muggy east Texas summer was beginning, the war in Europe was over. Thelma remembers, "I have never in my life had such a thrill! Shills running up and down your spine. Our loved ones would be coming home." Arlisha Adams was "cooking and cleaning [in a lady's] kitchen and she come in and told me, 'This is VE-Day--no more fighting.' We just rejoiced! I had two brothers in the fighting."

At the August 8 school board meeting , the day before the Enola Gay dropped the bomb on Hiroshima, it was moved that the "salary of the Colored teachers be $1,200 per year." By the time school began a month later, the war ended in the Pacific. In September, the board appointed a committee to find a location for a football field and to use substitute teachers until teachers [can be found] to fill the vacancies.

Letters home from servicemen, published in the newspaper, fill the last few pages of one of the scrapbooks. James Reese wrote from Yokohama about being in an evacuation hospital "when in rushed a group of press men telling everyone that Tojo had tried to kill himself . . . they were bringing him in for treatment." On September 16, Standley Hudson wrote a letter to the Groveton News, "Thought you would be interested to know that Trinity County was represented in the first landing on Japan." Hudson described the ceremonies on September 8, at which General McArthur made a speech."

On September 27, the newspaper ran an article titled, "Ration Board to Close Oct. 30th." The next day three busses carried the football boys, the band and the pep squad to a game. On November 22, a Thanksgiving celebration at the courthouse, honored returned veterans. In *Journey to Jubilee*, on page 113, a book, *Inside U.S.A.*, by John Gunther, published in 1947, is quoted, "Texas was the least isolationist state in the union. . . the real reason Congress passed the Selective Service was to get someone in the Army who was not a Texan." Soldiers from Groveton more than did their part. The ratio of war dead to the general population was 1 in 135; from Groveton forty citizens gave their lives, four times the national average.

The war was over. Many farm boys took advantage of the G. I. Bill. Most never returned, though they stayed in touch through class reunions and visiting the old folks at Christmas. Even fewer African-American soldiers returned.

Thelma Rosser Terry mentioned that during the war, "church. . . was the most important social activity of the week. [T]here was always prayer at school." Arlisha Adams remembers, "People lived close to God. They went to prayer meeting on Wednesday night, and prayed hard." She added, "During the war. . . we prayed for peace. Now days folks don't know what to pray for." Thelma explained, "It was a good time, but it was also frightening." It brought people together, the black community and the white community were both united in a common cause. The impact of the Second World War was felt not only "for the duration.'

As Dan Dominey tells it, the "Groveton High band was a victim of the war. It never again achieved its former popularity in the community or among the student body." The football team rebounded, and has consistently won regional and state championships. "People support the football team and all the popular boys want to play. However," adds Mr. Dominey, before the war, it was the band that was the center of Groveton's social life. Back then the big, good looking guys would rather be in band than football. Now it's reversed. The band never regained its pre-war status. The war killed it.

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The Origins of K-12 Teacher Tenure Laws

Dorene J. Huvaere
Lewis University

The relationship between the permanent employment of K-12 public school teachers and the quality of education is frequently discussed among community representatives, school board members, educators, and teacher organizations. Some assert tenure is one of the fundamental challenges affecting the quality of education in the United States. Opponents contend it protects the mediocre, ineffective teacher and hampers the ability of administrators and school boards to remove incompetent teachers. Proponents argue it provides teachers with a safety net from arbitrary dismissal. Without taking a side, this paper will document the origins of tenure for K-12 public school teachers.

The concept of granting tenure to K-12 public school teachers dates back to the passage of the Pendleton Act in 1883. In 1880, under the leadership of Ohio Senator George H. Pendleton, the National Civil Service Reform League was established. The League worked to develop a law that would reform the methods used to secure and retain government jobs. Introduced to Congress on 6 December 1881, the Pendleton Bill was signed into law by President Chester Arthur, 16 January 1883 (Foulke 1974). Employment for civil service positions would now be based on competitive exams and promotion would be the result of merit and efficiency.

The effort to transform civil service employment affected public school teachers. Teachers received their salaries from local and state tax dollars. They were appointed to their positions by a local governmental agency, most commonly referred to as a board of education or boards of directors. Capitalizing on the role of the teacher as a civil service employee, teacher organizations began to advocate for the right of educators to receive the same protections afforded to other government employees.

The movement took root in 1885 when the National Education Association enacted a proposal to support tenure legislation for K-12 public school teachers. To develop a rationale for a tenure law and gain national support, the NEA created the Committee on Salaries, Tenure and Pensions (Swain 1920). Most of the early reform efforts of this committee centered more on the issue of teacher salary and pension than tenure. (Peterson 1921) In the 1920's under the leadership of Joseph Swain, the committee began to explore tenure as a separate topic. According to Swain, other civil service employees were guaranteed liberty and property interests concerning their jobs. However, teachers continued to work under the old "spoils" system of political patronage. The NEA believed that if teachers' property and liberty interests were protected, if they received proper training, and if a probationary period to further their proficiency were allowed, then the quality of those entering teaching would be elevated (Swain 1920).

The NEA appointed itself the role of providing direction to the various state organizations attempting to formulate tenure legislation. It formed a separate council, the Committee of One Hundred, in 1923. The Committee was charged with the task of gathering information supporting the case for tenure. It examined court cases regarding teacher dismissals and the rate of teacher turnover. It also investigated existing tenure legislation at the local and national level, as well as in foreign countries. Surveys of teachers and administrators were taken to obtain information regarding reasons for dismissal and the general attitude that existed among teachers and administrators toward tenure (Hunter 1924).

The results of the investigation were published in the pamphlet "The Problem of Teacher Tenure." It argued that public education in America was created, in part, to instruct young people in the values and goals of American society. Schools were expected to help "in [the] abolition of illiteracy" and "for Americanization of foreign elements" (Norton 1924). The growth of the profession, the heightened dependency on public education to instill the foundations of democracy, and the increasing momentum of the Progressive movement led the NEA to believe state legislatures, boards of education, and local communities were ready to examine the need for tenure.

Throughout the first quarter of the twentieth century, the Progressive movement gained momentum. Progressives believed individuals should expose the ills of society and then direct the government to design legislation that would correct the problems. This ideology complemented the goals of the NEA and provided the framework needed to promote tenure. The legislation would protect teachers from the unjust actions of school boards and improve the conditions of public education. It would, according to its supporters, provide the public with quality education, competent professionals, and prevent arbitrary and capricious dismissal practices of school boards.

Further research into the issue of teacher turnover was conducted by A. G. Peterson, a graduate student at Columbia University's Teacher College. The information compiled by Peterson represented several studies done between the years 1910 and 1930. The research illustrated the percentage of turnover in communities of various sizes. It did not attempt to explain the reasons for the turnover, although it "emphasized the turnover problem as being constant with rural teachers" (Peterson 1930). Peterson included a summary of a study done by A. L. Crabbe regarding rural teachers in Kentucky. He noted, "the average consecutive tenure was 1.41 years." He also reported the study found "that 12.2 per cent of the teachers left at the end of the first year, thirty-three per cent left by the end of the second year and sixty-three per cent migrated at the end of the third year." Peterson also cited a 1922 study by Williard Ellsbree of teachers in the state of New York. The investigation revealed communities of less than 10,000 inhabitants exceeded an annual turnover rate of sixteen percent. Additional studies of rural teachers noted that in Vermont, "three out of four teachers are new to their positions every year" and in Wisconsin's rural communities "sixty-five to sixty-eight percent" of the teachers were new to their positions each year. Consistent with the other rural communities an Illinois School Survey disclosed that, "51.8 per cent of Illinois county teacher served two years of less, while 67.4 per cent served three years or less" (Badger 1930). The studies supported the NEA's ascertain that the high rate of teacher turnover, especially in rural communities, inevitably had a serious impact on school efficiency and the quality of education. Tenure legislation was needed to curb the frequent changes in personnel and bring stability to the American school system.

To determine the standards for re-election and delineate the grounds for dismissal, the NEA surveyed people directly involved in the operation of schools. The surveys were sent to university professors, superintendents, principals, classroom teachers, members of the Parent Teacher Associations and laymen interested in the operation of public schools. The questionnaire asked participants to indicate from a list of fifteen choices those they felt were grounds for dismissal. Although, sixteen percent of the total number surveyed represented groups other than those directly involved in the administration and organization of K-12 schools, the NEA did not incorporate their suggestions in the proposed recommendation. It believed educators would be more inclined to accept the direction of peers and work towards the fulfillment of these standards if they were established by colleagues. Therefore, the policy formulated included only the subsequent recommendations from superintendents, principals, and teachers.

1. A period of probation of one to three years.
2. Tenure during efficiency and good behavior.
3. Dismissal only upon proof of cause and after trial in at least two schools -- this to apply to any cause except proved immorality.
4. Right of hearing.

Recognized causes for dismissal.

1. Proved physical or mental incapacity for performing the duties of teaching.
2. Proved immorality.
3. Proved disobedience of State laws or reasonable rules prescribed for the management of schools.
4. Inability to maintain discipline or to secure and maintain the organization of the school or system in case respectively of teacher, principal, and superintendent (Peterson 1932).

An orderly selection process for teacher employment coupled with stipulated reasons for dismissal, the NEA argued, would attract qualified individuals to jobs in education and therefore, lead to better instruction for the children. To support its position, the NEA cited the academic successes of New Jersey and Massachusetts. Both had long-standing tenure laws and ranked, respectively, second and thirteenth in the United States for academic achievement (Hunter 1927).

The NEA also documented the achievements reported by foreign countries with existing tenure laws. A comparison of the literacy rate between nine European countries and the United States was undertaken. It showed the United States ranked tenth. The NEA argued, "Teachers in the educational systems of European countries, where a high degree of school development has taken place, are much more completely protected by tenure than are the teachers of the United States." The advantage of a stable teaching force was evident in the low incidence of illiteracy in those countries granting tenure. In contrast, the United States had an illiteracy rate of 6.0%. This figure was more than one percent higher than any European country which granted teacher tenure. The NEA felt confident that if yearly contracts were abolished and if teachers were given permanent employment in schools, the literacy rate of the United States would improve (Norton 1924).

The NEA additionaly advanced the assertion that tenure would be in the best interest of children. Of utmost importance was "the child's interest, not the teacher's" (Hunter 1927). The benefits for children would include quality instructors, long-range curriculum planning, and the healthy psychological development of the child. The absence of job security for teachers compromised curriculum planning. This difficulty was noted in its statement, "Such foresight in planning is nearly impossible where much time is consumed in bickering over hiring and firing of teachers. It is impossible to plan definite curriculum developments and programs unless there are stability and continuity within the teaching staff" (Oberndorfer 1941). Tenure would limit the time administrators spent on recruiting and training new personnel, and teachers would gain the time needed to develop lessons that benefited children instead of seeking new positions.

The benefits of a stable teaching force were also compared to the stability of a family. The NEA concluded the frequent turnover of teachers affected the psychological development of a child.

> What kind of mental and moral growth would we expect from a child who changed his parents every year? Yet a change in parents annually would have somewhat the same effect as a constant change in a child's teachers (Elder 1920).

For a children to develop into a mature adult, they needed teachers who could provide guidance and advice over a period of years. A 1935 a *Journal* article written by Stella Goldberg, a Chicago public school teacher, highlighted the significance of teacher tenure on the development of the child. Ms. Goldberg stated the ability of a child to develop academically and socially depended on the quality of the educational system and "especially upon its most important administrator, the classroom teacher" (Goldberg 1935).

The NEA formulated twelve principles to be used by state tenure committees. The principles reflected the growth and maturity of the tenure movement. According to these guidelines, well-written tenure laws would improve the quality and efficiency of education and be designed in the best interest of children. To quell concerns regarding the professional growth of teachers, the NEA suggested tenure be given only after a probationary period in which the teacher demonstrated success and continued development. The decision to retain a teacher would remain the domain of the local school board. Superintendents would be required to demonstrate evidence of ineffective teaching practices and provide the individual with adequate notice of non-retention. The NEA also suggested that each state, according to its needs, establish a requirement for professional growth. This standard, they argued, should be rigorous and applicable to tenured teachers.

The arguments to provide tenure for public school teachers initially centered on increasing teacher salaries and improving the quality of people attracted to the field. The NEA felt teachers should receive competitive salaries and a retirement pension. A national movement to secure salary increases saw little success in the first two decades of the twentieth century. The NEA realized to achieve their goals they would need the support of the teachers and improved reasons for tenure. Applying the philosophies of the Progressive era, the NEA developed a rationale for granting teacher tenure. It postulated that tenure was needed to safeguard teachers from political patronage and other capricious actions of school boards. The NEA stressed the high rate of teacher turnover and its effect on the efficiency and quality of American education. Tenure would raise the standards of education by attracting high caliber individuals to the profession and result in more efficient school operations.

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The City Normal Schools of Akron and Cleveland, Ohio: 1874-1936

Melinda Kline
Brunswick City Schools

During the nineteenth-century urban school systems, such as Cleveland and Akron, Ohio, trained their own teachers in city normal schools operated by the cities' boards of education. This paper will document the pre-service training of teachers within these city normal schools, the progression of the city normal schools from its own teacher preparation programs to university affiliation, and the establishment of a university school of education and a teachers college.

The Cleveland city Normal School opened September 1874. Admission requirements were graduation from one of the Cleveland city high schools, or a certificate from the Cleveland Public Schools City Board of School Examiners, or a certificate from a County Board of School Examiners with not less than one school year's experience in teaching (Superintendent's Report Cleveland City Schools 1927/1928, 48). The Perkins Normal School of Akron had similar admission requirements. An applicant had to be a graduate of an Akron public high school and over the age of eighteen. They were to possess a teacher's certificate from the Akron City Board of School Examiners, or if they failed to have such a certificate they could be admitted into the normal school if they passed an entrance examination.

The course work of both city normal schools were two years in length and each school had a theory department and a practice department. The theory departments focused on preparation in professional studies which included educational history, educational psychology, and classroom management. Students also took courses in subjects they would be teaching as well as method classes (Manual Akron Board of Education 1900, 43; Superintendent's Report Cleveland City Schools 1887,48; 1891,46; 1901,49). Second year students took classes in the practice or training department. This department, in both city normal schools, established classrooms in various public schools as training classrooms. Students taught in these classrooms for ten weeks under the supervision of a teacher (Principal's Report Cleveland Normal School 1874, 104). Students also presented lessons to their fellow pupils in the practice departments, and as substitute teachers in the city elementary schools (Cleveland City Schools Course of Study 1894/1895; Manual Akron Board of Education 1900, 43).

In 1914 the Ohio legislature passed a series of laws that required increased preparation in the area of professional education and supervised practice teaching for state certification. Western Reserve University responded by establishing a joint training program with the Cleveland public schools in 1915 known as the Cleveland School of Education (Western Reserve University 1925, 3). The Cleveland School of Education, originally a summer term of six-weeks, was conducted jointly by the Cleveland Normal School and Western Reserve University. Under the terms of this partnership all the equipment and educational resources of the University were utilized to train Cleveland teachers and those in surrounding suburbs (Cleveland Board of Education 1915, 38). Course offerings for the school in its first summer of operation consisted of professional courses and academic studies for teacher review taught by faculty from the University and Normal School (Cleveland School of Education 1915; 1919).

In the fall of 1920 the Cleveland Board of Education and Western Reserve University expanded the work of the Cleveland School of Education to include the granting of the Bachelor of Education and the Master of Education degrees (Western Reserve University 1920). By the 1924-1925 school year the coursework offerings for prospective teachers were organized into the Junior Teachers College and the Senior Teachers College. The Junior Teachers College, also known as the Normal School Course, was a two-year teacher training course, extended in 1926 to a three-year teacher training course (Cleveland Board of Education 1926). Students who graduated from the Junior Teachers College were immediately offered positions in the Cleveland public schools. In addition, the graduates could enter the Senior Teachers College to work on their bachelor's degree (Cleveland School of Education 1921/1922, 6).

The Senior Teachers College of the Cleveland School of Education was created in the summer of 1920. The requirements for the four-year degree were 120 semester hours of study. Ninety hours the University would accept from the Cleveland School of Education with the University providing extension and summer courses to complete the full degree requirements (Western Reserve University 1920). Four different units of credit were available to teachers through the Senior Teachers College of the Cleveland School of Education. One type of credit led to the Bachelor of Education degree, another to the Master of Arts in Education, another toward state certification, and the last was toward advancement on the salary schedule of the Cleveland Board of Education (Cleveland School of Education 1922/1923, 4-5).

By December of 1915 the University of Akron and the Akron school board formulated an agreement approved by the State School Commissioners for a combined course in normal training between the University and Perkins Normal School. Two training courses were devised, one a four-year combination course and the other a five-year combination course. The four -year combination course enabled the graduates to teach as elementary teachers in the Akron city schools but not as high school teachers. They were entitled to a provisional state high school certificate which gave them the legal right to teach in any high school in the state of Ohio. Students attended the University for three years, completed the required work (103 semester hours) and entered Perkins Normal School to complete the course there in one year. Upon completion of their work students received the Bachelor of Science in Education (Akron Board of Education 1915, 171-172). The five-year combination course was offered to those who desired to be high school teachers in the Akron school system. The student completed four years (128 semester credit hours) at the University, pursued a major in the subject he/she wished to teach as a high school teacher, received the college degree they were entitled to, and spent a fifth year at Perkins Normal School in observation and practice teaching (ibid.).

School of Education, Western Reserve University and Teachers College, Municipal University of Akron

As the professional educators within the urban cities worked to optimize the professional training of future teachers, a university school of education and teachers college were created. By late spring 1928 the Cleveland Board of Education and Western Reserve University combined resources to form the School of Education, Western Reserve University (Western Reserve University 1928). The work of the School of Education was conducted in three distinct sessions for teachers, supervisors, administrators, and students of education. One was designed for students who wished to complete a three-year diploma course in preparation for teaching in the kindergarten, primary or intermediate grades. A second session was a four-year degree course in preparation for teaching in K-12. A final session was available for part-time students in which teachers, principals, and others who possessed a Normal School diploma, or two or three years of undergraduate professional education could complete the requirements for the degree (Western Reserve University 1931/1932, 11).

In 1921 Perkins Normal School was merged into the Municipal University of Akron, becoming a part of the University known as the Teachers College (Buchtelite 1921). Initially the Teachers College offered six courses for training teachers. These were three and four year preparation programs in kindergarten-primary education and elementary education. Upon completion of their work students received either a state teachers certificate for completion of the three year program or a bachelor of education degree for work completed in the four year program (Municipal University of Akron 1922, 122-126).

In 1923 there were eight preparatory programs for teachers, by 1924 this had grown to thirteen courses of study. Courses leading to a master's degree were established during the 1923-1924 school year. In 1926 new courses were offered to teachers in commercial and vocational education. In the 1928-1929 school year the course work again expanded to include industrial education (Municipal University of Akron 1923, 129-140; 1924, 120-127; 1926, 118-128; University of Akron 1928/1929, 139).

By the 1927-1928 school year the course work for high school teachers was slightly modified. Students were still required to complete five years of study, but now students had the option of completing their bachelor's work in either the Teachers College or the College of Liberal Arts. If a bachelor's degree in secondary education was obtained through the Teachers College a fifth year of study was spent in the Teachers College completing course work for a master's degree. If the student received a bachelor's degree from the College of Liberal Arts a fifth year of study in the Teachers College was required, and upon successful completion of this coursework received the bachelor of education degree (University of Akron 1927/1928, 130-140).

The economic depression of the 1930s was one of several reasons for the Akron school board to withdraw its financial support of the Teachers College. Another reason was that with five state supported teacher training institutions along with the normal school at Kent there was an adequate supply of teachers being prepared in Ohio and there was no need to continue the board's support of the Teachers College. Furthermore, the chief function of the school system was to prepare students at the elementary and secondary levels and not teacher preparation. In January 1931 the Akron school board voted to officially terminate their financial support of the Teachers College by June 1, 1931 (Akron Board of Education 1931, 28; Akron Beacon Journal 1931).

The Cleveland school system, in January 1933, reduced their funding to the Cleveland School of Education by thirty percent in response to the economic crisis of the time (Cleveland Plain Dealer 1931). But, as in Akron, additional conflicts existed for the School of Education relative to its relationship with the other colleges on the university campus. From its inception the function and status of the School of Education was questioned by the other colleges who believed the School should only train elementary teachers. The dual administration of the School with the dean reporting to the superintendent of schools and the president of the university created indecision in policy making, and competition existed between the School and the other teacher training units on campus as each sought to acquire students. There were additional problems involving curriculum, number and distribution of scholarships, and the administration of the summer session (Western Reserve University 1935). The Cleveland school board officially terminated their support of the School of Education in June 1936.

The pre-service training of the nineteenth-century urban school teachers in Ohio progressed from entry by exam to awards of diplomas through city normal schools, to attendance at university teacher colleges or schools of education with the distinction of earning a bachelor or master's degree in elementary or secondary education. These changes, initiated by state mandates in teacher certification laws, led to the creation of teacher preparatory programs administered by the respective city boards of education and their university affiliate. While budgetary constraints and other considerations regarding the function and purpose of the joint teacher training programs led to the city school boards decision in both cities to discontinue their financial support of their pre-service teacher training programs, the educational institutions in both cities assumed a shared responsibility for the professional preparation of their city school teachers.

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Teachers and the American Success Ethic

Robert Taggart
University of Delaware

For the entire twentieth century, reformers have attacked the American public school for its presumed ineffectiveness. Most of the pressure has been on teachers to become more efficient. In any case, advocators of change have not consulted teachers as to the most desirable reforms in our schools. As a result, teachers have seen numerous reforms foisted upon them throughout this century, few of which changed the behavior of many teachers or increased student learning in a significant way (Cuban 1984).

Why the lack of real change in schools? Teachers have their own needs in their individual classrooms which are often ignored by outsiders. When that occurs, teachers either become defensive, which leads to new attacks by others, or they agree to accept the changes while in fact undermining them. Why do teachers do this? Because many of them recognize that what they represent is not considered valuable to society (Joseph and Burnaford 1994). The key to changing education is the classroom, where the schoolteacher tries her best to reign. Since reformers who demand more efficiency to produce better results dispute her hegemony, teachers resist as much as possible. The central question is why so many outsiders believe they know what the students need better than teachers who actually see the students perform every day. As Richard Hofstadter summarized: "The figure of the schoolteacher may well be taken as a central symbol in any modern society (from which by) observing how teachers are esteemed and rewarded they quickly sense how society looks upon the teacher's role" (Hofstadter 1963, 309- 310).

Never has there been a time in this nation when teachers of young children were esteemed. A primary reason is that teachers are not considered models of the American Dream. That dream has assumed for a long time that individual effort and risk-taking will produce success for all, proof of success being the attainment of power in society and the wealth that comes with success. Since teachers don't seem to have attained success in a material sense, the public tends to question their authority, while ironically demanding that teachers exert more authority in schools. Since so few citizens believe teachers are a serious role model for their children, they denigrate both the profession of teaching and teachers' lack of successful academic results with all students. Therefore, reforms have devolved into an attempt to force teachers to work harder toward clear standards and measurable results, since educators have not figured out how to accomplish success for all children or themselves.

Historically, the public has not been interested in teachers' attainment of personal success. Under local control of schools, Americans have demanded a premium on economy. Teachers received low pay in most districts, which led to a series of young temporary teachers on the move searching for something better. As late as 1916, one-quarter of rural teachers left their position each year (Fuller 1989). Until recent decades, teacher's salaries started low and rose little. Since there was little impetus to improve ones' performance, the public then attacked teachers for their lack of effect (Johnson 1990). Besides salary, noneducators set all the specificities of the job: term length, curriculum, textbooks, supplies, building maintenance, and nonteaching duties (Fuller 1982). Later, teachers even lost control over evaluation and discipline procedures. (Shedd and Bacharach 1991). Teachers had the difficult task of controlling students without the power to control anything else.

School boards usually got what they deserved. Kaestle describes rural schools in which students began each year repeating the same Reader they used the year before (Kaestle 1983). Rural teachers had to react to the lack of books and motivation by their students, while leading thirty recitations a day, planning endless lessons with few materials, and enduring numbing days ending with a supper at eight at night and going home to a chilly destitute room. They had no privacy, being closely watched for any moral or social impropriety (Fuller 1989). Since teachers' wages showed a steady decline relative to other occupations after 1850, white males left elementary teaching to those who had few choices, women (Carter 1989). Without decent salaries, incentives were few for teachers to invest much into further education. By the 1910s, half the nation's teachers still lacked professional or college preparation and the average length of service was just four years (Sedlak 1989, Coffman 1911).

A century ago, teachers of small children were women, approaching 98% of the elementary teachers in the United States (Tyack and Hansot 1982). Women took the jobs because they were as literate as men and had few options. School boards hired them because they were inexpensive, available, and of marginal status. Women fit the popular ideal of elementary teachers: a well of patience, obedience, self-abnegation, and loving-kindness, and so able to serve society through her submissiveness to superiors. Such maternal ethos in Victorian society "denied the order and power of narrative to teachers," as a feminist historian suggests (Grumet 1988, 89). Women are potential childrearers, as Catherine Beecher often reminded her listeners, who are then natural teachers of children. Unfortunately for women dedicated to subjective nurturance, male professional values have long held that a career includes objectivity, authority, deference from clients, independence, and in many cases the ability to set fees (Ehrenreich 1989). Neither Victorian women nor teachers of young children have ever been allowed such qualities without protest except in special circumstances. Women public elementary teachers are considered to be "servants" of others, sacrificing power and wealth in order to fulfill their feminine responsibilities.

The dominant male culture does not respect nurturance unless it is accompanied by successful results. There is much talk of "growth" in this country, but it is normally meant to be growth toward some measurable success. Whether it be a stock portfolio, a sports team, or a sales quota, success is the end product of the growth; growth itself is deemed to be pointless. Dewey's maxim that the point of education is "growth and more growth" was meant to instill success, but one that included personal happiness and service to others as a full citizen in a community. The American success ethic has been individualistic, with limited expectations for service to others. A successful individual in the United States has power, wealth, and prestige; elementary teachers have none of these qualities in our society.

The American Dream is a powerful ethic in this country. It has propelled a belief system that suggests that if an individual uses all of his or her innate abilities, takes some risks in a competitive world full of opportunities, perseveres through all obstacles and uses one's wits, then that person can expect to be a success in life. Conversely, if one lacks success, as measured by power, wealth and status, then that person is deemed to have not used one's abilities in a creative and forceful manner. If one protests that he or she does not believe in such accountrements of success, then that person can expect to be dismissed as a weak eccentric. If one has apparently tried his or her best but lacks success, that person is accorded some sympathy, but is likely to be assumed to lack the ability. The society and belief system is not questioned under such assumptions (DeVitis and Rich 1996).

An important aspect of success is one's willingness to take risks. As Richard Hofstadter relates, American conservatives have subscribed for more than a century to the ideal that a successful man is an entrepreneur, a "daring promoter" who asserts his individuality. Social Darwinists insisted that the "progress of the race" depended on such men being given the freedom to exert their prowess (Hofstadter 1944). The many Horatio Alger novels celebrated such freedom, cleverness, and opportunity, though without the brutishness assumed in Social Darwinism as the price of success for the winners. It is instructive that Alger books were not used in schools but bought by millions of Americans for depicting the true values of a growing nation. Students learned discipline, literacy, and morality in schools; real life was always more dynamic than school could ever be. Teachers were expected to keep youth under control, but they were not loved or respected for it. On the contrary, teachers were just another obstacle to individual success (Finkelstein 1989). Teachers did not take risks or allow risks to be taken in their classroom, and so they represented the antithesis of a powerful ethic held by most Americans as a primary explanation for one's life success, and as such, were disrespected by the public.

Our American respect for the individual is as old as the nation, perhaps as old as the first colonist who refused to remain behind the stockade walls. Evangelists who insisted on the use of the King James Bible in every school believed that social evils were "an aggregation of individual sins" that could be overcome by self-improvement (Tyack and Hansot 1982). While such an ideal could be liberating if one overcame one's evil tendencies, it also suggested that one owed nothing to anyone else. McGuffey Readers contained many references to charity toward others, but this may have been because there was insufficient evidence of such behavior. In the Protestant Ethic, one has a duty to be as strong an individual as possible to maximize one's success in material ways. As Andrew Carnegie suggested, the individual is a moral agent whose initiative and superior judgment led to an improved society. He provided more than 4,000 public libraries so citizens could help themselves (Mills 1956).

John Dewey railed against American individualism as destructive to the American culture. During the Great Depression, he attacked an American economic system that was based on a "struggle for existence and survival of the economically fit." He disliked the most prized personal traits of this system, which included the "clear-sighted vision of personal advantage and resolute ambition to secure it at any human cost. Sentiment and sympathy would be at the lowest discount." Dewey further attacked excessive individualism as the "source and justification of inequalities and oppressions" (Dewey 1929/1962, 18). He also insisted that individual acts were never really private, as all private acts are social in their consequences. More recently, John Goodlad insists that the public purpose of schooling has become subverted in favor of the private one (Goodlad 1997). The problem with Goodlad's assumption is that a primary justification for public schools has always been the production of strong individuals as far as most citizens are concerned. Why else attend school for so long except for private advantage? Even when the National Governors' Association sloganized "Better Schools Mean Better Jobs" with presumed benefits to the economy, parents believe that better schools will mean their children can make a living to improve their social mobility (1986). This is the American Dream, after all.

In the American Dream, wealth is the reward for hard work, perseverance, striving for personal advancement, and social mobility (DeVitis and Rich). From Weber's Protestant Ethic to the Mind Power ethic of Norman Vincent Peale, wealth is the goal of personal happiness. American Victorians held this view in the 19th century, but as the McGuffey Readers emphasized, wealth was not only to be gained but to be given away to help the less fortunate have some chance of mobility in a fluid society. In the last two decades, much of that belief in charity has declined. One example of this is Newt Gingrich's reform agenda in *To Renew America* (1995). As Robert Bellah insists, Gingrinch and many other national leaders have eroded the moral understanding from primary relationships in our society in favor of market exchange. Business has little obligation to its employees or the larger society (Bellah 1997).

In this atmosphere, people such as teachers who lack power, wealth, or proven economic value have difficulty defending themselves. As a result, teachers' salaries have not generally kept pace with other professionals in this nation the last quarter century. However, even when teacher unions fight for higher pay, the teacher culture is ambivalent about such material rewards. Teachers' unwritten professional ethic includes the ideal of individual professional responsibility for one's work, but also the ideal of one uninterested in financial rewards and oblivious to working conditions. A good teacher must carry on for the children's sake, no matter the situation (Rousmaniere 1997). One of the worst things teachers can say about a colleague is that she is in it for the money as opposed to dedication to one's work. In interviews, many retired teachers insisted that higher pay had a negative impact on teaching, and none mentioned higher pay as indicative of higher status within the profession (Green and Manke 1994). Teachers tend to be ambivalent about an increase in wealth; it is fine for oneself but not necessarily for other educators. If teachers disdain wealth, they are in discordance with the views of most members of society who equate success with wealth, and lack of wealth with failure.

In American society, wealth is also equated with power, another quality teachers have never enjoyed. John Dewey complained sixty years ago that workers of all kinds had no intellectual or emotional share in directing their work, and were treated as only hands without brains (1962/1929). While teachers may insist that they utilize both emotion and brains in their work, Dewey's point is that even when workers do this, they are neither given credit for it nor are assumed to have the right to control their work. In a recent self-assessment by teachers, they agreed that two negative images included being pawns in a game that they did not always know was being played, and loyal soldiers doing administrator's bidding without input into the educational process. The ideal collegial relationship with administrators was rarely attained (Efron and Joseph 1994).

Teachers have always been under great scrutiny. In the 19th century and most of the 20th century, teachers have been controlled both in the classroom and in the community. As President Hoover stated, teachers are public figures with public responsibilities whose lives must be an open book (Marsh 1928). As Beale, Elsbree, and Waller have documented, teachers have never been free (Beale, 1936; Elsbree, 1939; Waller, 1932). They have always been outsiders, kept at arm's length from the dominant society of strivers. Much of this attitude stems from teachers' character-building role, which places them outside the realm of ordinary sinners. It also means that they can never be fully trusted to be free. Women teachers became "vestal virgins" and male teachers were treated as ministers (Tyack and Hansot 1982). With such a lack of respect as individuals or as professionals, teachers remain marginalized by administrators with the approval of school boards and their communities. Shared decision-making between teachers and administrators is rarely tolerated on the instructional program. True school restructuring remains an idea, not reality (Malen and Ogawa 1992). Faculty meetings are not famous for discussing important policy issues, and teachers' advisory councils find their suggestions ignored (Johnson 1990).

Much of the reason teachers are treated as people who should not have power is that teachers themselves tend to believe that their greatest rewards are psychic. They rely on positive comments from students, parents, and peers for reward (Johnson 1990). They state that they love to work with people and to see children learn and grow. Nineteenth century female teachers were exhorted even to save the children from sin, protect them from temptation, and steel them for life's challenges by serving as paragons of propriety. By the 1920s, the educational literature described model teachers as having good personality traits above all. They were to be generous, positive, selfless, self-controlled, enthusiastic, and moral (Rousmaniere 1997). Even in the film *Blackboard Jungle*, the heroic teacher is to save the students from themselves and be satisfied with intrinsic rewards (Ayers 1994). Good teachers, then, were not to be intellectual, ambitious, materialistic, or strive for power.

Teachers tend to focus on their own classroom. While this may be personally rewarding, it also means that teachers isolate themselves from one another and society, thereby decreasing their activity as citizens. Unlike other professionals, teachers do not see the necessity of entering into public debates about education. As a result, laws inimical to teacher's autonomy are passed and teachers lose more power. Teachers are expected to do even more than before, and find their job further eroded into a series of bureaucratic tasks that work to destroy whatever is left of their professional ethic.

Current reformers insist on system-wide reform. There is little that is new about this. As David Tyack has shown, the idea of scientific and efficient reforms affecting entire educational systems became the rage in the 1920s (Tyack 1974). By the 1960s, the academic community introduced the "new curriculum," such as Science--A Process Approach. A curriculum set in minute detail, the teacher was no longer the central figure in the instructional process, but an intermediary between the subject and student (Johnson 1989). Accountability schemes and performance contracts of the 1970s continued the trend, as did Madeleine Hunter's Effective Teaching Model, a later attempt to turn pedagogy into science by using a drill system. Presumably, even the subjective elementary teacher could not destroy the process of student learning once it was laid out clearly in the objective technical manner that Hunter believed constituted learning. Sadly, these schemes not only attacked teacher's professional autonomy as well as the intrinsic rewards that provide much of a teacher's motivation, they did not even promote children's learning well (Gibboney 1994).

The most basic problem in educational reform is American society's desire for quick results that can be proven through measurable results. Too often, this demand translates into goals listed by non-educators that are unrealistic for society, much less for schools. The National Goals 2000 is such an example. For instance, the goal of being first in the world in science and math test scores by the year 2000 is an impossible standard, and one that may not be related either to improved student learning or an improved national economy. Ironically, there is little evidence that the public believes these goals are attainable, or that teachers even know much about them (Goodlad 1997). If neither the public nor teachers believe in such goals, there can be little movement toward them. When the goals are not met, then reformers attack educators for their lack of will. We soon have another wave of reform (Darling-Hammond 1990).

Parents often look for quick fixes from education, just like business leaders, though their goals are different. Parents and their children are not so motivated by the intellectual growth implicated in good education as reformers would have us believe, but by grades that are surrogates for learning. However, the less academically inclined students are not even motivated by grades, but by graduation. A diploma becomes the entrance requirement for either an occupation or college; competency in the subject matter is less important than the fact of graduation (Steinberg 1996). There is little teachers can do to affect this student indifference unless parents support them.

Meanwhile, business-led reformers continue their own agenda with the standards movement, an extension of the excellence movement from the 1980s. Originally an attempt to set national standards, an idea attacked by both liberals and conservatives, reformers now are setting state standards for each major subject area for what students are to "know and be able to do." Like previous reforms, application of the standards assumes system-wide changes with little input by classroom teachers. The goals are meant to represent the best knowledge our students need, with the assumptions that educators know how to get students to attain these myriad goals, that students can and want to attain them, and that the goals will lead to further education and jobs. With the goals set by experts, teachers are to get trained to help all students reach the goals. If students fail to gain such success, then teachers will be held accountable for results, punished or rewarded as the results dictate. In this process, then, teachers will find themselves held responsible for their failure to deliver what they do not control, but are assumed to control according to reformers.

These reforms are based on extrinsic sanctions that are irrelevant to teacher's goals and problems they face in their professional lives. In schools that have attempted accountability schemes based on goals set externally, teachers report the three A's: Anxiety about such programs, Anger when the rewards and punishments are meted out unfairly, and Alienation toward the schemes. Feeling maligned and misunderstood, teachers react with passive-aggressive behavior (Berliner and Biddle 1996). If we believe that good education is a process of learning by teachers and students, then teachers must be engaged in continuous planning with constant reflection on one's goals as well as means for attaining those goals. To promote effective reform in education, teachers must be in control of the curriculum and its goals, not an outside agency that believes teachers are the problem rather than the solution (Tanner 1997). If teachers are demeaned in this process, there will be no real improvement in student learning; just another statement of goals that neither students nor teachers can reach, followed by another round of recrimination against teachers. The solution is the setting of goals by educators in each building, with a system that gives teachers the time and resources to do a good job as well as the power to assist teachers needing help. Only then can we expect real improvement in our schools.

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Affirmative Action at University of Illinois: The 1968 Special Educational Opportunities Program

Joy Ann Williamson
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

In the spirit of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Higher Education Act of 1965, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) initiated the Special Educational Opportunities Program (SEOP), a program to recruit more African American students to the UIUC campus. The SEOP will be the focus of this piece. The objectives are twofold. First, I will discuss the implementation and nature of SEOP including recruitment, admission requirements, initial academic achievement, and graduation rates. Next, I will illustrate the impact this first substantial number of Black students left on the UIUC campus both socially and academically. The first group of SEOP students will be the focus though later students will be discussed tangentially.

UIUC administrators and faculty began discussing the ground work for SEOP in late 1963. In an interim report issued by the Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity (CHREO), a conscious effort to "expand substantially the enrollment of Negro and other disadvantaged youth" became a basic goal for UIUC (CHREO 1964, 1). In the Preamble of the report, the Committee cited the overwhelming under-representation of African Americans in "almost all of the status roles and favorable conditions of our relatively affluent and largely white dominated society" (CHREO 1964, 1). In an effort to compensate for "the grievous record of the past and present," both nationally and on the UIUC campus, UIUC was directed to reexamine its role in the perpetuation of oppression. The Committee highlighted the low number of African American students, faculty, and employees and pointed to the fact that "the 'public service' to the state to which we are dedicated [has not] been at all focused on the racial problems of the state and its citizens" (CHREO 1964, 2). The imbalance of minority student enrollment due to past discrimination had to be remedied, and the University decided to take an active role. As a directive, the Committee suggested UIUC remember and reclaim the historical role of the university as the birthplace for social, cultural, and economic revolutions. The recruitment and retention of more African American students was one means to this end. The Committee suggested expanding the enrollment of "innately able but educationally, socially and economically disadvantaged" students, encouraging those already enrolled to complete their education, and assisting those with the potential to go on to graduate school (CHREO 1964, 8). Out of this proposal came the seeds of the SEOP:

> It is not sufficient simply to affirm the principle of non-discrimination in all aspects of the University's undertakings. Instead it is urgent to develop an affirmative action program to help overcome handicaps stemming from past inequality so that all shall have equal opportunity to develop their talents to their fullest capacity (CHREO 1964, 1).

A short time after UIUC expressed a desire to increase and promote diversity, two federal government pieces of legislation helped initiate many changes in higher education. In 1964, the *Civil Rights Act* became law. In response to Section 402, a study "concerning the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions" was conducted by the Office of Education under the auspices of the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (1965, iii). This report heightened awareness of discrimination in education and the value of a diverse campus environment as well as reminded institutions that federal money would be withheld from any institution in non-compliance with providing equal opportunity.

The next year the *Higher Education Act* of 1965, Title IV, Part A, was created with the mandate to "encourage and enable exceptionally needy high school graduates and college undergraduate students, who otherwise would be unable to continue their education, pursue their studies at institutions of higher education by providing them with educational opportunity grants [EOGs]" (US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 1966, 9). Financial assistance was not limited to Black students, but they benefited most from the grants. The grants covered half the student's financial need. Part B enabled students to get low-interest loans from their respective institutions (US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 1966, 11). Part C enabled students to take advantage of Work-Study programs in which they would work part-time to help defray college costs (US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare 1966, 13). These financial gifts enabled many low-income African Americans to attend institutions of higher education. Both the *Civil Rights Act* of 1964 and the *Higher Education Act* of 1965 acted as catalysts in opening the doors of educational opportunity.

If the UIUC campus was just preparing to enroll African American students in significant numbers in the early 1960s, the 4 April 1968 assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. accelerated the process. As a result of King's death, segments of the campus and community, especially the Black Students Association (BSA), founded in October 1967, demanded that more African Americans be admitted in the Fall of 1968. In 1960, African Americans constituted 10.3 percent of the Illinois population and 5.1 percent of the Champaign county population (Bureau of the Census 1963, 15-202). By 1970, they represented 12.8 percent of the state population and 15.2 percent of the county (Bureau of the Census 1973, 15-89, 15-90, 15-252). On the UIUC campus in 1967, they constituted only 1.1 percent of the UIUC student population. The numbers are as follows: 330 Black UIUC students of 30,407 total students attended in the Fall of 1967; 223 undergraduates of 22,017 and 107 graduate/professional students of 8,390 (Wermers 1974, 17). Black students became determined to increase their numbers.

The University, in an attempt both to quell the rising tide of Black student resentment and increase diversity on campus, was in the process of implementing a program to allow a large number of Black high school seniors to enroll. When first conceptualized, SEOP included approximately 250 students. However, after King's assassination and the BSA demands, expectations for the program changed. Instead of the original 250 students, over 500 were admitted. By admitting such a large number of students, SEOP became one of the largest programs initiated by a predominantly White university in attracting low-income Black high school students.

UIUC put forth five objectives in implementing SEOP: (1) to provide an educational opportunity to students who may not have had the opportunity to attend college; (2) to increase the number of minority students on the UIUC campus; (3) to develop educational programs and practices to aid the 'disadvantaged' students in their academic careers; (4) to expose non-SEOP students to the cultural and social experiences necessary in understanding different cultures; (5) to develop information enabling in the ability to deal successfully with educational and sociological problems affecting students from disadvantaged backgrounds (The Special Educational Opportunities Program of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign 1970, 2).

"Disadvantaged" students were those whose family income stationed them in the lower-class. David Johnson, Chief of the Educational Opportunities Grants Branch of the Office of Education, outlined the economic qualification in a Memorandum sent to Coordinators of student financial aid. In meeting the requirements for the program, each student had to qualify for a federal EOG or have an unmet need of at least $1,200 in UIUC expenses. If UIUC students were representative of all students receiving EOGs, only 13 percent came from families whose annual gross income exceeded $7,500 (Johnson 1968, 1-4). They were also students not exposed to college preparatory classes during high school or students ranking highly in their high school classes but with low college entrance test scores. In its first year of existence, SEOP accepted disadvantaged students from out-of-state and non-freshmen; but, in Fall 1969, the program was limited to Illinois residents and freshmen (The Special Educational Opportunities Program 1970, 1). Students received Illinois State Scholarship Commission Grants, federal government grants (such as EOG), and tuition waivers authorized by the University to offset the amount expected from family contributions (Warwick 1968).

To recruit students, the University solicited high school counselors to identify and encourage prospective students to apply to SEOP and arranged a series of Illinois regional conferences with counselors working in schools with large numbers of disadvantaged students. At the meetings, admission and financial aid applications were distributed, questions answered, and problems discussed. Chicago, down-state Illinois, and Champaign-Urbana were the target areas. BSA also was involved heavily in recruitment efforts and visited eleven predominantly Black high schools in Chicago to solicit potential students. Also, in Spring of 1968, BSA hosted a "get acquainted" weekend for Black high school seniors accepted for the Fall 1968 semester. Approximately 150 Black high school seniors from Chicago, East St. Louis, Illinois, and Holmes County, Mississippi, visited the UIUC campus and participated in tours, discussions, dances, and other activities. According to William Savage, BSA Recruitment and Retention Committee Chairman, BSA initiated the program because of the "lack of initiative of the University" (Savage 1968). In a Memorandum on their contact with high schools, university administrators praised the BSA effort: "We are highly encouraged by this evidence of interest on the part of a student organization and regard it as a most effective means of recruitment. We shall continue to encourage their efforts and to cooperate in every way. The activities of this group will be an important aspect of the total program of identification and recruitment" (Memo of high school contact program of the Black Students Association 1968).

The University broadened its admissions policies in admitting the SEOP students. The requirements for admission included: students who met the high school subject pattern requirements for the college and curriculum to which they were applying and who ranked in the top half of their graduating class; students who met the subject requirements, ranked in the third quarter of their class, and had an American College Test (ACT) score of at least 19; and students who ranked in the fourth quarter of their graduating class and had a composite ACT score of at least 21. Students not meeting the above requirements could qualify for special admission (Shelley 1969a, A-3, 2). The students also had to have an unmet financial need. At the end of registration, approximately 1300 students applied to participate in SEOP; 768 were approved for admission (the University predicted that two-thirds of beginning freshmen actually register); 565 students registered. These included 502 freshmen and 63 transfer students (Peltason 1968, 1). A report compiled by Dr. Faite Royjier-Poncefonte Mack, UIUC Dean of Personnel, revealed that of the 502 SEOP freshmen, 478 students (95.2%), were Black. 287 students (57.2%), were women while 215 (42.8 %), were men. Most, 402 students (80.1 %), were Illinois residents. The rest of the students primarily were from Holmes County, Mississippi, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Academic programming was altered to fit the SEOP students. Financial, personal, and academic counseling were made available. Also, several courses, including Rhetoric, Mathematics, Chemistry, and Psychology, were restructured to emphasize "content appropriate to students with scholastic deficiencies" (The Special Educational Opportunities Program 1970, 2). A reading clinic, a writing laboratory, study skills workshops, and tutorials were initiated and coordinated by the Director of SEOP and several college departments. An additional day of freshmen orientation allowed for the students to attend the all-University orientation as well as a more personal SEOP orientation where students learned about the different services available (Shelley 1969b).

After their first semester on campus, the 1968 SEOP freshmen achieved a mean grade point average of 2.3 in the SEOP courses, 2.0 in regular courses, and a 2.1 overall (on a 4.0 scale). The mean grade point average after the second semester was 2.0 (The Special Educational Opportunities Program 1970, 3). In the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences (LAS) a Spring 1969 study comparing the grade point averages of the SEOP students in LAS and other students in LAS revealed a difference between groups after the first semester. While 76 percent of regularly enrolled LAS students were clustered between 2.5 and 3.49, 60 percent of the SEOP students were clustered between 1.5 and 2.99. Also, SEOP students were more represented across the grade point average range with 41 percent below a 2.0 grade point average versus 9 percent of regularly enrolled students and 59 percent above a 2.0 average versus 91 percent for regularly enrolled students (Schiamberg 1969). Explanations or justifications of the drop in grade point average varied. A report published by the University stated the drop "reflects fewer available special courses for the second semester" (The Special Educational Opportunities Program 1970, 3). A separate report to the president by the Committee on Human Relations and Equal Opportunity stated that few "disadvantaged" students were prepared for the competition and academic demands of the University. "For most of them, it has been a first exposure to the predominantly white world, and the first encounter with major failure. As these students have encountered academic difficulty, they have usually become frightened and begun to withdraw, attributing much of the blame to the practices and attitudes encountered in the 'white' world" (CHREO 1967, 4). In order to help the students, the Committee proposed an easing of drop and probation rules, increased financial aid, and more support services.

A study conducted by Dr. Jane Loeb, Coordinator of Research and Testing, revealed that the 502 SEOP freshmen of 1968 were on academic probation, dropped, or not enrolled at higher rates than regularly admitted freshmen although they out-performed pre-SEOP Black UIUC students (Loeb 1973, 1, 5). For instance, in 1966 and 1967, 50 percent and 53 percent of Black students, respectively, were on clear status after the completion of their first term. In 1968 and 1969, the first two years of SEOP, 64 percent and 67 percent, respectively, were on clear status (Loeb 1974, 9). Regularly admitted students also graduated at higher rates than SEOP students within an eight semester period. For the freshmen entering UIUC in 1968, 45.4 percent of the regularly admitted students and 16.7 percent (84 students) of the SEOP students graduated by June 1972; by 1973, 60.7 percent of the regularly admitted and 32.1 percent of the SEOP students graduated (Loeb 1973, 8). This was evidence that SEOP students who remained at UIUC, on average, took an extra two semesters to complete college requirements and receive their degrees.

According to a separate study by Dr. Faite Mack, 44.4 percent of the Fall 1968 Freshmen SEOP students completed eight consecutive semesters between Fall 1968 and Spring 1972. 8.6 percent terminated enrollment after 1968 but re-enrolled for continuous student status by the eighth semester. 47.0 percent terminated enrollment and did not re-enroll. 69 (13.7%) students graduated in June 1972 (Mack 1972, 22). While a discrepancy in numbers exists between the Loeb and Mack studies, the conclusions were similar. The SEOP students who remained at UIUC took longer to attain a bachelor's degree than regularly admitted students. Mack, however, came to another conclusion: those students who left the University often enrolled in other institutions. 59 of the drop-outs attended another four-year (39 students) or two-year (20 students) institution after leaving UIUC (Mack 1972, 46).

The large infusion of Black students heavily influenced student and academic life on the UIUC campus. With the SEOP students, the number of Black UIUC students more than doubled. The increase in numbers gave the Black students confidence and support. They now constituted a crucial number of the UIUC population and, in accordance with the BSA motto, no longer *hoped* for anything; instead they *demanded* everything. In this way, the University got more than it bargained. It initiated SEOP to increase Black representation on campus--and it succeeded--but, as a consequence, the late 1960s call for Black Power also was magnified on the campus.

Black UIUC students had begun a concerted effort to participate in the Black Power Movement across the nation before the SEOP students arrived. Along with national sentiment, Black students reevaluated the goal of integration and the tactic of gradualism advocated by Civil Rights advocates of the 1950s and early 1960s. Instead, they initiated race-based student groups, such as BSA, for the purpose of celebrating and promoting "Black pride." Also, they made several demands on the university to actively support and promote diversity. The arrival of the SEOP allowed for a critical mass of Black students who then attempted to alter policies and programs on campus.

SEOP student demands altered campus academic life by initiating the development of courses with a decidedly Black focus in the Spring semester of the 1968-1969 academic year. The first, History 199, was a visiting lecturer series. Students enrolled for one credit hour and wrote a paper on one of the lectures or African American culture. Reverend Channing Phillips, who placed fourth in the presidential balloting on the Democratic ticket in 1968, spoke about "Being Black in America"; Val Gray, a Black dramatist, spoke about the "Concert Voice of the Black Writer"; Percival Borde, a scholar of Caribbean and African culture, gave a lecture entitled "The Talking Drums"; Alex Haley, editor of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X,* spoke about his work-in-progress, *Roots;* Wardell Gaynor, an associate producer of a television show, spoke about his program "Of Black America"; Reverend C. T. Vivian, Southern Christian Leadership Conference member, gave a lecture entitled, "The Black Church in Transition"; A. B. Spellman, author and participant in the television show, "Black Heritage," gave a lecture entitled "Toward a Saner Base for the New Black Music." 275 students--and not just Black students--enrolled in the course (Jackson and Plater 1970).

By Fall 1970, African Americans constituted only 3.6 percent (1,252 students) of the total UIUC student population (Wermers 1976, 12). However, their numbers did not deter the lecture series or the development of African American-centered courses; in fact, the call for the initiation of a Black history class was made by the campus chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality when less than 300 Black students attended UIUC in late 1966. The 1970-1971 lecturers included dancer and anthropologist Pearl Primus, Professor of English and Director of Afro-American Studies at Iowa State University Charles Davis, Chicago reporter L. F. Palmer, Chicago reporter Burleigh Hines, Black comedian and activist Dick Gregory, Chicago poet Don L. Lee, musician Tony Zamora, linguist Orlando Taylor, artist Charles White, and former UIUC student and BSA president turned lawyer David Addison (Jackson and Plater 1970). In 1970, LAS Deans projected that the average 1971 lecture attendance would be 875 students (Jackson and Plater 1970). Due to increased interest, the College of LAS proposed a follow-up course to LAS 199 in the Spring of the 1970-1971 academic year. LAS 291, "The Black World: Perspectives," was open to sophomores, juniors, and seniors with prior relevant coursework (Cox 1970). College departments also developed African American oriented courses in political science, psychology, sociology and English.

SEOP students altered campus social life by inaugurating separate activities based on race, a reflection of their connection to the Black Power Movement. Sponsorship of separate activities based on race could be interpreted as a repudiation of the university. However, Black students created parallel activities to those of the university signaling their desire to participate but at the same time feel comfortable. Black students created Black academic support organizations such as the Black Graduate Student Association and the Black Theater Students Association. Though the university sponsored events such as Mom's Day and Homecoming, Black students initiated separate celebrations. Black Mom's Day celebrations included a Black Chorus concert, a banquet, and a fashion show with African/African American styles of dress. Black Homecoming events included a dance and the election of a Black Homecoming King and Queen. Also, Black students published a yearbook, *Irepodun*. The university yearbook, *The Illio,* included a section on Black student activities, but Black students considered the treatment sparse and insulting. BSA goals, Black activities, Black social life, and Black student outreach programs to the Champaign-Urbana community were highlighted.

In early 1969, African Americans living in Illinois Street Residence Hall (ISR) moved to create their own residence hall government. Michael Wilson, in his article, "ISR", published in the 29 April 1969, *Daily Illini,* explained the reason for the racial split. He stated that the ISR government was racist and that in order for Black students to make the government more relevant to their needs they had to secede. Elaborating on the split, he declared, "more specifically, black students at ISR have been assessed fees which are then used to perpetuate white cultural activities, only. Secondly, they feel that the judicial mechanism of their dormitory is biased." As early as 1969, Clarence Shelley, SEOP Director, recognized that "the biggest complaint of SEOP students is that they do not feel welcome or comfortable in the [residence halls]" (Shelley 1969a, 10). This governmental split was the catalyst in the formation of the Black Student Unions that soon would be initiated in each residence hall on the UIUC campus.

With the initiation of the 1968 SEOP, UIUC maintained its position as the Midwest university with the most Black students enrolled. According to data compiled by the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Civil Rights, UIUC continued to lead Big Ten institutions with 4.0 percent Black undergraduate enrollment in 1970 (Weinberg 1995, Table 45). In the years since, the number of Black undergraduates fluctuated. According to the Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs report, "Underrepresented Groups at the University of Illinois: A Report on Participation and Success, December, 1995," as of 1994, UIUC fell to fifth in the Big Ten in Black undergraduate enrollment and placed third in degrees conferred (1995, 32, 88). Though UIUC dropped in Big Ten ratings, the university provided a model for recruitment efforts and later academic support programs offered through the Office of Minority Student Affairs.

The legacy of the first groups of SEOP students persists at UIUC both academically and socially. The university heeded Black student demands to reflect the heterogeneity of student experience by initiating an Afro-American Studies and Research Program and an Afro-American Cultural Program. Separate festivities and celebrations--to which all students are invited--continue to be held and now are sponsored by units within the university. Recently formed multicultural and cross-cultural courses, social groups, and academic associations promote interaction between groups. As a catalyst for such policies and programs, the initiation of SEOP helped enrich student life on campus by broadening the scope of the university's duty to its diversifying student population.

In the report by the Office of the Vice Chancellor, the university described its goals for the future, "to lead all Big Ten Universities and to serve as a leader nationally in the enrollment of underrepresented minority students, to improve the retention rate of undergraduate minorities so it is the same as that of all students, [and] to lead all Big Ten Universities and to serve as a leader nationally in the granting of baccalaureate, graduate, and professional degrees to under- represented minorities" (Office of the Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs 1995, 6, 26, 32). With attention focused on recruitment as well as retention and graduation rates the university continues to demonstrate commitment to a diverse student population. Conscious efforts still need to be made for the university to reach its goals, but it does have an established base on which to build for the 21st century.

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Sources in History Instruction: Evidence in *The History Teacher's Magazine*

Chara Haeussler Bohan and O. L. Davis, Jr.
University of Texas at Austin

The use of source documents in students' study of history has been the subject of lively debate for nearly as long as separate history courses have been offered in American secondary schools, perhaps as early as 1870 (Johnson 1917, 127-132). This advocacy dates back prior to the work of the National Education Association's 1892 Committee of Ten. During the late 19th and early 20th century, as progressive era educators advanced the use of sources in historical instruction, the deliberation over the appropriate classroom use of sources in the classroom evolved. Throughout the 20th century this debate has waxed and waned. Recently, the national history standards and literature on historical thinking have called attention to the use of source documents in historical instruction. Current understanding can be helped by examining the discussion over the use of source documents that took place nearly a century ago in the pages of *The History Teacher's Magazine*.

Initially, the discussion focused directly on the efficacy of the use of source documents but later expanded to include the extent of their appropriate place in the curriculum. By 1916, when the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education met, this rhetorical debate seemingly was settled with a consensus that source documents needed to play at least some role in history instruction. The use of source documents had become more accepted, at least in history education literature. Indeed, a plethora of source books, articles with suggestions for classroom use of sources, and related historical materials flooded the educator marketplace.

The first five years of *The History Teacher's Magazine* (1909-1914) well illustrates the change and growth of the early views on the use of source documents in history teaching in American schools. This journal, founded in September 1909 under the leadership of Managing Editor Albert W. McKinley, was, "devoted to the interests of teachers of History, Civics, and related subjects in the fields of Geography and Economics" and aimed "to bring to the teacher of these topics the latest news of his profession" (*The History Teacher's Magazine 1*, September, 1909, 1). Due to financial difficulties, in February 1912, the magazine came under the supervision of a committee of the American Historical Association (AHA). *The History Teacher's Magazine* was renamed *Historical Outlook* in 1918 and later *The Social Studies* in 1934 and for a brief period of time in the 1920's and 1930's was published under the aegis of AHA and the National Council for the Social Studies (Smith, Palmer and Correia 1995; Nelson 1995).

Fred Morrow Fling became the Source Methods of Teaching Editor of *The History Teacher's Magazine* in 1909, the first year of its publication. This journal's first volume featured a more lively debate over the use of sources in historical instruction than appeared in any of the contemporary, highly visible, national committees' final reports (e.g., National Education Association, *Report of the Committee on Secondary Social Studies* 1893; *The Study of History in Schools: Report to the American Historical Association by The Committee of Seven* 1899; *The Study of History in Schools: Report to the American Historical Association by The Committee of Five* 1911). Indeed, article authors who advocated the use of sources claimed that sources increased student interest, portrayed history more vividly, and added literary value to historical instruction. Additionally, several advocates of the use of source documents suggested a probable benefit to students' exercise of personal judgment.

Consistent with the times, advocates advanced a scientific argument in support of the use of sources. One particularly striking argument was presented by Editor Fling who compared historical methodology to scientific experimentation (1909). He noted that school boards would not hire a chemistry teacher who could not conduct chemical experiments with students. Consequently, he held that history teachers should be expected to know to engage in historical investigations. In "An Historical Laboratory," William MacDonald also compared history to science (MacDonald 1909). This appeal to science in support of history education was a clear attempt to gain legitimacy in an era when science was heralded as the most certain method for the acquisition of knowledge.

Throughout its first five volumes *The History Teacher's Magazine* published dozens of articles each year on how to implement sources in the classroom. The majority of articles lauded the use of source documents in history instruction. Although a debate over the use of sources existed, most articles expressed the notion that progressive teachers at the forefront of their discipline utilized source documents in history instruction. For example, W.L. Westermann wrote:

> There is no argument to be advanced against the statement that the teacher of history will be the better teacher the more complete is his acquaintance with the original sources of information in the field of his teaching. These are the real springs of inspiration. It is best to drink from them when one can (1913, 249).

Many articles included actual documents, reviews of source books and methodological suggestions for the study of historical topics such as: the French Revolution, Indian treaties with Colonial governments, the Mexican War, the Battle of Salamis, Constitutional documents, and the use of museums and libraries in historical study (Anon 1910, W. 1910, Fling 1909, Vieregg 1912, Anon 1911, Henderson 1912, Smith 1914, Nestor 1914, Page 1914, Beard 1909).

However, several articles in the first volume of *The History Teacher's Magazine* viewed negatively the classroom use of source documents. These dissenting perspectives contributed to the ongoing lively debate about history instruction in the first decades of this century. Several authors opposed outright or thought that the use of sources should be extremely limited in the secondary and elementary curriculum. For example, Henry Elson argued that some teachers who used source documents tended to emphasize historical method above the acquisition of information.

> The new method simply means that history should be taught largely if not chiefly through the sources; that is, by constantly taking a class back to the sources. The historian must go to the fountains, it is true, and college classes should be led to them frequently; but high school classes only occasionally (Elson 1910, 219).

Elson and others believed that the use of source documents retarded instructional progress and, in a given period of time, students would learn less history. Some opponents also questioned students' ability to exercise discriminating judgment in their appraisal of historical sources. They believed that students were immature and "undeveloped mentally" (Fay 1909, 67). Indeed, Elson even doubted most teachers' ability to evaluate sources. He cautioned:

> Let the teacher of the secondary school remember that a great majority of pupils will never get a higher education, that their time should be employed to the best possible advantage, and that one great historic truth of world-wide significance, properly impressed on their minds, is worth far more than all they can gain by months of plodding research among sources (1910, 219).

Certainly, opponents did not advocate the complete abandonment of sources in history teaching. They held that a few documents, such as the Declaration of Independence and Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, were sacred and should be read by all students (see Maier 1997). The opponents of the source method, however, believed that sources should be used in an extremely limited manner and not at the expense of routine classwork (Elson 1910, Fay 1909). In support of his approach, Fling wrote that the aim of the history teacher should not be to inculcate students with "the methodological search for the truth" but to introduce students to the domain of history (1909, 5). However, in opposing the source document method, Charles Fay explained that, "the only place for the 'Sources' is in the hands of the teacher and not in those of the pupils. I do not believe in the so-called 'Source-Method' of history teaching in secondary schools; it is unsuited to the mental capacity of the pupils. . ." (1909, 68).

Middle of the road perspectives about the use of sources were also expressed in *The History Teacher's Magazine*. H. R. Tucker claimed that few teachers could carry out Editor Fling's theory of history instruction. Even so, he believed the entire 'source method' reform should not be dismissed casually. Furthermore, he believed that Fling had aroused teachers from their lethargy and the one-book method of teaching (Tucker 1910). Tucker further argued that history instruction should develop students' discriminating judgment as well as furnish information. Through the appropriate use of sources, Tucker believed, both goals could be obtained. In his article on reference work, Clarence Perkins acknowledged that the curriculum of the first two years of high school history was extensive, but that a teacher should still try to insist on students doing some collateral reading (1911, 123).

The nature of the debate about the use of sources in subsequent volumes of *The History Teacher's Magazine* changed. The number of articles that opposed the use of sources in history teaching declined, at the same time interest in implementation of the use of sources increased. Although one author cautioned against assigning extensive collateral reading on all historical periods, since "many a high school student can hardly paraphrase accurately a few pages of simple prose," most articles on the subject accepted the legitimacy of the use of source documents (Perkins 1911, 123). Furthermore, they advanced various ways of accommodating sources into classroom instruction (Wolfson 1910, Thompson 1911, Hoover 1911, Westermann 1913, Hamilton 1914). In addition, earlier claims that students were mentally incapable to evaluate source documents almost entirely disappeared from later articles.

The first clear evidence of the expanded use of sources in actual history teaching was the increasing number of source books that were reviewed and advertised in *The History Teacher's Magazine*. In the 1890s, for example, Mary Sheldon Barnes asserted that locating and obtaining sources was a difficult challenge for teachers (1899). Within the next two decades, teachers welcomed the addition of new and obviously needed source books. When Managing Editor Albert McKinley reviewed H. W. Caldwell and C. E. Persinger's *A Source History of the United States from Discovery (1492) to the End of Reconstruction (1877)* he wrote, "It was but natural when the study of history came to be taken up seriously in colleges and schools, that teachers and scholars should desire to get away from insipid literary generalizations, and taste the freshness of original sources" (1910, 105).

By 1916, however, a plethora of source books were available. For example, the reviewer of William MacDonald's *Documentary Source-Book of American History 1606-1898* wrote that "thanks to the work of Professor MacDonald himself, Professor Hart, and of many others, we are well supplied with source-books for several periods of American History" (Anon 1909, 18). Furthermore, by the fourth and fifth year of publication of *The History Teacher's Magazine*, the topics for source books became more specialized. Rather than a general source book for use in U.S. History, authors produced more focused source books, such as Allen Johnson's *Readings in American Constitutional History 1776-1876*, W.C. Ford's multi-volume *The Writings of John Quincy Adams* and *The Proceedings of the Hartford Convention 1814* (Johnson 1913, Ford 1913, Directors of the Old South Work 1912). All of the aforementioned books were reviewed in *The History Teacher's Magazine* (Tucker 1914, Chase 1913b, Chase 1913a). In addition, these and dozens of other source books were advertised in this publication. In addition, several reviewers started indicating that the market for the compilation of sources was becoming flooded. For example, in his review of Arthur Innes' *A Source Book of English History, Vol. I*, Lawrence Larson wrote, "Since Cheyney's *Readings* was published, there has been no great need for such a work. . ." (1913, 8).

Another dimension of the expanded use of sources was the increase in the variety and types of materials that were suggested for classroom instruction. If teachers could not bring authentic historical artifacts into the classroom, they could use illustrative materials. Each volume of *The History Teacher's Magazine* included several articles on the use of lantern slides, models, wall pictures, postcards, photographs, art, and, by 1914, even silent film. In addition, documents such as the newspaper and government proceedings and treaties also were suggested as source materials. Indeed, Lucy Maynard Salmon, a Vassar professor and member of the Committee of Seven, wrote two lengthy books on the historian's use of the newspaper as a source of information (1923a, 1923b). If teachers had access to local museums, students actually could see historical artifacts first-hand. Several articles explained how history teachers could use museums to increase student understanding of history (W. 1910, Page 1914, Sanford 1911).

A third dimension of the increased use of sources during the decade of the 1910's was the remarkably innovative work of the New England History Teachers Association (NEHTA). This organization had commissioned the 1902 report *Historical Sources in the Schools, Report of a Select Committee* and its work was recorded in *The History Teacher's Magazine* (New England History Teachers Association 1902). The NEHTA's Committee on Historical Materials organized a permanent exhibition of "Aids to the Visualization of History" in July, 1910, with the assistance of Professor Henry Johnson, who had created a similar exhibit at Teachers College (Andrews 1910). The NEHTA exhibited this display during that year's convention of the National Education Association. Later, the exhibit acquired a permanent home at The Fenwick in Boston. The exhibit portrayed various kinds of historical materials, such as maps, wall pictures, models and charts and provided a place for their study and comparison. Previously, no such facility was available to teachers. This exhibit's popularity was attested by its subsequent move from The Fenwick to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Cushing 1914). The idea of history museums which teachers could access, quickly spread across the nation. In fact, the Northern Illinois State Normal School in Dekalb created its own historical museum for teacher use (Page 1914). In addition, professors at the Summer School of the South at The University of Tennessee in Knoxville, also assembled an historical exhibit (Bond 1914).

Two additional pieces of evidence reveal increased use of sources in historical instruction. In 1913, *The History Teacher's Magazine* published a nationwide index of illustrative materials for history classes. The editors arranged the index into two parts. The first listed dealers of historical materials in alphabetical order and the second comprised of a subject index of history courses and corresponding historical materials dealers. No such comprehensive list had been available previously (McKinley 1913). The subject index included access to materials for numerous periods and topics of historical study. They included, pre-historic, Greek, Roman, Christian, Medieval, European, English, French, German, Recent Events, American, Economic and Industrial, Architecture, and Art. Many subsequent articles in *The History Teacher's Magazine* referenced the list and materials that had been purchased through dealers on the list. In addition, some of the historical museums and exhibits that were established gathered materials through the dealers on the historical materials list (Bond 1914, 124; Hamilton 1914, 83).

Second, a new kind of source book appeared on the market. In Fred Morrow Fling's review of Frederic Duncalf and August C. Krey's *Parallel Source Problems in Medieval History*, he wrote:

> It would be safe to predict that the volume entitled "Parallel Source Problems in Medieval History" edited by Professor Duncalf of The University of Texas, and Mr. Krey of the University of Illinois, will occupy a prominent place in the history of teaching history. It is not simply a source book: it is a new kind of source book. . . It is the first book of the kind that has been published in English, but it is not probable that it will be the last (1913, 112).

Duncalf and Krey's source book differed from its predecessors primarily because it presented several documents on the same topic, thereby making possible the critical study of problems in the use historical evidence. Previous source books had not offered such comparative collections. Rather, they tended to be comprised of chronological compilations of documents. E.D. Dow also acknowledged that the Duncalf and Krey book was a new type of source book because it organized materials around problems (Dow 1913, 85). The publication of this source book opened the way for similar problem-type source books to be developed in other fields of history.

Recent advocacy of the use of sources properly can not be heralded as a recent or new development in American history instruction (e.g. Barton 1997, Downey and Levstik 1991, Stahl et al. 1996, VanSledright and Brophy 1992, Wineburg 1991). Although this emphasis presently remains the subject of much recent literature on historical thinking, the use of sources in history instruction is nearly as old as is the inclusion of history in the secondary and lower school curriculum. The nature of the debate about the types of sources and their use in history instruction, however, has evolved over the past century. Most recently, arguments have been propounded that even elementary school children can use sources to enhance their historical understanding.

The first years of publication of *The History Teacher's Magazine* clearly revealed the evolution in the advocacy of implementing source documents in history instruction. During the early Progressive era, educators debated the value of such sources. By 1916, the use of source documents clearly was a fixture of history education literature and teaching. Although a few advocates of 'the textbook method' remained, the debate was about the degree of use rather than the kind of use. Furthermore, the number of source books and the types of sources available increased. Finally, organizations and permanent exhibits were developed in order to facilitate the history teachers use of source material during instruction. Certainly, the use of source documents in school history courses has made the pageantry of history much more vivid for millions of American students.

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Advocacy of Environment Education in Two Social Studies Journals between 1960 and 1980

Tsz Ngong Lee
University of Texas at Austin

In recent years, some advocates of environmental education have argued that besides science teachers, other teachers, especially social studies teachers, should promote environmental education (EE) in their curricula. But have social studies educators accepted this argument? What have they said about environmental education? This paper will address these questions by examining articles published in two social studies journals between 1960 and 1980. This paper will begin with articles found in *Social Studies* and then will continue with articles in *The Journal of Geography*.

A review of the articles published in *Social Studies* reveals that environmental education was not a significant topic. From 1960 to 1980, a total of 971 articles were published. Although articles on various aspects of EE increased toward the end of this twenty-year period, they are by no means abundant. These articles can be divided into several groups according to their main content. The first group discussed the status of social studies and/or advocated curriculum reform. These articles may mention environmental education as a minor point. The second group discussed the relationship between social studies and environmental education, with the latter featured prominently. The third group described specific environmental issues such as pollution and overpopulation. These articles usually recommended social studies educators put a stronger emphasis on teaching those issues. The fourth group included articles that were more philosophical or theoretical. For example, they discussed and debated the relationship between humans and nature, or the importance of values and attitudes in EE. Finally, a fifth group of articles dealt with instructional issues. These "how to" articles suggested methods of teaching environmental issues. Some articles included elements of more than one of the above categories. The main points discussed in these groups of articles, as well as some examples, are described below.

Of the five groups of articles, the first group is frequently found in the 1960s. Typically, these articles reviewed the contemporary situation of social studies education and provided recommendations for improvement (Monier 1960, Higgins 1964, Gall 1966, Bradley 1968). Some articles also surveyed the state laws that governed public school teaching or the opinion of social studies teachers on curriculum change (Moreland 1962, Lowe 1964). These articles' recommendations varied, but many stressed the significance of the relationship between humans and society, the need to teach concepts, or the importance of incorporating current events in curriculum. However, in none of these articles was the introduction of environmental education or conservation mentioned as an important potential change for social studies. In only one article was "protecting and conserving human and natural resources" named as one of the ten social science "generalizations" which can be used to reorganize the social studies curriculum (Higgins 1964, 56).

Although articles that discussed general curricular issues neglected the possibility of introducing environmental education, the second group of articles did mention EE explicitly. Some articles continued to emphasize conservation (High 1968, Mings 1971), while another recommended the teaching of environmental history (Strong 1974). One article mentioned the possibility of "saving the earth" through cooperation between science and social studies educators (Hepburn and Simpson 1975). Another concentrated on improving teacher education (Rowley-Rotunno 1976).

Two topics clearly dominated the third group of articles on specific environmental issues. The first topic is population growth. The second topic is energy as a resource and an environmental issue. For the first topic, at least one article appeared every year from 1965 to 1968, with another one in 1976 (Dykstra 1965, Vent and Vent 1966, Brodbelt 1967, Johnson and Johnson 1968, Anderson 1968). These articles concentrated on the situation of world population growth and the potential for disaster, particularly in developing countries. Social studies teachers were urged to pay more attention to teaching about these potentials. However, the emphasis was clearly on overpopulation's adverse impact on human societies, not on its environmental consequences. The articles which discussed energy as a resource were more focused on the environmental impact of increasing energy consumption (McCollum 1976, McCollum 1977, Joyner 1979, Fowler and Carey 1980). For instance, McCollum provided lesson plans on how to make students aware of the relationship between the environment and the use of electricity.

Compared with the first three groups, the fourth and fifth groups contain far fewer articles. Hemmer's article on how values and attitudes influence environmental behavior, and how religion and education help shape future generations, is unusual (1976). Most of the articles discussed a single aspect of teaching environmental issues.

In summarizing the findings for articles found in *Social Studies*, several points can be made. First, the total number of articles that have clear connection with environmental education is not great. Many articles discussed curricular matters, but most omitted EE. Second, the emerging environmental movement of the 1960s did not seem to have significant impact on social studies educators until the 1970s. Third, social studies educators appeared to be most interested in two environmental issues: Overpopulation in the 1960s and energy resources in the 1970s. Their interests clearly reflected the broader academic, economic, and social concerns of the two decades. Finally, not many articles were written on practical implementation of environmental education. Many more articles concerned what to teach than on instructional considerations how to teach.

Articles about EE in *The Journal of Geography* can be placed in the same five groups utilized for *Social Studies*. Articles in group one were relatively abundant during the 1960s. These articles covered a range of topics: describing new trends in geographic education for different levels of schools, analyzing the curriculum reform movement, and outlining objectives of geographic education (Whittemore 1960, Kennamer Jr. 1967, Scarfe 1968). Most of these articles did not mention environmental education explicitly. An exception is Casper, who argued that relationships between people, resources, and environment should constitute objectives for geographic education from grades four through twelve (1961). Besides Casper, several authors also mentioned outdoor education and conservation as important themes in geography. However, greater emphasis was usually paid to other objectives of geography education, such as promoting international understanding, and acquiring generalizations on human activities' distribution throughout the globe (Hill 1960, Scarfe 1968).

In contrast to the first, the second group of articles directly examined the relationship between geography and environmental education. These articles can be found all through the twenty-year period, but those that were written in the 1960s tended to relate geography to conservation education or to the management of resources (Parson 1961, Hill 1962, Volk 1967). Volk argued that any course that dealt with resources and geography must not lose sight of the fundamental issue that the needs of man must be satisfied by using natural resources in order to sustain quality life. On the other hand, nearly all of the articles published in the 70s had the terms environmental education, ecosystem studies, or environmental studies in their titles (Renner 1970; Hill 1970; Mason and Kuhn 1971; Emery, Davey, and Milne 1974; Towler and Brenchley 1975). The authors either argued for more direct involvement in EE by geographers, or suggested incorporation of environmental issues in the teaching of geography.

For group three, a large number of articles on various environmental issues can be found (Barton 1960, Harper 1966, Visher 1966). Geographers did not restrict their attention to one or two big issues. These articles described conservation history, analyzed cultural factors behind environmental behavior, examined different conceptions of man-environment relationship in geography, and proposed alternative human-environment relationship.

All the above findings must be viewed with caution because this study is, strictly speaking, not a proper content analysis. The articles were selected and read by the author personally, and the factor of subjectivity must be remembered. There is also no attempt to indicate the relative abundance of articles in each group by computing their percentages. Nevertheless, the author believed that this simple exercise could still shed light on the issue of why social studies educators tend not to promote environmental education in their curricula. Simply put, social studies educators were not highly vocal on the issue of environmental education.

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Coming Full Circle: 100 years of Citizenship Education

Stephen Correia
St. Norbert College

Recent efforts at school reform have prompted the re-emergence of a 100 year old debate regarding the contribution of the academic study of history towards the education of democratic citizens. For 75 years the field of social studies has reigned supreme in its educational and curricular role as the leader of citizenship education. However, the 1990s has seen increased momentum towards efforts to dismantle the field of social studies and reestablish history as the curriculum cornerstone of citizenship education. At the heart of this debate about school reform is the concept of citizenship, and the place of history education in contributing to the education of a democratic citizen.

For over 100 years American education has seen numerous models of citizenship education developed to serve both curricular and political needs. As schools have undergone periodic reforms, so too have changing conceptions of citizenship manifested themselves within schools and their missions. Initial efforts at standardizing school curricula focusing upon citizenship education occurred on a national level in the 1890s, and were led by the National Education Association. The number of released national reports, starting with the Committee of Ten's "Conference on History, Civil Government and Political Economy" (hereafter Committee of Ten) in 1893 to the end of World War I was frantic as no less than five reports were issued. This period of frenzied reform activity has, however, been surpassed in the last 15 years. Starting with the 1983 release of the *National Council for the Social Studies Task Force on Scope and Sequence*, this most recent 15 year span has seen the release of no less than eight separate national curriculum reform reports directed to improving citizenship education in schools. In the 1990s a large number of individual state curriculum reports have also been developed with the intention to reform citizenship education.

The constant issuing of curriculum reform reports is a reality of education. Ignored shelves in libraries, often frequented only by curious graduate students, are filled with reform reports released with fanfare and promise which in short order were catalogued to gather dust next to the previous parade of reform reports. However, to summarily dismiss all past curriculum reports at citizenship reform as utopian, and ultimately unsuccessful, is at the peril for anyone seeking insight into the era, ideas and motivation of the developers of each past, and present, curriculum report.

Because the pace of present citizenship reform efforts continues unabated and shows no intent of letting up, it is to an historical review of these past curriculum reform efforts that one may look for insight into recent reports. Whether the curriculum report had history, geography, a social science, or social studies as its central curricular focus, each report held a view of citizenship which reflected commonly held beliefs by those issuing the respective report. This paper presents the thesis that there has been a return to the definition of citizenship forwarded by educational reformers of the 1890's which characterizes much of the reform efforts of the 1990s.

The Committee of Ten formally established history as the primary vehicle for citizenship education in schools. The report declared itself to be "the most important educational document ever issued in the United States" (N.E.A. 1893, III).

Given the composition of the membership of the Committee of Ten, the almost 100 individual members of the nine committees were comprised entirely of white males, such that the report's outcomes were not surprising. Each member was approaching the zenith of their respective educational careers, and a review of membership shows most were either professors in higher education, headmasters from select private schools, or principals from established urban high schools. At the time of the report's release, less than three of the members lived west of the Mississippi River. It is little surprise then that the document reflected an eastern vision of an orderly, logical society, which could be taught to students through an historical examination of the institutions and events which culminated in present society. Simply, the report conceived of a good citizen as someone knowledgeable of the history of the institutions, values and beliefs of the dominant society of which the members themselves had risen to positions of power and respect.

The model of citizenship forwarded by this document was one of cultural transmission, including a fixed body of historical knowledge to be garnered from historical instruction. The report stated that "the minds of young children be stored with some of the elementary facts and principles of their subjects which the adult student will surely need" (N.E.A. 1893, 16) The document intended to serve as a device to ensure the extension of a common core of historical knowledge to be passed on to the next generation.

The report states that "History has long been commended as a part of the education of a good citizen." (N.E.A. 1893, 169). That vision of a good citizen was intended to include the history of America as the document states "we Americans know our country is great, better than we know why it is great"(N.E.A. 1893, 169). Therefore history was to serve to inculcate youth to accept the values of a common national vision, come to share those values and work to preserve them. It was hoped through a systematic study of history students would come to understand how and why this shared vision of nationalism came to be formed as well as understand it was for the betterment of all in society to both accept and support those values.

The centrality of historical knowledge to citizenship education was reaffirmed in the 1899 report of the Committee of Seven issued by the American Historical Association. The report stated that history was unique in its ability to provide students with "some sense of the duties of citizenship." Tinkering with the curriculum program forwarded by the Committee of Ten, the Committee of Seven argued that the past had unique insights to offer democratic citizens, and therefore history need not only have a present, immediate application to be of value to a democratic society. What these two committees had affirmed was that it was history, for all its unique insights and perspectives on the progress of human development, that would be of most value to a democratic citizen.

As the twentieth Century dawned, and moving along parallel, but not yet intersecting tracks, the social sciences were poised to challenge history's claim of uniqueness in the education of citizens. Social scientists held history, due to epistemological and methodological constraints, was unable to address the present problems facing society. To that end, the social scientists, led by the emerging fields of sociology and political science, "viewed the school curriculum as fertile ground" (Smith 1995, 394). With the social sciences gaining in legitimacy, citizenship education began to assume a greater place in the study of existing social problems. If history could contribute to that understanding, it was to be included. If history insisted on concentrating only in the past, it was to move aside for disciplines trained to address society's immediate needs.

The social sciences made only modest gains in the school curriculum for the first decade of the new century. It was not until the National Education Association convened the Commission for the Reorganization of Secondary Education (CRSE), in 1912, that the social sciences seriously challenged history as the central curriculum discipline to educate democratic citizens.

In 1912 Thomas Jesse Jones, a Columbia University Ph.D. in sociology, and an instructor in social studies at the Hampton Institute, was tapped to be the chair of the Committee on Social Science. It was likely Jones that changed the name from social science to social studies. It would be quickly evident that this committee was set to propose a radical new method of educating democratic citizens.

With Jones, and others that shared his vision of citizenship, leading the newly christened Committee on Social Studies, it is little wonder that present needs, and not historical perspective, became accepted as the primary focus of citizenship education. That is, with the social, political and economic challenges created by immigration and industrial development, educational leaders of this era felt compelled to address these problems immediately. History was still to have a place in citizenship education, but its role at the core of citizenship curriculum was forever altered (Correia 1994).

Social efficiency was the concept guiding the vision of democratic education forwarded by the CRSE. Education for a student to assume a personally rewarding, and socially responsible position in life was how the CRSE reformers understood social efficiency. The wants and needs of the individual were always to be weighed against the greater needs of society. The report of the CRSE resulted in the comprehensive high school which still dominates the nation's landscape today. In this instance, democratic citizenship was interpreted to mean a high school which was developed to serve the needs of all youth, and not exclusively in strictly academic terms.

Accompanying this acceptance of the social sciences, in the form of the social studies in the school curriculum, was a redefinition of democratic citizenship. These educational leaders of the CRSE held that individual needs were not universal, and were by definition, unique to each citizen. This notion was slowly supplanting the existing concept of a rigid standard of citizenship. Within the practice of citizenship education, the high schools soon assumed the mantle of the peoples college. Higher education, rightly or wrongly, came to be viewed as the purview of the elite, and the comprehensive high school was developed to assume the education of democratic citizens.

The combination of changing social demographics in the United States and the rise of the social sciences in academia translated to both a conception and practice of democratic citizenship which was more fluid than those held in the past. Whereas in the past citizenship education was understood within a rigid conception of academic success and mastery of subject matter, those forwarded by the CRSE were intended to prepare students to function as contributing members of society.

The report issued by the CRSE in 1918, *Cardinal Principals of Education*, stated that a true Democratic education "should develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits, and powers" to benefit both the individual and the society in which they were to live (CRSE 1918, 9). Therefore, while academics would contribute to citizenship education, it would not be the ONLY vehicle to define a proper democratic education.

The composition of members of both the CRSE and its various subcommittees reflected a new age of educational thinker. The CRSE indeed was a reflection of the emerging, college educated professional of the 1910's. All of the members attended colleges east of the Mississippi River. In short, while not departing radically from the demographic composition of the Committee of Ten, intellectually this group represented a distinctive change in philosophical orientation from the earlier report. These members were educational professionals. They brought with them the recent educational and psychological findings to guide their thinking of how schools in general, and democratic citizenship in particular, should be developed and implemented in schools.

The social studies as a curricular field gained nation-wide acceptance due to the efforts of the CRSE. No longer would history have a special claim to democratic citizenship education. Just as nature studies become the organizing theme for the natural sciences, the social studies became the curriculum method to orient democratic citizenship education to the study of society.

Professional historians did not abandon the schools totally with the release of the CRSE report. However, given the rise of the professional educator, the field of social studies became the filter through which historians were relegated to pass in order to exert any noted influence upon schools. The social studies place of dominance in the academic preparation of democratic citizens was reaffirmed in the 1930s with the work of the Commission on the Social Studies. Representing the legitimacy of the social sciences, historians contributed, but did not dominate, this committee's work. The result of the Commissions' work was an extensive multi-volume set of publications culminating in the 1934 *Conclusions and Recommendations*. Affirming the centrality of the social studies, and not either the social sciences nor history, the view of democratic citizenship forwarded by this group's work was hardly surprising. Academic success as defined by rigid areas of discipline organization and a set body of knowledge, as defined by both the Committee of Ten and Committee of Seven, were absent.

The Commission wrote that the purpose of democratic citizenship education was to ensure that students had the "knowledge of realities and capacity to cooperate (which) are indispensable to the development and even perdurance of American society"(AHA 1934, 35). Explicitly the report cited as dangerous any "continued emphasis in education on the traditional ideas and values of economic individualism," which if left unchecked in schools would result in "conflicts, contradictions, maladjustment's, and perils" (AHA 1934, 35). In short, traditional methods of curriculum organization, including the discipline of history, were not only unwise, they were downright dangerous.

Professional historians slow retreat from involvement in schools, which in reality began before the start of World War I, was abated briefly with the Commission's efforts. However, as Novick notes, "(H)istorians, on the whole, ignored" the report (Novick 1988, 190). With professional educators left free to fashion schools as they saw fit, the vision of democratic citizenship held by these leaders was unchecked in schools.

Occasional challenges to the social, non-academic definition of democratic citizenship did indeed occur. The cases of challenges to the textbooks of Harold Rugg, or the 1950s efforts of Arthur Bestor, did for a short time catch the attention of the public. However, as soon as the special interest groups dissipated, educationists once again found themselves responsible for the education of democratic citizens, and the social studies remained the curricular vehicle of choice.

"It is a matter of basic civil rights," National Education Association president Bob Chase stated in a 1997 article in *The Christian Science Monitor* regarding his support for academic standards. Yet another permutation of democratic citizenship has manifested itself with the 1990's debate over national academic standards. In the past democratic citizenship was, in the case of the use of history in schools, a mastery of subject-matter on which to rely for sound judgment. Social studies was borne of the perceived need to educate students to function within present society and to contribute to the betterment of society. This new variety of democratic citizenship continues in the tradition of democratic citizenship by associating a sound academic background with a basic civil right.

For the last century the use of citizenship to legitimize academic reform has been a constant theme in our nation's schools. In the 1990's a new call for democratic citizenship education has emerged. Those advocating this position in a skillful use of higher academic standards as a necessary component of basic civil rights, have successfully melded the seemingly incompatible concepts of individual need with specific, prescribed, discipline-based instruction. In the past individual need meant schools were to provide courses to meet the wide variety of academic and vocational tracks a students was likely to follow later in life. In the 1990's these perceptions and interpretations of individual needs have narrowed, as was the case in the 1890's, to mean a stringent, narrow academic program that all are expected to master.

As historians rediscovered the nation's schools in the late 1980s the language of citizenship was resurrected to pave the way for public acceptance of discipline-based, academic reform. As has been the case in almost all educational reform movements, the impetus for change in citizenship education in general, and history-based instruction specifically, was from outside the classroom and not led by classroom teachers.

It was with the release of the 1987 Bradley Commission on History in the Schools report *Building a History Curriculum* that historians seriously challenged the then 60 year old notion that social studies was the most viable method to educate citizens. The report stated, in arguing that history deserved a central place in the curriculum, that "the knowledge and habits of mind to be gained from the study of history are indispensable to the education of citizens in a democracy" (Gagnon 1989, 7). Citizenship required a mastery of knowledge of United States History, and any compromise regarding subject-matter competence was to be at the peril of the individual and the society in which they were to function. Through history, a background of material could be considered prior to any decision-making. Leadership of the Bradley Commission was by those outside the mainstream of public school teachers. The demand that history be returned to its central place in the schools was predictable. As was the case nearly 100 years before, democratic citizenship in the late 1980's was being defined in a specific, academic sense of information necessary to be able to function as a citizen.

On the heels of the Bradley Commission's report, the National Endowment for the Humanities funded the National Center for History in the Schools (hereafter Center). It was the Center which spearheaded the development of the controversial National History Standards. No matter the result of this groups efforts, it was how these members of the Center defined citizenship, and the role of historical knowledge in that definition, that make its efforts distinctive.

Reversing a 60 year trend is never an easy effort, and the intransigence to change in public schools is a tall order for any reform movement. As Tyack and Cuban note, "teachers tend to be allergic to utopian claims for reform", and "are often the people blamed when grandiose innovations fail" (Tyack 1995, 132). The Bradley Commission was sensitive to this fear and did state that the classroom teacher was to be a "equal partner" in the process of reform. In reality, both the Center and the Bradley Commission were special interest groups drawing their financial and intellectual support from sources other than teachers.

The debacle of the release of the two separate standards documents by the Center reveals just how little agreement among historians and the public actually exists relative to a common understanding of United States History. Whether naive or foolhardy, the Center's reform efforts have met with very mixed success. The Center chose to be specific in its curricular recommendations, and as such alienated significant , and politically powerful, portions of the citizenry. However, based upon its fixed notion of democratic citizenship, the report could hardly have issued anything different. That is, by choosing to make specific historical knowledge a prerequisite for competent, democratic citizenship, it was natural that not all of history, and not all of the special interest groups, could be included. By not including all of the history of the country, the group revealed a fatal flaw of the historian; namely choice.

The support the National Center for History in the Schools needed from classroom teachers to make its reforms work in the schools did not exist. Selected pockets of strong support for the Center's efforts surely existed, however, this was as much due to the extensive efforts of individual academics and professional historians as to a philosophical acceptance of its conception of democratic citizens. Operating by design outside the mainstream of professional educators, the Center was at the mercy of special interest groups. Grass-roots national support for the Center's efforts quickly disappeared, if it ever existed at all. Therefore, despite the Center's leadership claims of a merging of the interests of educators and the professional community of historians, in reality there had never been a true grass roots efforts to garner substantive support for history reform (Nash 1997, 113-114).

A distinguishing feature of education in the United States is the practice of local control. A fiercely protected tradition, it has served to allow local communities to fashion their schools to meet local needs and reflect local values. Any efforts at national educational reform to challenge such a deeply held notion has to pass the litmus test of whether the said reform challenges local control, and if so, is the result of said change to be a positive one for the local community. If the answer to any of these questions is negative, the implementation of any reform is likely to not find any lasting support in the local schools. Whether the issue is desegregation, textbook adoption, or curriculum revision, local districts have successfully kept "outsiders" from forcing their values upon local districts. It has only been in the case of a national consensus, and substantial financial commitment from the federal government, as in desegregation, that local mores and customs have been successfully altered.

No such ground swell of national consensus exists for changing the practice of democratic citizenship education. Despite claims of high academic standards being a basic civil right, national consensus has failed to gather the requisite national support. With teachers considered to be at the very least suspect, and often the cause of the problem of poor history instruction, teacher are not going to be the source for substantive curricular reform of citizenship education. If the National Center for History in the Schools hopes to implement their sweeping changes in schools, teachers must be included in the process. Currently the National Council for the Social Studies serves the interests of these citizenship teachers, and has done so for over 75 years. Upstart reform organizations, no matter what national figures lead them or how well funded, if seeking to radically alter educational practices, are likely to find schools unreceptive to proposals for substantive change.

What divides the advocates of history and social studies is how both fields conceive of citizenship education. The academic discipline of history represents a long tradition of professional historians striving to provide insight into the collective memory of human existence. Professional historians understand history to be a contributing factor to the education of a democratic citizen. Even claims of history providing to the student "habits of the mind" seem to hearken to the days of the psychological theories of mental faculties much less than current learning theories (Gagnon 1989, 25).

Frankly, for a discipline based on the understanding of the past, education reformers have proven themselves woefully ignorant of the limited success of previous educational reform efforts as well as the methods by which educators are prepared to teach in the 1990's. If this ignorance of modern teacher preparation is by design, these reformers are communicating loudly their contempt for teacher education. If this ignorance is by oversight, one must question the qualifications of these reformers to fashion any sort of change in an arena of which they have little understanding.

Social studies sees as its central purpose the education of democratic citizens. Whereas historians see their field as providing a convenient by-product of information for citizens in a democracy, social studies sees history, along with the social sciences, as contributing to the overall education of citizenry.

The distinction is noteworthy. Given the erratic track record of professional historians in working with the teachers in the nation's schools, nearly a century of neglect exists. What the social studies has managed to do is serve the definition of democratic citizenship education by defining that broadly, including teachers in its efforts, and remaining dedicated to the education of democratic citizens.

Until advocates for a history based curriculum can build and maintain support networks for teachers, it is unlikely they will be successful in substantively altering the practice of teaching. The insistence of a rigid conception of democratic citizenship as has re-emerged in recent reform efforts, will both splinter and preclude a national consensus of support. Reform efforts which reflect a dynamic view of democratic citizenship and are inclusive are most likely to result in lasting, positive change in our nation's schools.

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Schooling and the Politics of Fear: Florida's *Americanism versus Communism* Social Studies Curriculum, 1961-1991

Karen L. Riley
Auburn University at Montgomery

In the 1960s school administrators and teachers in Orange County, Florida implemented a new social studies program into the curriculum based upon Public Law (PL) 233.064 (1961) of the Florida State Statutes. Florida lawmakers entitled this new law, *Americanism versus Communism: a required high school course*. They mandated thirty hours of instruction for all high school students in the state of Florida as a requirement for graduation. *Americanism versus Communism* or AVC as both teachers and students commonly called the newly-mandated course, was based upon a seven-part law. Its statement of intent referred to Communism as a political ideology that was in conflict with the principles of Democracy. Additionally, the statute pointed to a growing global fear that student groups were especially susceptible to exploitation and manipulation. Therefore, reasoned lawmakers, free people everywhere were challenged to meet and defeat the dark forces of communism.

According to the law's formulators, the most expedient method of meeting this challenge was to provide students with "a thorough understanding of the entire communist movement, including its history, doctrines, objectives and techniques." Subsequently, teachers taught the tenets of Communism, while Americanism was supposed to be portrayed as the only reasonable political system of a free world. The title of the course, also mandated by law, implied a great political and economic contest between two rivals, although the word "Americanism" is neither a political nor economic system. According to the goals of the new curriculum, the course was designed as a bulwark against Communism, in that its primary purpose was to instill "in the minds of the students a greater appreciation of democratic processes, freedom under law, and the will to preserve that freedom." Other goals included student understandings of the American economic system as the one which "produces higher wages, higher standards of living, greater personal freedom and liberty than any other system of economics on earth" (Public Law (PL) 233.064, Florida Code 1961).

In advancing these ideas, the wording of the statue urged teachers to warn students about the misery of living under "godless" Communism, the political and economic system of the Soviet Union, the United States' greatest peace-time enemy. Accordingly, lawmakers charged teachers with placing "particular emphasis upon the dangers of communism, the ways to fight Communism, the evils of communism, the fallacies of Communism, and the false doctrines of Communism" (Florida Code, 1961). They went so far as to insist that the State Textbook Council and the State Department of Education use the official reports of the House committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security subcommittee of the United States Congress as instructional guides. Moreover, none of the textual materials selected for Florida schools, or any teacher assigned to teach the *Americanism versus Communism* course, reminded lawmakers, were permitted to favor Communism or present it as preferable to the system of government of the United States. Florida legislators, either out of ignorance, or a certain superiority, even claimed that the free-enterprise system was indigenous to the United States.

Consequently, Florida lawmakers likely viewed students as natural candidates for exploitation and in need of defensive measures, such as the newly-mandated AVC social studies program. This inoculation approach to curriculum development and implementation seemingly guaranteed that Florida youth were armed with an appropriate quantity of knowledge about the dangers of Communism, and as such would be in a position to serve the state well as classroom soldiers and citizens. Escalating involvement in Vietnam may have been one reason lawmakers sought to keep the image of the Soviet Union as the, "Evil Empire," fresh in the minds of graduating seniors, whose civic responsibilities might later include military service. Viewed from that perspective, the AVC curriculum had the potential to contribute to both the recruitment of soldiers, and as a public relations endeavor which would make military involvement in Vietnam palatable.

A second theory, and one advanced by a teacher interviewed for this paper, involved influential South Florida businessmen and former Cuban citizens. According to this teacher, powerful Cuban businessmen from Miami feared the Castro government and persuaded South Florida lawmakers that the interest of the state would best be served by mandating an anti-Communist program for high school students (Ellis 1997a). However, none of the curriculum materials surveyed to date are anti-Castro; most focused exclusively on the following: 1)fear of the Soviet republics as a threat to democratic forms of government; 2) Communist theory and doctrines; and, 3) infiltration techniques. The literature only mentioned other Communist countries in terms of the international nature of this odious political and economic system. One former teacher, John Sheehan, believed that Florida lawmakers "were aghast at the number of defections in Korea," which may offer some strength to the notion that the AVC program was, in part, a public relations endeavor (Sheehan 1997). However, one of the most plausible reasons behind the implementation of the AVC social studies program emanated from rumors and suppositions. Several former teachers believed that the one-time governor of Florida, Charlie Johns, along with his cronies, were behind the mandate.

It seems that Johns spearheaded a Communist "witch hunt" on the campus of the University of Florida during the 1950s, a decade marked by the highly profiled investigations of United States' Senator, Joe McCarthy. The zeal with which McCarthy went after suspected "commies" and "pinkos" is legendary. According to informants, Johns or his minions, in true McCarthy style, held inquisitions in local motel rooms in Gainesville, Florida, where brutal allegations toward University of Florida faculty members were leveled (Riley 1997). These "star chamber" meetings often resulted in firings or resignations. Hence, the 1961 law which mandated the *Americanism versus Communism* program was likely an outgrowth of the fear and hysteria whipped up by Charlie Johns and his supporters. Thus, their thinking likely went, if Florida students were inoculated before enrolling in one of Florida's institutions of higher learning, the teachings of communist professors not ferreted out by the Johns' Commission would at least make them resistant to subversive teachings.

Regardless of the impetus behind Florida's AVC program, several themes connect the recollections of former social studies teachers who were assigned to teach this controversial course, and who were interviewed for this paper: 1) refusal to accept the role of propagandist; 2) the desire to objectively present the course as either comparative economics or comparative governments; and, 3) an awareness that they as teachers were in charge of curriculum decisions in their respective classrooms. In most cases, these teachers accepted the instructional materials purchased by their school district, yet the approach they took was based largely on their personal and professional beliefs about teaching and learning. None of the teachers interviewed chose to teach AVC; most recalled the curriculum program as unpopular and disliked by both teachers and students, although some undoubtedly did not fit this profile.

As for former students who were interviewed for this paper, most recalled little of their AVC classroom days. Of those who were able to remember the course, most said that they knew it was propaganda, but that the propagandist nature of the course did not cause them to hold negative attitudes about the former Soviet Union. These recollections suggest that the efforts of former teachers to resist the strong indoctrination language of the state statutes by teaching the course as either the history of Russia, a comparison of capitalism to communism, or a comparison of democracy to communism, may account to some degree for this lack of overtly negative attitudes regarding the former Soviet Union. In any event, this paper is an initial look at Florida's *Americanism versus Communism* social studies curriculum between 1961 and 1981, with emphasis on how teachers taught the course and how it was received.

Although Florida's lawmakers mandated thirty hours of instruction for the mandated AVC course, schools in Orange County, Florida, implemented it as a full semester program of study. At Winter Park and Edgewater high schools, it was organized for large group instruction (Ellis 1997). Most schools in the county held this particular course in the auditorium, at least throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Sheehan, who began his teaching career in 1967, taught Russian language and culture at first. Later, in 1975, he taught the AVC course at Winter Park High School as one of three team teachers assigned to teach this large-group instruction class in the school's auditorium. He recalled that his colleagues invited him to teach part of the content, rather than simply monitor the auditorium and assist students. He took his place on stage and presented slides of the Russian people and discussed Russian culture. After this experience, recalled Sheehan, his fellow team teachers refused to allow him back on stage. In fact, he stated that "the two never let me show slides again" (Sheehan 1997). By contrast, he taught one smaller section of 44 students on his own, to which he taught AVC as a comparative economic and political system. He especially focused on Russian history, a subject for which he was well prepared.

According to Sheehan (1997), his colleagues were convinced that he was a "Yankee subversive, who painted everything in shades of gray," while he in turn concluded that they taught the AVC course according to the spirit of the state statutes, which is to say "right by the book." His impression is somewhat supported by another teacher, Jim Smith, a social studies teacher assigned to a rival school, who claimed that he had it on good account that teachers at Winter Park High School "white washed it [Americanism vs. Communism] by teaching that the Soviet Union was all bad and that we were all good" (Ibid). The supposed hard-line position taken by Sheehan's co-teachers may have stemmed, in part, from a certain degree of professional jealousy, rather than a blinded view of the United States as the "good country" and the Soviet Union as the "bad." Sheehan, a graduate of Indiana University with a Masters Degree in Slavic languages, and ten years teaching experience in the Russian language, likely overwhelmed them with his depth of knowledge on the subject of the Soviet Union. As a result, they retreated to the safety of the mandate, a place they probably believed the "Yankee subversive" would not follow, and stood firm on the use of the state adopted textbook written by J. Edgar Hoover, a book described by Sheehan as "awful" (Hoover 1958).

Jim Smith, a contemporary of Sheehan's, taught social studies at Edgewater High School, an early Orlando high school located less than five miles from neighboring Winter Park. Smith like Sheehan, used a comparative government approach and also taught the course with an emphasis on Russian history. Although most teachers interviewed claimed a distaste for the subject, Smith voiced an appreciation for the AVC course. However, both Smith and Sheehan experienced similar episodes of professional discrimination related to this controversial social studies program. For example, while Smith recollected that most of his social studies colleagues attempted to retain a measure of objectivity in their curriculum content and instructional strategies, some fellow teachers "didn't think much of the curriculum." Accordingly, at least one social studies teacher at Edgewater followed Hoover's book and its intent, according to Smith. Therefore, his claims of "We tried to show both sides," and "I went into the philosophy and theory and tried to show a comparison of the two" (Ibid), were often met with disapproval. He further recalled that he and fellow AVC teachers were "looked upon as Commies and Pinkos," despite the fact that the Orange County school board required all teachers to take a loyalty oath (Ibid). The name calling and disapproval, implied Smith, came from other faculty members who failed to understand the nature of the statutes or the course as he taught it (Smith 1997).

Danny Ellis, a colleague of Smith's at Edgewater, taught AVC as his first assigned course upon acceptance of a teaching position. He had been warned about the course by veteran teachers who believed that lawmakers had little business dictating to teachers how to teach a particular subject. Curriculum decision making, he inferred, was the domain of the professional teacher. Therefore, in his classroom, he approached the subject matter as a comparative study of modern governments. He, like others, emphasized Russian history, a topic students seemed to like. Some of these students were likely intrigued by the school's efforts to indoctrinate them, which may have piqued their curiosity about the so-called "Evil Empire." What ever the case, AVC as an indoctrination course became a widely-held belief among high school students (Ellis 1997).

Ellis, for all of his efforts at creating a critical perspective out of the highly prescriptive AVC statutes, withered under charges that he was a communist. He became hurt and puzzled over how his intentions to teach AVC as a comparative government course could be met with such hostility. A few of his course outlines, tucked in the back of one of his classroom file cabinets, attest to the veracity of his instructional approach. For example, one six-weeks' outline covered topics such as the "Introduction to Political Science and Modern Political Systems," and "Other Forms of Government: Britain and France," to "The Theory of Communism," "the Russian Revolution," "The Soviet System of Government," and the "American Federal Government (Ellis 1997b). Despite the distance of more than six years--when the AVC course went off Florida's statutes book--Ellis remains defensive about his years teaching *Americanism vs. Communism*. Of this experience, he remarked, "I didn't like being called a communist." He defended his curriculum decisions by maintaining that he planned for AVC as he did for any other social studies course: he reviewed available instructional materials, and consulted the state and county standards. His goal was to create units of study according to what he believed was in the best interest of his students. As an example, he recalled that recently, after reflection, he decided to drop the "Cold War" as a topic, because for him, it was simply not relevant today (Ellis 1997a).

Eleanor Kenyon joined the faculty at William R. Boone high school in 1962. She recalled the students during the early 1960s as individuals who were superior in intellect to those she later taught in the 1970s, at least they were more inquisitive. Her own liberal arts education from Dennison College, she believes, prepared her to take a critical view of history and a constructivist approach to teaching. Hence, her students conducted research and commented on the research of others. As a teacher, she seemed more interested in a student's ability to discern what information was left out, and why certain information was included, than in accumulating facts. Privately, she believed that the *Americanism vs. Communism* course "was the most ridiculous course [she] could ever imagine." Publicly, however, she taught AVC using the same instructional approach she used in other history courses, which meant a critical approach, or, as she said, "I taught them to think!" Kenyon refused to allow her students to accept the state's version of Communism, although she personally believed that the Communist system failed in a number of areas, such as individual motivation (Kenyon 1997).

A native New Yorker, Kenyon saw Florida as a bastion of conservatism, and was concerned about its influence on her students. According to her, "people down here don't think," and implied that Floridians possessed reactionary tendencies. To Kenyon, New York state schools did a superior job of preparing students for the responsibilities of adult life, one of which was to develop the ability to think independently. As a result, her background from Dennison College, combined with her observations of Floridians, likely led her to take a constructivist approach in the classroom. Thus, through critical examination, she stated that her students saw through the propaganda imbedded in the AVC program. However, Kenyon's students were not the only ones to hold a distaste for their AVC course of study. Dislike of the course was wide-spread, and according to Kenyon, was perpetuated through student rumors.

One of the most vocal opponents of the *Americanism vs. Communism* curriculum was Jessie Heasley, a former curriculum supervisor and social studies teacher from Orange County, Florida. To her, the state-mandated curriculum was nothing more than "propaganda." Heasley claimed that the course was a "reaction to McCarthyism and all that garbage--the John Birch Society, etc." Moreover, she said, "It was all propaganda and I decided that I simply would not be a propagandist." She expressed her concern that "those who didn't know," as she referred to the non-teaching public, expected her to "send out a bunch of brain-washed individuals," which, according to her, was "not why I taught." Like other former AVC teachers, Heasley used the opportunity the course provided to teach the history of Russia: "We knew so little about the Soviet Union, she said, that "it seemed to me to be a good time to teach Russian history." Despite the fact that she taught AVC for only one summer semester in the 1970s, to students who wished to acquire extra credits instead of the usual summer repeaters, she still holds strong opinions of the course and the state mandate (Heasley 1997).

Like most of the other teachers interviewed, Heasley rejected the state of Florida's approach to the *Americanism vs. Communism* course, not out of a lack of patriotism, but out of a sense of "rightness." All of these teachers expressed a deep and abiding belief that the system of government in the United States was the best. However, each stubbornly resisted what they perceived to be state intervention in the classroom for the purpose of indoctrination, when as social studies teachers, most tried to encourage their students to develop the skills of critical thinking. Their collective perception that the state's motive was a kind of "brain washing" endeavor, likely found expression in the classroom, and may account for negative student attitudes toward the course. What tends to support this claim is that while teachers know exactly why they opposed this state-mandated curriculum, former students interviewed for this paper lack any understanding as to how they came to dislike their AVC course.

Like other "special interest" curricula, the AVC course, as these interviewed teachers recalled, was not supported through in-service training. This lack of support for state-mandated educational programs, such as *Americanism vs. Communism*, seems to be a common oversight by zealous congressmen who often sacrifice the educational needs of teachers and students at the alter of the voting booth. However, this failure of vision is frequently mitigated by the very individuals whose needs are neglected. While Florida lawmakers may have had the power to pass education laws such as *the Americanism versus Communism* curriculum, Florida teachers, at least some of those in Orange County, had the power to poison their legal well, once behind the closed door of the classroom.

In the early years of implementation, most social studies teachers, without benefit of in-service training, or, the customary textbook, relied on the sensationalized treatment of Communism written by J. Edgar Hoover, entitled *Masters of Deceit: What the communist bosses are doing now to bring America to its knees*. Hoover denied in his opening remarks, however, that his was a sensationalized version of communism, yet he cautioned readers that the

Soviet system of government "would strip man of his belief in god, his heritage of freedom, his trust in love, justice, and mercy" (Hoover 1958). These strong words, used for the purpose of instilling fear, naturally overwhelmed his more cautionary rhetoric to Americans regarding the dangers of making false claims of sabotage, or exercising reasonable judgment if one found incriminating evidence.

Hoover's warning to America was contained in 352 pages under topics such as, "How communism Began," "The Communist Appeal in the United States," "The Communist Trojan Horse in Action," and "The Communist Underground." He sought to inform readers about the birth and growth of the communist movement and how the Soviets planned to take over the United States. One former student who attended a large-group instruction class in the mid-1960s at Winter Park High School, remembered the class as "boring," yet one which also gave her the feeling of "having to be alert," as though something were about to happen (Hardesty 1997). Another student recalled a movie entitled *The Wave*, which reminded her of the AVC course she took at Winter Park High (Ottinger 1997). However, the movie told the story of a real incident in Palo Alto, California, and concerned a classroom experiment on Nazism. Her analogy is likely based upon her impression of the AVC course as one of indoctrination, a dominant theme in the movie.

Initially, Hoover's book, *Masters of Deceit*, was the one readily available in 1961 when lawmakers passed the mandate. Later, in 1962, Hoover published a second book on communism; this one was a standard textbook entitled, *A Study of Communism* (Hoover 1962). Hoover stated that he was moved to write this textbook owing to such a large response from teachers across the nation following the publication of *Masters of Deceit* in 1958. In this newer version, he hoped to contrast the freedoms of the United States to the oppressive and restrictive government of the Soviet Union. Hoover began his comparative study with a series of question, one of which asked the following: "Why is our free society inherently superior to communism?"

Hoover's deliberate attempt to show the Soviet Union in the worst possible light, while glorifying the United States' system of government was equal only to his treatment of follow-up student activities. One question he posed for review asked the following: "Does the fact that so many different motives can be listed as part of the psychological attraction of communism tell you anything about the over-all nature of communism's attraction?" The logic of that question defies pedagogical understanding. The remaining questions were nearly impossible for students to respond to without outside knowledge, as the text itself did not contain the necessary background information. However, unlike his earlier book, this new textbook contained sub-topics of manageable size for high schoolers, albeit without prior experience with subjects such as economics or philosophy, most students would find the text daunting. The density of the material was likely behind such responses by former high school students as, "The class was boring," or "I don't remember a thing," the undesirability of an auditorium class notwithstanding.

The following year, 1963, a Miami University professor published his version of an AVC textbook entitled *The Masks of Communism,* whose front cover contained a photograph of an individual cropped so that only a pair of menacing narrowed eyes peer out from between black and red borders. In Hooverarian style, Jacobs introduced his text as one that would demonstrate that the "United States is threatened by an enemy dedicated to its destruction," and, that the enemy is "Communism, whose leaders promise that in two generations or less they will 'bury' the American way of life and the system it represents." The text failed to take a different position from Hoover's 1962 publication. Rather, it offered teachers or school districts a choice between a well-known's version of communism or an un-known's, both of which were virtually the same (Jacob 1963).

In the middle 1960s, some Florida teachers in Orange County taught AVC from a textbook entitled *Democracy and Communism, Theory and Action* . A far less impassioned treatment of the political and economic practices of the Soviet Union, its authors stated that the audience for which the book was written--the upper grades of senior high--were "well aware that the ideals and practices of democracy do not always coincide." However, they claimed, senior-high students were "equally aware that most Americans continue to strive to bring democratic practices ever closer to democratic ideals" (Allen, Bartlett & Colegrove 1967), an idea voiced loudly by Jessie Heasley, a former curriculum supervisor for Orange County, Florida.

Democracy and Communism, at this point in the study, appears to be the first state-adopted textbook purchased for Florida's AVC program which took a more traditional political and economic studies approach. Out of some fifteen chapters, eleven dealt with the Soviet Union and its political, economic, and social systems. In addition, the authors examined its international strategy, including tactics of control. Of the four chapters which examined the system of government of the United States, three contained the word American: "Democracy: The American Ideal," "Free Enterprise: The American Way," and "Some Current American Domestic Concerns." Hence, the word American, seems to evoke a certain emotional feeling that is more difficult to replicate even with the term, United States. In any event, the fervor with which the Americanism versus Communism curriculum program was implemented, seemed to lose steam as the new decade dawned, and by the mid-1980s, teachers such as Barbara Slater Stern, Assistant Professor at Randolph Macon Woman's College in Virginia, and one-time social studies teacher in Central Florida, taught the course in a six-weeks' block within a World History curriculum, rather than as a full semester course. This latter treatment of the AVC course never stirred the emotions or incorporated the sense of "sturm und drang" that was so characteristic of the course in the early years of implementation. By 1991, when AVC faded from the law books, it was a thing of the past and all but forgotten.

In sum, what has been presented here is merely an initial look at this controversial social studies curriculum program. The speculation about its origins merits further investigation. Both teacher and student recollections are also in need of more detail and richness. These enrichments are already planned in a year-long study which begins in January 1998. What can be said about this social studies course is that it stirred certain protective feelings within teachers who rejected the role of propagandist out of concern for students, and possibly out of stubborn resistance. Some teachers, for example, simply refused to teach the AVC course with a prescribed "white hat" versus "black hat" approach. This reluctance became the source of much suspicion on the part of fellow teachers and some administrators, and eventually led to accusations such as "commie" or "pinko."

Despite the insults and distaste of the course, teachers planned for their units of instruction no differently than they did for any other. Most brought Russian history into the content, although some certainly followed the mandate to the letter of the law. While most teachers resisted the use of any material authored by J. Edgar Hoover, some, no doubt, found truth in its pages. As the war in Vietnam dragged on, and public sentiment turned against U.S. involvement, the fight against communism in the classroom seemed to lose its meaning, and by the time that the Gulf War loomed in our future, foe had turned to friend. Thus, the communist inoculation curriculum experiment, in which thousands of graduating high schoolers were taught how to identify communist infiltrators and threats, had been replaced by new "special interest" voices, all seeking their way into the social studies curriculum. The school house, in the decades since World War II, it seems, has been the object of ambitious politicians and misguided voters, whose strongest opponents, one might conclude, are those teachers who sometimes must employ subversive tactics of their own.

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The Ethic of Care as Pedagogical Practice

David Poveda
Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
Suffolk University Madrid Campus

The purpose of this paper is to present the ethic of care, originally proposed by Carol Gilligan, as a framework that can contribute to understanding how teachers carry out their work (1977, 1982). Ethical considerations in teaching have usually been centered on the resolution of pre-established deontological or legal conflicts, not from a "caring" perspective, in which context and actual behavior are central, and where teacher-student interaction can be seen as a site in which participants construct ethical systems (Strike and Soltis 1992). From this standpoint of caring, an examination of teaching can contribute to an analysis of the ethical characteristics of different social roles, the relevance of distinctions such as "private-public," "personal-non-personal relations" and to clarify how teaching should be construed in relation to these dimensions (Bowden 1997, Blustein 1991).

Such a task stems from research discussions that have identified several ethical systems that should be taken into account when we seek to understand moral reasoning, but it also acknowledges that this attitude while valid for the researcher is difficult to sustain by the practicing teacher (Sastre, Moreno, and Fernández 1977; Gilligan 1988; Kohlberg 1992; Miller and Safer 1993). "Teaching is value-laden, interventionist work, and we have to answer the hard questions" (Cazden 1992, 10). An example of such a question is as follows: With which teacher-student ethical position do I identify myself, and with what results ?

I will defend that the chosen answer in several contexts can be the ethic of care. This will be based on three lines of analysis. First, I will present a historical review of the changes in contemporary political philosophy that are at the basis of the "ethic of care" and of some of its applications to education. Second, I will discuss data from teacher interviews in which they show an ethical orientation based primarily on "caring." Finally, a response to the criticisms that have been made to this approach in relation to its gender and social implications will be proposed. The overall purpose is to further understand the ethical dimension of teacher´s work, how it relates to other aspects of their activity and how it might be relevant to improve practice.

The ethic of care is part of a philosophical tradition that has emerged in the second half of this century. This evolution can be seen as progressing through three embedded domains: a conception of the person-self, from which a political and ethical system can be derived, and from which a particular approach ("caring") is built.

Starting with a rejection of universal and abstract principles as a guide to political organization a rather broad approach that may be defined as "communitarian" has emerged during the second half of this century (Mulhall and Swift 1992, 1995). Most relevant to this discussion is the proposition made by several of these authors that meaning and the values attached to them emerge from a community, that shares and transmits a set of social practices (Mulhall and Swift, 1995). While this idea has controversial implications for political theory that need clarification, it provides an alternative basis to understand moral development.

Carol Gilligan´s work began as a critique of the studies on moral development of her colleague Lawrence Kolhberg (1976). The main issue that she contended was that Kohlberg's research, as well as other important works in psychology, were not sensitive to gender differences and failed to understand the principles and necessities that guided women's reasoning (Gilligan 1977, 1982). While this analysis was seen as a new direction for feminist thought it also provided an alternative framework, detached from the Kantian basis of Kohlberg's ideas, to understand moral reasoning in both men and women. This re-orientation is captured well in Gilligan's and Wiggins' conception of love, which is "tied to the activities of relationship and premised, like attachment, on the responsiveness of human connection, the ability of people to engage with one another in such a way that the needs and feelings of the other come to be experienced and taken as part of the self" (1988, 120).

U. S. educational policy has experienced several proposals based on different interpretations of "caring." One precedent is the educational theories developed in the 1960s based on constructs such as "cultural deprivation" or "at-risk." They suggested curriculum and instructional strategies sensitive to the specific needs and characteristics of particular social groups, such as lower-SES or racial minorities (Watras 1997a). These programs grew from a knowledge base with good intentions, but in retrospect were based on erroneous assumptions and failed to attribute any "agency" to their recipients (Portes, 1996). In many cases efforts aimed at helping the disadvantaged only seemed to have justified policy and educational practices in which the professional educators simply exerted power over the students. Furthermore, these interpretations did not examine structural problems such as racial segregation (Watras 1997a, 318).

Since the last decade, as part of one version of the "women's movement," different proposals about education based on a "caring perspective" have been made. They claim to be important in solving a wide-range of problems by explicitly introducing aspects of what they construe as the "feminine approach." For example, they call for instruction based on dialogue and cooperation, a curriculum that builds nurturing capacities into the subject matter and changes in the organization of schools and teacher certification (Watras 1997b). However, some of these suggestions are problematic because they fail to take into consideration other aspects of the educational system and result in overall poor proposals (Watras 1997b). Furthermore, if one of the intended results is a social transformation that advances the position of women, these ideas put too much focus on intrapsychic change thus avoiding socio-structural issues and often do not consider any significant rearrangement of existing practices (Mednick 1989, 1120; Watras 1997b).

To put forward a contention that still defends that "caring" can have some pedagogical value requires responding to these shortcomings. An understanding of how teachers directly construe the ethical basis of their work is an important component in this process, especially if it emerges as a teacher-based response to educational problems that are structural in nature. Also, an ethic of care needs to be put in relation to criticisms inside feminist theory and to psychological research that can make contributions to further conceptualize its practical implications.

As part of two research projects, one focused on the overlap between family and school systems in several Chicago-area private and public schools and another focused on classroom discourse and literacy development in a Madrid public school, several teachers were interviewed in an open-ended fashion about their experiences, feelings, main concerns, problems, rewards and other general aspects of teaching (Quinan 1995, Poveda 1997). Therefore, the original purpose was not to study moral reasoning, but nevertheless, it became salient that they largely construed their work as an ethical activity sustained by the relationships that they chose to build with their students. A comparison of two particular teachers is especially interesting because this dimension seemed to rest on different modes of justification: while one directly interprets her everyday problems and work in terms of the emotional-relational ties with her students, the other teacher's is based on the failure of the principles of justice and equality that the system claims to uphold.

Concepción is a Mexican-American teacher in a transitional- bilingual first grade classroom in an inner-city Chicago public school and has been working for more than twenty years with Hispanic students. In her feelings about teaching she states that, "I like children very much, I love them very much, that is why they sometimes make me very sad." She went on to give various examples she has encountered over the past two decades. When she talked about her role as a teacher in the lives of these children she put it in relation to the role of the family. This process is embedded in the difficult socio-economic situation of her students, which she believes is fostering detachment between the children and the community. She stated that:

> [I]t seems that the family is not so united any more and has left the children more alone. . . . If they are not given the place they should have in the school, then they do not have much support in the home then you later see how their character changes. . . . Like Juana's mother, how can she help her if she doesn't know how to read or write and she is in a country where she doesn't know the language. . . for me this is a bit of work because I have to sit down with Juana. . . . The future of these children depends much on that the parents pay more attention, more warmth (*"cariño"*), that they do not leave them so alone, they are very alone!

While these examples do show a lacking inside the family in some areas, this is not turned into a general statement and she explicitly addresses the possibility of personal advancement, which is where she places the issue of structural change. Concepcion goes on to say that, "I think they see me in a very high position so I like to tell them that I also made mistakes in school but then learned, that my mother was also poor but that I was able to become a teacher, that I also sometimes don't have money to pay for things." She then adds that the children need to take pride in themselves even if it causes conflict with other groups. She states that, "I always tell them not to forget Spanish, it's a beautiful language, very important, of intelligent people. I tell them 'you are more intelligent than the "gringitos" and the "chocolates."' They say why? 'Because you speak two languages and they only speak one."'

Paz is a first cycle teacher that has been working for more than fifteen years in public schools of the south of Madrid. This is an area mainly composed of a lower working-class population, it also contains most of the gypsy minorities of the region and recently has experienced an influx of immigrants from developing countries. This is what she expresses when she talks about the most gratifying aspect of her work: "the warmth (*cariño*) that the children give you in return, as long as you treat them well, love them a little and give them some attention, they will return it to you multiplied by fifty thousand."

When she describes her role in relation to other systems in which the child participates, she highlights her active place in confronting several problem areas. She states that "in these schools the children need much attention, they all have many needs and are lacking in many areas, some intellectual, others affective, others hygiene and behaviors. You want to work in all these areas as much as possible, in what they need but you just don´t have the capacity."

Nevertheless, when she contextualizes her work in the system it seems that her commitment stems from personal-affective reasons, without taking into account the assistance of other institutions. She notes that "for some people life is very hard, and from not any institution or government agency do I feel that we have support. All the theories in the books are very nice, but in practice you *cook it the best you can*. If you are concerned with the development of persons independently of their social condition, here you can do it, at least you can make that the time that they are here they feel happy and learn as much as they can."

Paz's commitment to her students is put in relation to the failure of the application of the justice-deontological that are supposedly upheld by the educational system. Paz notes that "the situation of the schools in the south is a disaster, especially in the public schools, it's a shame. They have taken care of breaking them down, with very subtle and Machiavellian strategies, but very clear. . . it's an hypocrisy of society. . . everybody is schooled, all the population, and it´s reflected in the statistics that there aren´t any children out of school, but in what conditions?" This situation could be changed if the community and school, according to Paz, both took responsibility for the care of children.

These two teachers show how they have developed a view of their work, of their relationship with their students and the context in which this activity takes place that is largely represented in ethical terms that seem to have several components of a "communitarian" and "caring" approach. From one point of view, these teachers have very different life-histories and work in different countries. Although this "sample" by no means intends to reflect the whole scope of positions towards teaching, their convergence of ideas indicates a potential to generalize some proposals. From another point of view, they confront a series of problems that are common to many schools in Western urban contexts: socio-economic marginalization, cultural diversity, and insufficient resources to fully develop their work.

It can be claimed that it is these latter commonalities that help explain the emergence of a "caring" approach. Women, working in a "traditionally feminine" profession and in underprivileged contexts share some of the variables that would predict a predominance of the "different voice." Furthermore, one possible development of these implications could suggest that structural changes are not absolutely necessary. The proposal here is that structural changes are necessary but teachers cannot be considered empowered to execute this change. An ethic of care in this case can at least be considered as a teacher-based response to these problems but it probably can also be an important support to educational reform efforts. However, to be able to uphold this second assertion the implications of this ethic need to be further explored.

Carol Gilligan's proposal that not only a different mode of moral reasoning exists and that it seems to be related to gender has been met with almost two decades of empirical and theoretical controversies (1977, 1982). During the past decade a number of studies began questioning the empirical reality of gender differences in moral reasoning (Walker 1984). Furthermore, ascertaining group differences became more complex as categories such as age, gender, ethnicity and social class were considered (Stack 1990). Gilligan and her colleagues, without discarding the idea of gender differences, replied that what was required was a "revision of the theoretical frame" (Gilligan and Wiggins 1988, 113). Other researchers as well as Gilligan have continued to explore and refine the meaning of "caring" as an ethical system (Blustein 1991; Bowden 1997). This paper is an effort to further this research by focusing on the ethical problems of teachers. Another line of analysis has focused more on the political and social implications that certain interpretations of "caring" can have; especially within the "women's movement" and, by extension to other domains. This latter approach is interested in a critique of possible applications, like the examples in education discussed above, which is why it must be analyzed in further detail.

When the "ethic of care" is conceptualized with Essentialists-Naturalist connotations, it can be stated in terms of "someone cares-someone is taken care of" (Grimshaw 1993). In the case of gender relations "male cares-female is taken care of" or as this paper has discussed, "someone controlling the schools and deprived children being served" (Coole 1995, Sastre 1997,Watras 1997a). According to Coole, overcoming this reproduction of power relations requires us to "de-construct" critically the cultural assumptions underlying gender, or other social categories, and binary oppositions such as self-other, private-public, and logic-context (1995).

As a consequence, if the importance of "caring" wants to be maintained, a "re-constructive" analysis that understands morality as the result of interaction between people needs to be proposed. Selya Benhabib presents this through the possibility of distinguishing between a "concrete other" or a "general other" and the constraints that each imposes on ethical reasoning. The importance of defending a "concrete other" in interaction rests on two points: an epistemological difficulty in constituting a "general-universal other;" and an ethical relationship where communication and responsibility are central (Benhabib 1990, Grimshaw 1993, Bakhurst and Sypnowich 1995, Mulhall and Swift 1992).

Nevertheless, this argument is largely theoretical and although persuasive we still need evidence that shows that human behavior is more responsive when the "concrete other" is taken into account. In this sense, a strand of work developed in experimental social psychology during the 1960-70s under the topics "diffusion-assessment of responsibility" and "helping behavior" is relevant (Lerner and Simmons 1966). In a series of experiments developed by Darley and Latané in which they measured "diffusion of responsibility" and "inhibition of bystander intervention in emergencies" they reached the conclusion that non-helping behavior was higher when group size and sense of anonymity increased (1968a, 1968b). These results could also be interpreted as processes between "concrete others," where communication is prevalent and helping behavior high, or "general others," where the ambiguity of the social rules that should guide their behavior leads to non-action.

In a group of experiments conducted by Staub, he found developmental differences that he did not expect: children increased their helping behavior between pre-school and second grade, then decreased between second and sixth grade (1974). In seventh grade helping behavior was influenced by explicit behavior rules: permission, non-permission and no rule, and in adults he found gender differences in the interpretation of these rules. Given that these results were both surprising and "disturbing" in it´s implications, Staub discussed possible implications for education and theories of social development:

> Another important factor in the development of a tendency to act prosocially may be learning to assume responsibility for the welfare of others... Feelings of personal responsibility may also be characteristic of a person and affect his behavior in many situations. One way to develop or increase such feelings of responsibility might be to focus responsibility on children to engage in behavior that will enhance others welfare. Over a period of time this may lead to learning that others expect that one will help a person in need, that others regard it as one´s obligation and it may even become an internalized standard. . . . By frequently or regularly assigning children responsibility to help others and having them actually exercise their responsibility, they may develop a feeling of personal responsibility for others' welfare (1974, 339).

Paz and Concepción have acknowledged this feeling of responsibility in their work. When viewed in such a way it seems that the fundamental purpose is to develop a sense of "agency" that incorporates the role of relationships with others as fundamental for development (Portes 1996). In this paper the focus has been on the ethical relationship between teachers and students but from a broader point of view this commitment equally underlays processes such as "cooperation and guided discovery" or "social scaffolding" (Brown and Campione 1994, Mehan et al. 1996). The challenge is to integrate them in a full interpretation of teaching.

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Catholic Schools and Racial Integration

Joseph Watras
University of Dayton

There is a popular misconception that Catholic schools profited from the controversies to racially desegregate public schools. This is a misconception because Catholic acceptance of racial integration varied from diocese to diocese. That is, Catholic educators, students and parents responded in a variety of ways to the pressure to racially desegregate schools that swept the United States from 1954 until 1969. However, Catholics tended not to use theology to solve or to understand the problems of racial segregation. In this way, they were like the Protestant ministers in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957 who could not use biblical language to support racial integration (Campbell and Pettigrew 1959). This can be seen through examples of racial integration of schools in New Orleans, Louisiana; Chicago, Illinois; and Dayton, Ohio.

New Orleans differs from other Southern cities in that within the city many African Americans are Catholics. In 1888, Francis Janssens became the fifth archbishop of New Orleans. A former native of the Netherlands, he gave black people in New Orleans a separate church hoping to foster more vocations for black priests. The experiment seemed to work because separate black Catholic Churches flourished in Louisiana (Kasteel 1993). Further, separate black schools became popular. In 1915, Xavier High School opened for black students. Ten years later, Xavier College began. This is the oldest continuing black Catholic college in the United States.

In New Orleans, as elsewhere, the Catholic parishes followed specific geographic boundaries. When Janssens set up the separate black church in 1889, black people did not have separate parishes. African Americans living in white parishes in New Orleans attended a black church within the parish boundaries. Segregation by geography came in the early 1960s as white people moved to suburban parishes of Jefferson and St. Bernard while middle class blacks moved into east New Orleans. The result was more churches in the city had entirely African American membership. However, at the same time, the designation of "Colored" disappeared from the National Catholic Directory (Niehaus 1993, 192-193).

In June 1949, the Seventh Synod of New Orleans forbade separating African Americans within a church while awaiting communion. It added that priests could encourage black parishioners to attend churches specially built for them. After the 1954 US Supreme Court decision, New Orleans Archbishop Joseph Rummel acknowledged the wisdom of the decision. However, he cautioned that immediate desegregation of schools would not be prudent. One reason for avoiding immediate change was that the state legislature threatened to withdraw all aid from any desegregated schools. As a result, desegregating Catholic schools may have ended the money for texts, transportation, lunch programs, and state approval. These cuts would have hurt the black Catholic schools (Kight 1994, 7-10).

In June 1955, Rummel appointed a committee of clergy and lay people to study racial segregation. The committee recommended a grade by grade introduction of integration beginning with first grade or kindergarten. In February 1956, Rummel issued a pastoral letter condemning segregation as sinful. Segregationists burned a cross near his home, picketed outside a local seminary, and turned in empty church support envelopes. They vowed to withhold contributions until assured there would be no school integration. Rummel canceled plans to desegregate the Catholic schools (Kight 1994, 10-12).

Rummel turned his attention to the national level helping to formulate a statement on race relations. Issued by the US Bishops in 1958, "Discrimination and the Christian Conscience" reaffirms the moral and religious nature of the race question. It said that racism was an affront to the rights of human beings and it denied the love God has for all people. Recognizing the differences that exist among groups of people, the statement called for the economic and educational opportunities enjoyed by other immigrant populations. Still, the bishops urged prudence in making any plans to change society.

On 14 November 1960, the New Orleans public schools began a process of token desegregation (Weider 1986). The legislature did not remove state funding from those public schools. Assured that the financial threat had passed, in 1962, New Orleans Catholic schools changed their enrollment policy to allow Catholic children to apply to any school in the New Orleans archdiocese. The schools desegregated peacefully as one hundred and fifty black children attended thirty formerly all white schools. When the White Citizens Council protested, the chancery mailed letters to six of the council's leaders threatening to excommunicate them if they persisted in their complaints. Four of these people stopped. Three continued and received letters of excommunication. One of these people retracted his racist position in 1968 and was absolved (Kight 1994, 19- 22).

Conditions in Chicago paralleled those in New Orleans. In the 1880s, thirty black Catholic families in Chicago began worshiping in separate services in St. Mary's Church. About three percent of the city was black, and the black Catholics were a fragment of the thirty thousand black residents of the city. In 1889, a black priest educated in Rome came to minister the African American Catholics in Chicago. In 1912, the black parish, St. Monica's, began a Catholic school with 150 students (Sanders 1977, 205-206).

During the First World War, industries in Chicago needed laborers, and the black population in the city doubled as African Americans fled the poor conditions in the south. Black Catholics spread beyond St. Monica's entering other all white parishes. Seeking to answer what he saw as a color problem in 1917, Archbishop Mundelein designated St. Monica's as an all black parish. While African Americans could attend other parishes, they enjoyed full membership in St. Monica's. As a result, black children had no claim on any other Catholic school (Sanders 1977, 207).

In 1932, Mundelein tried to serve the black Catholics moving beyond the confines of St. Monica's. He designated as all black certain other churches in other parts of the city where black people lived. In 1939, when Mundelein, then Cardinal, died, there were six Catholic schools for black children with an enrollment of nearly 3,000 pupils. At first, his successor, Cardinal Stritch, maintained the racial segregation. He began to move against it by 1930 (Sanders 1977, 214-217).

Cardinal Stritch opened the Catholic schools in Chicago to all students in 1945. Unfortunately, local policies continued to retain segregation. Sometimes, the Cardinal interceded to force a white school to accept a black student. Unfortunately, when a parish acceded to the Cardinal's wishes, racial tipping resulted. For example, a formerly white Irish parish accepted its first black students in 1945, and by 1949 three fourths of the enrollment was black. A formerly German school opened its doors to black students in 1947. In two years, the school was entirely black. On the other hand, some formerly Irish churches and schools admitted a few black people but remained predominately white (Sanders 1977, 218-219).

The open enrollment policy in Chicago Catholic schools caused a related problem. African Americans saw the Catholic schools as superior to the public ones to which they would send their children otherwise. As the number of black people in Chicago grew, more black parents wanted to send their children to Catholic schools. As a result, by 1965, over 21,000 African American children enrolled in Chicago's parochial schools. One third of these were not Catholic. More important, there were few integrated schools. For example, 23 of the schools in the city had only black students. Another 23 schools had a few black students. The rest of the schools were in areas where the transition between white and black students promised to be swift (Sanders 1977, 219-220).

The situation was similar among the Catholic high schools. As the neighborhoods around the schools changed from white to black, white students left and not enough black students came into the school to compensate. Out of 96 high schools, by 1965, fifty-nine had some black students. Nine of these were more than ten percent black and of these nine, three had no white students at all. Only six had fewer than 90 percent of one race (Sanders 1977, 221-222).

As the white Catholics moved away from urban neighborhoods, the Catholic schools they left behind became racially desegregated. Unfortunately, resegregation followed this period of racial desegregation. At first, a few black students would enter a previously all white school. As the number of black students grew, the number of whites fell until the school became all black. Desegregation was the period between when the first black came until the last white left.

An example of this process of resegregation took place in the Academy of Our Lady, a school for young women on Chicago's southwest side. Founded in 1874 by the School Sisters of Notre Dame, the school accepted boarding students until the 1930s. It held continuous accreditation from North Central Association. Entrance requirements were high, standards were rigid, and almost all who entered went on to college. By 1967-68, enrollment rose to 1,800 young women with 70 faculty. However, the neighborhood around the school began to change. In 1960, the area had a population that was 13 percent nonwhite. By the 1972-73 school year, the district around the school was almost 100 percent black. Black enrollment increased in the school (Moses 1978, 94).

In 1967, the Archdiocesan School Board of Chicago adopted an open enrollment policy. At first, this did not change the enrollment pattern of the Academy of Our Lady. As the neighborhood changed, the number of white applicants declined and black applications increased. From the 1968-69 to the 1972-73 school year, a total of 834 fewer pupils enrolled. This was a drop of 51 percent. More important, most of that decline was from white young women. Their numbers declined by 963 from 1968 to 1972. This was a drop of 71 percent. Black enrollment increased over the same period by 129 pupils or 49 percent. The increase in black enrollment did not rise dramatically in any one year; it was steady over the five years (Moses 1978, 95-96).

Thus, the pattern of enrollment in the Academy of Our Lady followed the pattern that happened in other urban Catholic schools around the country. The total enrollment declined because an enormous percentage of the white students left. While there was a significant increase in the number of black students, the decline in total enrollment made the black enrollment seem larger than it was. Unfortunately, when enrollment changed, the financial picture worsened. In 1968-69, the annual budget of the Academy of Our Lady had a surplus of $30,000. In 1972-73 the budget had a deficit of around $100,000. Consequently, racial desegregation raised questions about the survival of the school (Moses 1978, 97-99).

Trying to preserve the Academy of Our Lady, the alumnae board wrote a letter to the associate superintendent of the Chicago archdiocese. The board recommended limiting black enrollment below 50 percent to maintain an integrated student body. In June 1972, the principal and a delegation from the parents' association met with the archdiocesan school board to propose a plan to maintain integration at the Academy. First, they sought an exemption from the open enrollment policy to allow the use of a quota in admissions. Second, they asked for a recruitment program and busing to bring white young women into the Academy from other high schools. The school board appointed a committee to study these possibilities (Moses 1978, 100-104).

The quota committee met during the summer of 1972 seeking testimony from a variety of sources. Associations of pastors and principals in white areas supported the plan. Similar groups in black areas opposed it saying the plan was racist. One exception was a group of black parishes that supported the quota. The Provincial Chapter of the Sisters of Notre Dame declared opposition to the quota (Moses 1978, 104-106).

The committee sent questionnaires to the parents of the current and incoming first year students in the school. Parents of incoming and first year students returned 345 valid forms. Parents supported racial integration and approved of the quota to retain it. More black parents approved of integration and the racial quota on admission than did white parents. The higher the education of the parents the more likely they were to support the racial quota. Parents who planned to send their daughter to college approved the quota more than did other parents (Moses 1978, 169-173).

The quota committee showed that most people concerned with the school accepted the strategies for retaining racial integration at the Academy. Nonetheless, in October 1972, the Chicago Archdiocesan School Board rejected the Academy's proposal to impose racial quotas on admission. They said the strategies did not appear to appear viable (Moses 1978, 175-176, 244-245).

On 13 October, an editorial appeared in *The New World* congratulating the school board for refusing to exempt one school from the archdiocesan policy of open enrollment. The editorial criticized the quota as something that would simply exclude black students. The editorial said the school could organize its own resources better, aggressively recruit, and transport white students to the school. In a published letter to the editor, the principal of the Academy complained that the paper was advancing a double standard. In the same issue, the editors had complimented a high school for producing racial balance by accepting certain percentages from each parish (Moses 1978, 244-245).

The principal of the academy attributed the rejection of the quota plan to two main problems. First, school policy makers such as the members of the school board did not attend to the research to support their decisions. Instead, they shifted their consideration to vague public relations and social ethical ideas. Second, without any clear understanding of how desegregation could work, proposals such as the quota appeared racist (Moses 1978).

In September 1966, a brief but unsettling riot took place on the west side of Dayton in protest of segregated conditions in the city. After the disturbance, Catholic parishioners asked their church leaders to help change the segregated conditions in their schools. In November 1967, the superintendent of Dayton's Catholic schools formed a broadly representative committee consisting of eight lay people from five different parishes in the Dayton area and a priest. Called the De Facto Segregation Committee, it studied the segregated nature of the Catholic elementary schools and made recommendations.

The report of the De Facto Segregation Committee found that of Dayton's 27 parochial elementary schools, three schools carried 90 percent of the total African American enrollment of 467 students and eighteen schools were all white. The De Facto Segregation Committee wrote that the Catholic school must face up to its moral Christian commitment to love its neighbor adding that segregated schools implied the inferiority of the minority children.

Interestingly, the report of the De Facto Desegregation Committee contained few references to theological ideas, nor did the report refer to any of several statements about racial discrimination that the United States Catholic Bishops had published by that time. Several members later said they had an antagonistic relationship with church administrators and did not attend to the works of the clerics (Dorenbusch 1990; Regulinski 1990; Vera 1990).

The De Facto Segregation Committee made two suggestions to racially integrate the Dayton area Catholic elementary schools. First, for the coming school year, 1969-1970, it recommended a program of open enrollment to begin desegregating the schools. Second, it called for consolidation of the Catholic elementary schools for the year 1970-1971. The committee did not recommend any changes in the attendance patterns of secondary schools because, the report added, those schools were integrated.

To consolidate the Catholic elementary schools, the De Facto Segregation Committee proposed a plan similar to those tried in places where short distances separated schools. The committee inscribed the Catholic elementary schools in the greater metropolitan area within a circle and cut it into six pie shaped sections. The committee suggested that children living within each section would attend one building for the primary grades, another building for intermediate grades and a third for junior high grades. To this plan, the committee added a magnet school for pre-primary and primary levels of instruction in the then centrally located Emmanuel School. Since this plan would mix all children from each pie shaped section of Dayton, the committee hoped that children from the inner city would attend classes with those living in the surrounding suburbs.

On 8 May 1968, the chairperson of the De Facto Segregation Committee explained the report during a public meeting. Although he received strong support from several hundred parents and educators, a significant number complained. For example, when the chairperson asserted, "Segregated education and Catholic education are contradictory terms. Let's agree on that," a man retorted, "We don't agree on that" (Ball 1968).

Some criticism showed practical flaws in the plans. For example, one visitor pointed out that the committee's plan had placed 90 percent of all black children in Dayton Catholic schools in two of the six sectors. This meant the remaining ten percent of the black Catholic students would be distributed among the other four sections (Barmann 1968).

Catholic school teachers held mixed opinions. A reporter for the Cincinnati Archdiocesan newspaper, *The Catholic Telegraph*, surveyed the opinions of some teachers in the Dayton area Catholic elementary schools. On one hand, he found that some teachers vigorously supported the plan to end de facto segregation. On the other, he interviewed teachers who preferred open housing to advanced integration, not school consolidation (Barmann 1968).

The priests in Dayton were even more cautious. On 27 May 1968, the then dean of the Dayton Deanery, the organization of Dayton's priests, and pastor of St. Helen's parish wrote a letter to Archbishop Alter asking how the plan was going to be carried out and how it would be financed (Kline 1968). Some people took the priests' questions as serious criticism. One parishioner of St. Helen's Church wrote a letter on 21 May 1968 to the *Dayton Daily News* saying he was upset to read in the church bulletin that the De Facto Segregation Committee's recommendations were impractical. This parishioner thought it was practical to do everything possible to give children equal educations.

Religious women voiced their support for the desegregation of the schools in which they taught. On 30 May 1968 the *Dayton Daily News* carried a letter signed by thirty Sisters of Notre Dame, including the supervisor of Dayton area Catholic elementary schools. The letter quoted the Second Vatican Council's "Declaration of Christian

Education" affirming that each person has a right to an appropriate education. The Sisters felt this justified supporting recommendations of the De Facto Segregation Committee.

The Archdiocesan Board of Education in Cincinnati discussed the report of the De Facto Segregation Committee report on 11 June 1968. It approved the policy of open enrollment allowing black students to attend any Dayton area Catholic school with their parishes paying the tuition. The board would not extend this policy to new non-Catholic African American students. At the same meeting, the board approved a voluntary exchange program under which white students could attend predominantly African American schools in Dayton. The board did not answer the larger question of the reorganization of all Dayton area Catholic elementary schools. Nor did the members agree to start a magnet school in downtown Dayton. They asked the Dayton area Catholic schools to set up a task force to study these possibilities (Minutes 1968).

The archdiocesan school board commended the most radical aspects of the defacto plan to a task force for further study. Almost immediately, critics complained that the board of education designed the Task Force to defeat desegregation. The critics made two points to justify their distrust of the Task Force. First, the twenty-eight parish priests had criticized desegregation. Second, there was no stated intention to put educators on it ("Catholics OK" 1968).

The Task Force did not meet until September 1968, but concern for social justice continued among Catholics in Dayton as the date approached. Early in July 1968, members of half of the Dayton Deanery's thirty-three parishes reflected on the success of Project Commitment, an archdiocesan program aimed at attacking racial discrimination through weekly lectures or workshop sessions. At the July meeting, the parishes noted plans for future activities asking for "a concerted effort to force improvement of housing conditions and for more person to person social contacts between whites and Negroes" ("Programs to Attack" 1968). Some parishes invited minorities to join parish societies. Other parishes decided to contribute money to mission work in Dayton. Some parishes organized movements to advance open housing.

Other Catholic groups formed to push for desegregation of Dayton's Catholic schools. Afraid the Task Force would defeat any movement toward desegregation, a twenty-three year old white teacher in Dayton's historically black public high school, Dunbar, chaired the Ad Hoc De Facto Segregation Committee. Although they did not think they would succeed, they wanted to advance some proposals that were being considered. The Ad Hoc group made only one change in those proposals. They pressed for a pilot project of consolidation with three Catholic elementary schools. Originally, the De Facto Segregation Committee had recommended two distinct phases. First, it suggested a one year trial of voluntary exchange with open enrollment. Second, it suggested reorganizing all the Dayton area Catholic elementary schools into six consolidated districts in the next year.

As a counter offer, the Ad Hoc committee suggested that the first stage of open enrollment be dropped. Its members wanted the Dayton area Catholic schools to consolidate one district the first year to see how it worked (Nealon 1990). In June 1968, the Ad Hoc De Facto Segregation Committee had collected 8,000 signatures on petitions urging desegregation of Catholic elementary schools. But when the Committee submitted its plan for a pilot project to Archbishop Alter, he replied on 29 July 1968 that "all private suggestions or representations by self-appointed committees are being referred to the task force for evaluation." Alter (1968) added that the Task Force represents all legitimate interests both legal and canonical.

The summer of 1968 marked the beginning of the Open Enrollment and Voluntary Exchange that the Archdiocesan board had approved. On 17 July 1968, 168 people attended an organizational meeting at St. James where the chairperson of the De Facto Segregation Committee explained the idea. Other white speakers, such as Phil Donahue, then a local television personality, told how they were sending their children to predominantly black St. James school in Dayton.

For two years, several parents used their personal cars to transport the children. Some of these parents say they did this on the idea that the archdiocese would pick up the costs, but this never happened (Cochran 1990). As a result, during the 1968-69 and 69-70 school years, about 40 white children took advantage of voluntary exchange and attended St. James. They were almost the only white children in the building. However, their numbers declined by fifty percent each year until only five white children were involved in the 1973-74 school year. Black children were more constant. From the 1968-69 school year until the 1973-74 school year, between forty and fifty black pupils from St. James or Resurrection went to Catholic schools in the suburbs.

In 1970, half the white children in the voluntary exchange program withdrew. They did not do this easily. On 11 November 1970, a parent wrote a two-page single spaced typed letter to the assistant principal of St. James. She explained in plaintive terms the difficulties they had with travel and the expenses they incurred contributing to their own parish and to St. James. They gave to both churches because they did not want to ask the bishop to enforce the rule allowing families in the exchange program to pay only to one parish. She described her doubts about the worth of the venture. The last year of operation for the exchange was 1973-74 when one white child was involved.

The Task Force that was to consider the consolidation of Dayton's Catholic elementary schools met on 25 September 1968. There was considerable discussion about the absence of women religious on the Task Force. Actually, the Archdiocesan Board of Education had hoped that the Task Force would operate as a public school board with teachers and principals as resource persons. However, on 4 October 1968, the newly formed Southwestern Ohio Association of Laymen adopted a resolution to support the seating of Dayton parochial school principals on the Task Force. To underscore this appeal, sixty persons - men, women and children - from Dayton drove to Cincinnati and picketed St. Peter in Chains Church on 13 October 1968. The next day the pickets appeared in front of the Chancery building in Cincinnati carrying signs saying "Task Force Needs Nun Power" and "Halt Alter's Falter" ("New Proposals Offered in Dayton" 1968). The protest was successful because, in November 1968, women religious joined five of the six subcommittees making up the entire Task Force ("Dayton Area School Principals"1968).

Archbishop Karl J. Alter added to the reaction against the Task Force while the group was meeting. On 12 November 1968, in a newspaper interview, Alter said dissident Catholics in Dayton who complained about inflexibility and pomposity in the church annoyed him. Alter estimated that there were 250 such dissidents that he called a fraction of one percent of the area's Catholics. Alter said they blamed him for decisions he did not make. For example, these dissidents criticized him for expensive building programs. He said local people initiated and conducted them. Besides, Alter asked, "Why should the government have lavish buildings and the church live in squalor?" As for Dayton schools, the Archbishop added that "the current open enrollment program fosters racial integration but the proposed consolidation of parish schools will hinder it and could threaten the very existence of Catholic schools." Further, Alter said of the Ad Hoc De Facto Segregation Committee that people from Dayton told him this was a conspiracy to destroy Catholic schools (Goodman 1968).

Archbishop Alter's remarks reached the Task Force in Dayton and led to the resignation of three of the four black members on the 76 member Task Force. Calling themselves Black Catholics in Action, Brother Joseph Davis, SM and two colleagues, resigned from the Task Force on 26 February 1969 .

Despite its problems, on 27 March 1970, the Task Force produced its final report. It did not recommend consolidation because the specific plan would not provide adequate overall integration. Instead, the Task Force recommended beginning a nongraded, child-centered learning centers in various schools. Each would have a different theme. One school might concentrate on the humanities. Another school might focus on the fine arts. A third school could emphasize math and science. These centers would work as magnet schools encouraging integration within the existing parish schools.

A minority report from the executive committee disagreed with the development centers. Like consolidation, these would take the parish school away from the very parishioners who contributed to a building fund to construct the parish school. The minority report urged respect for this property right. Further, it quoted Pope Paul VI calling the parish a responsible body of necessary finality that takes care of everybody. In his view, the parish was an institution of high moral value.

In 1970, the Cincinnati Archdiocesan School Board approved the establishment of a development center as the Task Force recommended. However, the schools came to face a financial crisis accompanied by dwindling enrollments. When several schools in the Dayton area closed, the board dropped plans for the development center in Dayton ("School Teachers to be Trained"1972).

Like other religious groups, most Catholics hoped that everyone would recognize the love that God has for all people and stop prejudging other groups. Unfortunately, the faith in the rejuvenating power of religion seemed to excuse Catholics from making more positive acts to cause racial integration. Consequently, although the US Catholic Bishops criticized racism in several pastoral letters, they never called for racial integration. Church leaders may have seen segregation as a prudent course of action until religious awakenings in the community ended the split between races (Gleason 1961). Unfortunately, this course also made the religious groups appear unwilling tc support racial desegregation.

Efforts to racially desegregate Catholic schools failed for a variety of reasons. First, the schools recruited students from specific geographic areas, and these neighborhoods were racially segregated. Although there were efforts to encourage pupil exchange, these were short-lived. Second, the Catholic leadership refused to make racial integration a goal for churches and schools. Third, few people could use gospel messages to reinforce the drive for racial integration. As a result, many Catholic leaders, educators, and parishioners created imaginative plans for racial desegregation but could not explain why schools should implement these plans.

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The 1921 Tulsa Race Riot: Two Histories

William E. Segall
Oklahoma State University
Anna V. Wilson
North Carolina State University

At the end of May and the beginning of June, 1921, African Americans in Tulsa, Oklahoma, watched their homes and businesses deliberately destroyed by the Tulsa city police and the Ku Klux Klan. Through murder, looting and systematic arson, they destroyed the African American community, ending America's second largest race war and one of the nation's wealthiest Black communities. The eventual rebuilding of "Little Africa," as the African American neighborhood was called by Tulsa Euroamericans, and "Greenwood," or "Black Wall Street" as named by African Americans, was successful. However, its re-emergence was accomplished against the active opposition of the Tulsa city council, and the city's two most powerful newspapers, the *World* and the *Tribune*.

Seventy six years after the Tulsa Race Riot, investigation shows Oklahomans know little about the events of that period even though several historical interpretations have emerged. For example, Euroamerican histories have dealt with the social, political and economic impact of the race war. Those histories have been published in school textbooks and scholarly journals. On the other hand, African American histories have dealt with the personal catastrophes associated with individuals and family members. Because these accounts have been oral, few have been published, but most are recalled by the African American communities.

This paper suggests Tulsa's worst period has been identified by both African American and Euroamerican historians for different reasons. Therefore, a significant part of this paper is intended to review what is known about the Riot, identify the Euroamerican (written) history and compare it with the African American (oral) history. Conclusions will center on what happened that night and the next several days, and what Euroamerican and African American students learn that is common to both.

The events of the 1921 Tulsa Race Riot are sketchy. Many of the newspaper sources and oral accounts that relate to the Riot have either disappeared or are considered untrustworthy by African American or Euroamerican historians. Nonetheless, on May 31, 1921, Dick Rowland, a young African American, was charged with the attempted rape of Sarah Page, a white elevator operator in the Drexel Building, a multi-story building in Tulsa's business section. Dick Rowland was a drop out from the Black high school, Booker T. Washington, and worked across the street from the Drexel Building shining shoes. Rowland was arrested and incarcerated in the Tulsa County Courthouse's jail. That evening two angry mobs, one Black and the other white, met at the Courthouse. While Rowland was obviously the target of both races' interests, the issue dealt with violence. The whites wanted to lynch the alleged rapist and the Blacks wanted to rescue Rowland.

Gun fire solved the question of what the mobs should do next. By the next morning, June 1, 1921, the thirty six block Greenwood section of Tulsa was on fire. Black men, either armed or not, were arrested and imprisoned in three locations including the Fair Grounds several miles to the southeast of the Courthouse. The National Guard arrived in Tulsa from Oklahoma City during the morning after the gun play was finished. At this time, whites unanimously agreed they had won a major victory (*Tribune* 1921).

The result of the Riot was Greenwood was destroyed, uncounted numbers of Blacks and whites were killed (Ellsworth 1982, *Impact* 1971, *World* 1921), and Dick Rowland had been secretly whisked out of Tulsa by the sheriff before he was hurt. So ended the nation's second largest race war and focused the two Tulsa communities on explaining what happened.

Why did the Race Riot happen? During the post World War One period, Oklahoma was filled with change (Alexander 1965, 1976; Burbank 1976; Green 1978). Typical of small cities throughout the nation after the First World War, Tulsa was a magnet to those who lived on the farm. With a population of approximately 70,000, Tulsa offered new opportunities that few other cities in the state could boast. Although the city did not offer factory jobs, young men found the new oil industry appealing because most jobs did not require an education, yet offered high pay. Working in the oil fields surrounding the "Oil Capital of the World," roustabouts were employed by oil companies owned by Gilcrease, Getty, Rockefeller, Skelly and others. Obviously, Tulsa's attraction for these young workers was its ability to entertain them with the new sounds emanating from Cain's Ballroom, and dancing to such bands as Bob Wills and the Texas Playboys. Tulsa was a hot bed of talent for aspiring entertainers of both races.

Young women discovered they were able to find jobs beyond the kitchens and parlors of their parents' home. For many young women, Tulsa represented a golden dream in which they could become responsible for their own lives. Jobs, such as teaching and nursing, were in great demand. But, new and exciting to them, were office positions in which they could become stenographers. This new position gave young women the thrill of responsibility. Many of them learned to type on new Remingtons and mastered the mysteries of Gregg shorthand and the telephone. As much for the men, women learned Tulsa was a cultural haven. New opportunities allowed them to meet many more men than if they had remained on the farms or small towns.

In much the same fashion, Tulsa represented a world of change for African Americans (Franklin 1982, McGee 1956, Teal 1971). Prior to statehood, African Americans had strong attachments to Oklahoma. Many African Americans at that time knew they lived in Oklahoma because their grandparents came as Cherokee slaves (Teal 1971). Regardless of the mildness of Cherokee slavery, both Blacks and Native Americans were thankful for not living in the harshness of Texas. Therefore, calling Tulsa the "Promised Land," large numbers of African Americans moved from small Oklahoma communities, as well as other states, to Greenwood (*Impact* 1971). It is difficult to identify the number or names of the small villages from which African Americans came. During that period, African American communities, like Euroamerican, were scattered. The call for free land and the methods through which the state was settled allowed for individual communities to be founded, populated and die within a matter of weeks or months.

Perhaps one of the best narratives of moving to the "Promised Land" is that of John Hope Franklin. He was born in an all-Black village named Rentiesville in 1915. His father was the local postmaster, lawyer, justice of the peace and president of the Rentiesville Trading Company (Franklin 1982). Franklin remembered his father was forced to leave Rentiesville because he could not make a decent living for his family. Early in May, weeks prior to the Race Riot, his father moved to Tulsa. His mother, a teacher, was to come at the end of the school year when his sister, now at a boarding school in Tennessee, returned to Oklahoma. In fact, John, his sister and his mother would not move to Tulsa until December 10, 1925, because his father's assets were totally destroyed in the Riot. Nonetheless, Tulsa beckoned to young Franklin as the Promised Land. Years later, at the age of 67, Franklin reminisced,

> Then it happened! Tulsa was burning! The news of the Tulsa riot reached the little village slowly and piecemeal. In 1921 there were no radios or television sets, of course. And Rentiesville had no telephones, or even a telegraph to connect it with the outside world. We had to depend on news of the riot that was relayed from Tulsa to Muskogee, where it was printed in the *Daily Phoenix*, which was dropped off at Rentiesville by the Katy Railroad mail and passenger train. Black Tulsa had been destroyed, burned out, we learned. Many blacks had been killed . . . and we had no word from my father (Franklin 1982, xv).

In short, Tulsa's cultural and social attractions were a significant bases upon which the races would clash. Each race was willing to invest its cultural heritage on a future that would benefit it. Obviously, the Euroamericans felt ownership of the community and the African Americans lived quietly hoping their improved life would not be too cumbersome to those south of the railroad tracks.

However, there were other contributing reasons as well. The state was violent. Achieving statehood in 1907, Oklahoma prided itself on the rugged individualism of the ranch hand and roustabout. Therefore, it had difficulty establishing law and order. It was "Jim Crow territory." In 1890, the territorial government gloried in its modern approach to race relations boasting to be the first in the union to segregate public telephone booths. In 1910, Black Oklahomans lost the right to vote. Although Black Tulsans continued to cast ballots during the five years before the legislation was struck down by the Supreme Court, Blacks remained second class citizens.

The oil fields also caused difficulty. Many of the workers wanted to unionize. The attempted organization of the Mid-Continent oil field by the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) was catastrophic. This tragedy was especially felt by Black Tulsans because the IWW was interracial and supported Blacks' rights in conjunction with the Oklahoma Socialist Party. The oil industry voiced its contempt through the city newspapers, the *World* and the *Tribune*.

This incident was only one of many in the state. For example Drumright, a small oil town west of Tulsa, was typical of the state's inability to solve social and economic problems peacefully (*World* 1997). In this community, local female telephone operators went on strike. To support the strikers, the oil field workers, many of them boyfriends of the striking telephone operators, took matters in their own hands by ransacking the phone company center, ripping out telephones in private residents (the girls helped too) and threatening to lynch the mayor. Order was restored with a small army of deputized citizens under the command of the local Undersheriff.

Tulsa, too, experienced racial violence. Prior to 1921, W. E. B. DuBois campaigned in the city for a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Chief Alfred Sam, a popular African American leader, advocated for Black Tulsans return to Africa. At the same time, Greenwood hosted numerous African American organizations including the militant African Blood Brothers (ABB). Perhaps the most violent organization in Tulsa was the Ku Klux Klan (KKK). Reorganized in Oklahoma in 1915, it was committed to white supremacy. The KKK was intolerant of both African Americans and Jews. The Tulsa chapter's (Klan number 2) membership included 3,200 men and women (Alexander 1965).

It is important to understand the Klan's extraordinary hatred of Black Tulsans. They feared the state's image would be tarnished if its Black heritage was widely known. For example, during the thirty years prior to statehood, several national politicians flirted with the idea of Oklahoma becoming a Black state. The KKK was aware eastern Oklahoma had been created as Indian Territory by Congress in the previous century when Native Americans were force-marched from the southern states to Tallaquah. In fact, Tulsa had been first settled by Native Americans and their Black slaves from Alabama.

Most importantly, however, the organization acted as a disciplinary body in the city. Months prior to the Race Riot, the KKK was given informal permission by Tulsa County officials to keep the city peaceful (Ellsworth 1982). A favorite method employed by the KKK, was to secretly and swiftly wrench a person from his bed in the middle of the night. Held blindfolded and handcuffed during the rest of the night, the unlucky individual was tormented with thoughts of lynching. Newspapers variously reported that over a dozen individuals were publicly whipped (*World* 1921). Indeed, one month before the riot, an individual was lynched in West Tulsa. In this case the police were assigned crowd control duty. They also helped drivers park their cars.

Other than family letters or diaries, there was little written directly after the Riot by Black Oklahomans. However, marking the 50th university of the Riot in the 1970s, several studies and oral histories were published. Except for an occasional Masters' thesis, most were reported in the Black press. A news account in the *Oklahoma Impact Magazine,* a Black periodical, was written by Ed Wheeler, a Euroamerican reporter for a local radio station. Wheeler pieced together the events of the Riot from newspaper clippings, oral histories, court records, newly discovered photographs and church documents. As an investigative reporter, Wheeler described the hostility between Blacks and whites. Underlying the racial antagonism, he concluded, was the attitude displayed by young Black war veterans. They had just returned from Europe and believed they had risked their lives for those things denied them in Tulsa. Wheeler concluded that white youths had difficulty accepting the Black's reasoning.

Wheeler best described the Riot in a series of newly discovered photographs. Most show young white youths smirking and strutting in mock military fashion as they carry their rifles or show off their pistols. Photographs of Blacks show dead men lying in the street or as prisoners with hands raised marching to internment camps. Other photographs show Black men, women, and children in Greenwood with burned homes, businesses, and churches in the background. More than 6,000 Blacks and white rioters were placed in internment camps and 25,000 white rioters were patrolling the streets in the morning after the Riot (Wheeler 1971). Wheeler reported the Euroamerican justification for their actions in the Riot was voiced by the Tulsa press which credited William Cherry, a brother of a Black policeman, Jim Cherry, as saying,

> That fellow Dick Rowland should have been taken out to the edge of town and horsewhipped, tarred and feathered. He is one of the same bunch that started this awful thing (Wheeler 1971, 24).

Perhaps the best example of oral history describing the Riot and its context was conducted by the editors of the *Oklahoma Impact Magazine* (1971, 32-38) with Mr. W. D. Williams. A friend of John Hope Franklin's father, Mr.

Williams was a teacher in the Tulsa Public School System from 1928 to 1970. He was born in Tulsa and graduated from Booker T. Washington High School in 1922 and was a classmate of Dick Rowland. The Williams family operated several of the more significant business enterprises on "Black Wall Street" including a garage, confectionery, and the Dreamland Theatre.

Mr. Williams or "Pops," as he was called, contextualized Greenwood's success as being a city within a city. While large amounts of monies were being made in Euroamerican Tulsa, the same was happening in Greenwood, but because the races were separated, the economies did not assimilate. He says,

> Tulsa took a segregated pattern mainly because the Frisco depot was right near Greenwood and that's where many of the Blacks from the south headed . . . That's not to say that if that had not been for this Tulsa would be an open city but at least Blacks would have been dispersed through the city (*Impact* 1971, 33).

He also described Tulsa's mood as mirroring national hysteria about Bolshevism, anarchism, and the Ku Klux Klan. He describes Tulsa's mood specifically as confused and paranoid.

> The price of oil was down so [the] economy was having its problems here in Tulsa. So at that time Tulsa was in a state of confusion, if not, as I mentioned, down right paranoid, and that was Black people and white people. All it needed was a spark or an incident between the races (*Impact* 1971, 33).

Reflectively, Mr. Williams then described Black Wall Street. He talked about its sense of community and economic success.

> Blacks then were of an independent spirit and had a special kind of pride in the Black community. They would not buy from White merchants. . . and the Black merchants didn't take them for granted. He vote[d] . . . [and] the churches were well attended . . . . And that school (Booker T. Washington), is perhaps the last symbol of Black solidarity . . . The pioneering spirit, the sense of freedom could be felt in everything Blacks attempted to do (*Impact* 1971, 35).

There are two research camps which discuss the Tulsa Race Riot by Euroamerican historians. The first and most significant camp is the Eurocentered traditionalists. Beginning in 1921 and continuing until the mid 1980s, the traditionalists marginalized the Riot as an unimportant event in Tulsa's history. These authors expressed the view the Riot was an historical footnote. As a consequence, that position is reflected in the state's high school history textbooks.

To illustrate the traditionalist's interpretation, the dean of Oklahoma history, Arrell M. Gibson, wrote the Riot was important only insofar as the National Guard was called out to establish order. While he recognized the importance of the KKK, he maintained the Riot and that organization's hatred of Blacks were not connected. In his high school text, *The History of Oklahoma* (1986), Gibson painted a picture of post-war Oklahoma as a period of economic unrest. He focused on labor strikes and martial law in Henryetta, Coalgate, and McAlester as illustrations. In this complete recount of the Tulsa Race Riot, Gibson stated:

> The theme of disorder and trouble continued in race relations. In Tulsa a black youth was arrested in the spring of 1921 on a charge of molesting a white girl. A mob of whites gathered at the jail, apparently to lynch the accused youth. Violence flared when another mob of blacks sought to protect the prisoner. The conflict spread to the black section of Tulsa where fire gutted two miles of homes and businesses. Seventy blacks and nine whites died in the rioting. Order was restored only by calling out the National Guard and imposing martial law (Gibson 1986, 142).

In the 1980s, Euroamerican revisionists developed different interpretations of the Race Riot. Some revisionists, such as Ellsworth, described the Riot as an embarrassment to whites because so many had participated in it. That is, most whites did not want to talk about that period because they were either embarrassed or feared if their actions were known they might be held accountable by friends, family, and the law. That explanation was voiced as early as 1921 in the *Tulsa World*,

> Since Judge Biddison called the grand jury you can't hardly find anybody who will admit they were in Tulsa when the rioting was on. Before the call was issued, there were a lot who boasted of the part they played (July 5, 1921).

Scott Ellsworth's *Death in a Promised Land: The Tulsa Race Riot of 1921* is undoubtedly the most scholarly of the revisionist camp. Its depth of original research is rewarding both in new discoveries and filling in historical voids. Ellsworth generally describes the events but questions several traditional Eurocentered positions. For example, he does not accept the *Tulsa Tribune's* explanation that Dick Rowland's intent to rape Sarah Page in the Drexel Building was the spark that caused the Riot. Ellsworth also discusses the involvement of the Ku Klux Klan. His history credited the Ku Klux Klan as powerful in the state, and it controlled both Tulsa politics and its police department. Unlike the traditionalists, Ellsworth's history also focused on post-riot events. He discussed the rebuilding of the Greenwood district as a promise made by the Tulsa city counsel to out-of-state newspapers. However, his research pointed out no city monies were used to rebuild Greenwood. He catalogued these and other happenings as efforts to suppress both communities' memory of the Riot (Ellsworth 1982).

While Ellsworth's book is credible, it is not used in public schools, although it is occasionally read in college contemporary Oklahoma history classes. Therefore, a better example of revisionist history can be found in Baird and Goble's *The Story of Oklahoma*. In many ways, this is an extraordinary text. Published as a high school textbook in 1994, its theme was to explain Oklahoma's history within a pluralistic framework thus countering a social myth of the state's Euroamerican homogeny. In fact, the text became so popular it was also sold as a tradebook.

The text reiterates and broadens Gibson's sketch of the Tulsa Race Riot but is less willing to consider the encounter between Rowland and Page as an attempted rape. Unlike Gibson and other traditionalists, the text describes the violent destruction of Greenwood. The authors identify the cause for Rowland's incarceration, describe the role of the media and recount the cost of the property damage. They increase the Riot's death toll from twelve to "several hundred."

Yet, Baird and Goble are cautious in their revisionism. Believing they need to blame someone, but uncertain who, they follow the traditionalists headed by Gibson by reporting,

> Let that serve as our point. Those anonymous black Oklahomans endured and triumphed over momentous times. Like others--nameless roustabouts, oil millionaires, tired housewives, a famous newspaperwoman, even Tulsa's white rioters--their lives were the stuff of which history was made, full of events to be preserved and remembered forever (Baird and Goble 1994, 386).

Obviously, Baird and Goble interpret the Tulsa Race Riot from a larger perspective. However, as they revise Tulsa history, they excuse the devastation of Greenwood as part of the historical romance of Tulsa. That is, in order to recognize the destruction of Black life and property as important, it was equally important to explain away the racial motives of the white rioters.

The lens through which the Tulsa Race Riot is viewed is dependent on race. Investigation indicates Black Oklahomans are interested in the specific tragedies that happened to their families in that fateful period. Therefore, Black oral literature describes and recounts the horror of the Riot and its aftermath. They voice their pride in the decades required to complete the rebuilding of Greenwood with Black money. The Riot may also be explained as an extended family event in which Tulsa Blacks share a common experience in much the same fashion as German Jews consider the holocaust.

Euroamericans view the Tulsa Riot from mixed perspectives. Traditionalists lead by Gibson considered the Riot a minor footnote in a violent history. Revisionists including Baird and Goble are more willing to describe the horrors of the event but also excuse it as part of Tulsa's adolescent years. Ellsworth, on the other hand, recognizes the period as racist and explains the Riot within that context.

This paper concludes Tulsans view their history through different lens. African American students regard the Riot as part of the Black experience and study it within that context. For many African American students, the Riot and its aftermath is historical evidence they will remain separate and unequal from Euroamericans. On the other hand, Euroamerican students know little about the Riot. Oklahoma schools treat the Tulsa Riot as part of its null curriculum. Because textbooks reflect Euroamerican standards, white students interpret the Riot as a minor, or at best, an unfortunate event in an exciting and violent history. In short, the Tulsa Race Riot illustrates that Tulsans, both Black and white, live in the same segregated society their grandparents knew in 1921.

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An Oral History of Black Students at the University of Illinois, 1965-1975

Joy Ann Williamson
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

A significant body of research exists on the influence Black students attending historically Black colleges and universities had on their respective campuses, especially in the South; however, information regarding the influence Black students attending predominantly White campuses, especially in the Midwest, had on their respective campuses is lacking. As a case study of Black student influence on the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign campus (UIUC), this piece will help fill the information gap regarding the impact Black students had on helping to shape the nature of education at predominantly White institutions. Also, examining the Black Power era students and their influence on the UIUC campus provides a broader knowledge and appreciation for the full weight of the Black Power Movement on American higher education. The focus of this piece will be to examine the influence of the Special Educational Opportunities Program (SEOP) on the campus, the influence of a mass arrest on Black student life and thought, the evolving Black liberation ideology among Black students, and the perceived legacy of Black students of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The primary source for this project was oral interviews conducted by the author with persons involved in the Black student movement at UIUC from 1965 to 1975.

This research relies on the recollections of several interviewees who represent a range of opinions and positions on the UIUC campus. John Lee Johnson, a Champaign community resident, was involved heavily with Black UIUC students from 1965 to 1975 and still resides in Champaign. Clarence Shelley arrived at UIUC in 1968 as Director of SEOP, an affirmative action program initiated to increase Black student enrollment, and is now Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs. Edna Long-Green, Jeffrey Roberts, James Eggleston, Terry Cullers, Jacqueline Atkins, Terry Townsend, and Yolanda Williams were students at UIUC during the middle to late 1960s through the early 1970s. Each interviewee was able to offer a unique perspective on the sentiments and events occurring at UIUC in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

In the early to middle 1960s, integration remained the ascendant ideology regarding Black liberation. Blacks were encouraged to "fit in" and participate fully in the existing social structure. On the UIUC campus, African Americans and Whites practiced this philosophy in their student activities and organizations. For instance, they worked together in organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. Black and White students in the organizations helped draft a resolution to condemn the bombing of a Black church that killed four young Black girls in Birmingham, Alabama ("Senate Maps Bill," *The Daily Illini* 17 September 1963); traveled to Mississippi to register Blacks voters in upcoming elections and to teach in freedom schools ("UI Rights Workers Return from Mississippi Campaign," *The Daily Illini* 7 November 1964); and participated in civil rights demonstrations in Champaign ("SNCC to Stage Sit-In," *The Daily Illini* 19 May 1964).

As a reflection of the national sentiment on Black liberation, many Black students felt as Ms. Long-Green did about "getting along" on campus, "My whole focus was blending in. I didn't want to stand out" (1997). She engaged in social activities with both Black and White friends and related well with her White residence hall floormates. She described the interaction between Black and White students as natural not hostile, "We were so different from our roommates, the curiosity was a natural curiosity as opposed to a racial curiosity. Most of them had not known a Black person in a social situation. Most of us had not known any Whites either so there was a natural curiosity" (Long-Green 1997). Both Mr. Eggleston and Ms. Atkins recounted potentially hostile incidents with their White roommates. Initially encountering prejudice, both confronted their roommates and later got along with them or adapted to the situation. As Mr. Eggleston stated, "There was no animosity between Black and White students. You could go around and not be bothered" (1997).

This is not to say that Black students on campus in the early to middle 1960s were attempting to forfeit their Blackness in order to fit in, were disinterested in civil rights concerns, or that racial tension on campus was nonexistent. In fact, many interviewees indicated they were involved with Black attempts at liberation prior to coming to UIUC including participation in Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.s' open housing drive in Chicago, Illinois, a flirting affiliation with the Chicago chapter of the Black Panther Party, watching the bus boycotts and Freedom Riders on television, joining sit-ins and marches in Chicago, initiating Black student activism at other campuses before enrolling at UIUC, membership in SCLC, CORE, the NAACP, and Operation Breadbasket, and modeling their beliefs after parental attitudes and actions. Students brought their experience to campus, but often focused on more immediate concerns such as graduating from the university.

However, Black Power politics and sentiment grew and were magnified on campus after the 4 April 1968 assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. His murder stunned the campus, Champaign-Urbana, and the entire nation and seemed the last straw in a long line of disappointments and frustrations. Mr. Cullers described it as overwhelming, "There was a feeling in 1968 of, 'What in the world is happening? Is this country really going to hell in a handbasket?'" (1997). Students like Mr. Cullers examined such roadblocks to Black liberation as the assassinations of Medgar Evers, John Kennedy, Malcolm X, Robert Kennedy, the riots in Watts and Newark, the Vietnam War, and civil rights defeats in the South. King's assassination was the last insult they could endure. It bolstered their resolve and confirmed their belief that nonviolence was inappropriate, ineffectual, and useless. As Mr. Eggleston stated, "If somebody hits us, we hit them back. If you were really revolutionary, you would take up the gun to go for liberation" (1997).

At UIUC, King's murder directly influenced the number of students admitted through SEOP in Fall 1968. Initially conceptualized to include approximately 150 students, King's assassination, demands from the newly formed Black Students Association (BSA), and community pressure increased the numbers to over 500, more than doubling the Black undergraduate population. This sudden infusion of Black students invigorated the Black campus community and magnified Black Power on campus. It was in this context and climate that the SEOP students arrived on campus. Not only would they have to contend with the pressures of attending college and being away from home for the first time, they would enter an environment in which continuing Black students encouraged them to place themselves in opposition to the university and question the university's commitment to its Black students.

The interviewees agreed that a state of total confusion existed when the SEOP students arrived on campus. According to Mr. Shelley, "It was obvious early on that this community had never seen anything like this before. There was lots of tension because their presence was an anomaly" (1997). The Black students, primarily coming from predominantly Black environments, experienced culture shock; the administration poorly handled the shortage of housing and financial aid for the incoming students; the White students "began to look at you differently because they were slightly afraid of you because they didn't know how radical you were" (Long-Green 1997). Adding to the tension on campus was the arrest of more than 250 Black students before the start of the 1968 Fall semester.

The first day of New Student Week, 9 September 1968, became a defining point for the Black UIUC student population, and by consequence, the entire University. While attending student orientation, held the week before New Student Week, the SEOP students were housed in the Illinois Street Residence Hall (ISR), a popular and relatively new residence hall. However, they found that they would be moved to older residence halls for the school year. Adding to their dismay, some had been placed in hall lounges until permanent rooms could be found and had been informed that the financial aid promised them by BSA recruiters was nonexistent. On that first day of New Student Week, the Black students, both continuing students and newly arrived SEOP students, decided that they would not tolerate the housing or financial aid situation and met in the Illini Union to discuss a plan of action. By the early morning hours of 10 September 1968, approximately 250 Black UIUC students, 221 of whom were in SEOP, were arrested on counts of mob action and inaugurated the UIUC campus as the scene of the first student "riot" of the 1968-1969 academic year.

News of the 9 September 1968 incident spread across the country as is evidenced in the Clipped Article File obtained from Mr. Shelley. In *The New York Times,* the headline read, "Classes to Begin at U. of Illinois: Tension Pervades Campus After Monday's Protest" (14 September 1968); in *The Wall Street Journal,* it read "Black Student Revolt: Colleges' Bid to Enroll 'Disadvantaged' Brings Problems and Protests; Feeling Strange at Illinois" (24 January 1969); in *The Los Angeles Times,* it read, "College Plan for Negroes Passes Test; But 'Project 500' at Illinois U. Meets Obstacle" (19 December 1968); in the *St. Louis Globe Democrat,* it read, "300 Negro Students Charged in U of I Row" (11 September 1968); in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch,* it read, "Illinois University Officials Meet Negro Group's Housing Demands" (11 September 1968); and in *The Chicago Tribune,* it read, "Negroes Riot at U of I" (10 September 1968). The articles chronicled the goals of SEOP, the students arrival on campus, the fact that Whites were ejected from the 9 September 1968 meeting, the vandalism of the Illini Union, and the number of Black students arrested.

Accounts of why the Illini Union incident occurred and what actually happened varied. In the campus student newspaper, *The Daily Illini,* the headline on 10 September 1968 read, in bold letters, "Blacks Occupy Illini Union." The article stated that over 150 Black students occupied the South Lounge of the Illini Union to protest room assignments and financial aid arrangements. During the "occupation," furniture and glass were destroyed, and according to Carolann Rodriguez's article, "Blacks Urge Guns," Whites were barred from the South Lounge where the Black students met to discuss their grievances with the administration (*The Daily Illini* 11 January 1969). When the meeting continued past the Illini Union's official closing time and students became unruly, Champaign and University police were called in and "removed" the students.

BSA released a policy statement regarding the incident and placed blame squarely on the University. They also further explained BSA's role in the development and implementation of SEOP. They stated that in Spring of the 1967-1968 academic year they presented the administration with a list of demands. In an effort that would "legitimize" the university, they advocated an increase in the number of Black students. Recognizing that the recruited freshmen would need financial assistance and that finances were a major determinant in attending any university, the BSA Executive Council and the University administration agreed that no SEOP student would have to incur a loan exceeding $470.00. Also, no SEOP student would be required to work during his or her first year. However, when SEOP students arrived on campus, they were informed that some would have loans exceeding the agreed upon amount. Also, some were informed that they would have to work. Unlike *The Daily Illini,* BSA stated in an article entitled, "Misinformation," that housing *was not* the real issue in the events of 9 September 1968: "*The Daily Illini* reacted in true form with its publication on the morning after the incident by attempting to treat the housing problem as the issue. Of course they have attempted to exonerate themselves by praising the efforts of BSA in the last two weeks" (*Drums* September 1968.)

Some parents were furious their children involved themselves in such a protest. Mr. Shelley, then Director of SEOP, recounted an incident when a mother confronted her son, who had been arrested, in his office. According to Mr. Shelley, she yelled at her son, "I sent you down here to school, and you go to jail?" (1997). However, many parents supported their children, and defense of the arrested students came from many directions. A telegram obtained from Mr. Shelley's Clipped Article File stated that Black UIUC alumni in Chicago, Illinois, formed "Concerned Alumni of Illinois" in an effort to support those Black students arrested at the Illini Union. Led by Chicago Alderman A. A. Rayner, the group requested a meeting with Mr. Shelley and Jack Peltason, Chancellor. The UIUC Graduate Student Association received a telegram from the National Students Organization decrying police conduct on the night of the arrest: "The National Students Association pledges legal assistance and advice to the students involved. . . . We are ready to continue the struggle against the use of such police tactics in the educational environment" (Shelley Clipped Article File). White UIUC students also rallied around the arrested Black students. According to the article, "Rally to Support Demonstrators," Peace and Freedom Party members circulated a petition during a rally to support the arrested Black students and collected approximately 700 signatures. Speakers at the rally included Black and White UIUC students, UIUC faculty, and church pastor, Reverend James Offutt. The culmination of the rally was the presentation of the petitions to the assistant Vice Chancellor, John Briscoe (*The Daily Illini* 25 September 1968).

All those arrested pleaded not guilty and were on bond. Administrators were split on how to handle the students' academic status. Some recommended expulsion; others recommended suspension; still others recommended more lenient procedures. The Black students, as well as various White student groups, demanded that the charges be dropped and the students retain full academic status. After a long period of deliberations, most SEOP freshmen were issued letters of reprimand for "conduct undesirable" to the University community. They were allowed to continue their UIUC academic careers without the reprimand appearing on their University transcripts.

The interviewees agreed that the situation began peacefully but continued to escalate until the students were arrested, that the situation escalated due to communication breakdown, and that the Black students did not anticipate the arrest or intend to be arrested. Mr. Shelley and Mr. Roberts recounted how the meeting began as a forum to discuss the housing and financial aid situation. Black students demanded the President and Chancellor come to the Union and address their concerns. When the administrators refused to come and the Union's closing time neared, tension increased and the situation intensified. Mr. Roberts remembered that "ninety percent of the students arrested had no idea of what was going on that night." He believes the students were used as pawns by BSA and the administration: "The leadership of BSA felt they had been hung out to dry and they didn't want to look bad in front of their constituents. The university wasn't about to give on anything. You had these two forces come together and the students got caught in the middle" (Roberts 1997). Mr. Shelley agreed stating that, "Many of them were there because everyone else was there. Many of them were afraid to leave. Some of them were there because they didn't want to be asked why they weren't there" (1997).

With the 9 September crisis, the continuing students and new SEOP students became one cohesive group. According to Mr. Roberts, the Illini Union incident forced unity, perseverance, confidence, and persistence. Also, the arrests spurred many students to action. As Mr. Shelley stated, "A lot of kids who wouldn't have been active spent all their time trying to get even for [the arrests]" (1997). Likewise, Mr. Roberts stated, "I think it turned a lot of people into activists. People who were sitting on the fence and didn't know what to do got pushed into, 'I need to participate'" (1997).

Though BSA existed before the SEOP students arrived, the interviewees agreed the arrests energized BSA. Before 9 September 1968, BSA was still "trying to define itself as a force" (Shelley 1997). At the 9 September rally BSA leadership attempted, as Mr. Shelley described, "to use this mass of students as a mobilizing entity. They were trying to politicize these kids" (1997). The arrests served as a confirmation of the need to become involved in BSA and Black issues on campus. With this newly energized and politicized group, Black UIUC students connected themselves to the Black Power Movement sweeping the nation in the late 1960s and carved a niche for themselves in it. In an article entitled, "Goals Are Black Unity and Black Consciousness," appearing in BSA's newspaper, *Drums* (1967), the organization declared, "It is our responsibility to interpret to each student the changing attitude of the Black Movement [from the Civil Rights Movement to the Black Power Movement] nationally and locally and to reflect Black Consciousness."

Heavily influenced by national Black Power figures such the Black Panther Party, Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Malcolm X, Julius Lester, and Don L. Lee, and others, Black UIUC students began to formulate an ideology. They gleaned parts from their own experience in civil rights struggle and appropriated others from national discussions on Black Power and new tactics for Black liberation. Increasingly, they involved themselves in Black freedom struggles, and as Mr. Eggleston stated, "went with the Movement" (1997). They funneled their increased numbers and energy into creating change at the university. According to Ms. Long-Green, the SEOP students "wanted the university to catch up with the times and remove itself from the very protective collegiate ivy league world" (1997).

The shift in national sentiments, attitudes, tactics, and goals regarding Black liberation began to be manifest on the UIUC campus toward the middle to late 1960s. Students questioned the goals of the Civil Rights Movement, "The mood had really become not anti-integration or not integration at any price, but is integration really the goal?" (Cullers 1997). Black students pondered other objectives and followed the shift from racially integrated civil rights organizations to predominantly or all Black civil rights organizations, from non-confrontational or moderate methods to aggression. By the later 1960s, the NAACP and other integration-minded organizations still existed on campus but faced fierce competition for Black members from newly formed Black Power-minded organizations. It would be futile to argue that all Black students swayed toward Black Power. It is doubtless that many continued to fight for the equal opportunity to assimilate into the dominant White society and culture while others fought for an equal opportunity to participate in a pluralistic society. However, Black Power-minded organizations gained momentum with a significant part of the Black student population. By 1967, Black Power became the ascendant ideology on the UIUC campus.

The definition of "Black consciousness," according to the interviewees, varied between different individuals and groups. They were careful not to paint a monolithic picture of Black student ideology. As Mr. Roberts stated, "You had people who were Black nationalists, culturally oriented, academicians. We were spread all over" (1997). Mr. Shelley described parts of the group as Marxist, Pan-Africanists, or most concerned with Black Studies. "It was a very disparate group in terms of ideology" (1997). Regardless of their differences in ideology, all interviewees understood that the Black students were connected and bonded together. Though they subscribed to different beliefs, "we understood we were banded together because of race" (Roberts 1997). Whatever the route the end was the same: Black liberation.

Reflecting on BSA's tangible goals, Mr. Eggleston remembered the increasing sophistication of objectives. At first, one of the primary goals of BSA was to integrate the campus. Not only did BSA view increasing the number of Black students a way in which to train future Black leaders but as psychologically satisfying as well. The low number of Black students deeply affected emotional well being and friendships. "Being there, it was so lonely. When people flunked out, it was devastating. Every year you had to make new friends. If you made three friends, two of them would leave." As their ideology became more developed and their goals more defined, "We got more sophisticated and wanted more Black professors. We got more sophisticated and wanted a Black student center. We got more sophisticated and wanted equal rights and good wages for Black auxiliary staff" (Eggleston 1997). BSA acted as an organized forum for students to discuss issues relevant to the Black community and as a reminder to individual Black students that they were not alone in their frustration and isolation on campus. BSA then took that energy, and as Ms. Atkins stated, "pushed the envelope for the university."

In their pursuit of liberation, African American UIUC students, consistent with national trends, formed all Black academic organizations, sponsored all Black events, and initiated all Black activities. According to Mr. Roberts, "There were attempts by the university to figure out how to bring Black students into the mix of things. But, many Black students didn't want to be a part of what was going on at the university. We weren't accepted into their social events, but nobody really wanted to be anyway" (1997). Instead of participating in established groups or activities Black students created a parallel existence in which Blackness was the center. All Black organizations such as the Black Law Students Association and the Black Engineers Association and activities such as Black Chorus and Black Homecoming served the academic and social needs of Black students attending a predominantly White institution, "you could go [there] and you didn't feel like you were being beat up on by the university. Every place else you went had such a negative situation. At least for that hour you felt like you were in a positive situation where people were reinforcing whatever needs you had" (Roberts 1997).

Why then, many Whites asked, would Black students attend UIUC instead of an historically Black college? If they felt more comfortable with separate activities and felt the university was not supportive, why not transfer? Answers among the interviewees varied, but none interpreted the perceived dissonance as debilitating. Some interviewees, especially those in SEOP, indicated that their financial packages kept them at UIUC. Others explained that there was an attitude among some Black UIUC students that their peers at historically Black institutions were not as academically capable. Though noting it was elitist, Ms. Atkins stated, "There was an attitude that we may have been a tad bit better" (1997). Many interviewees noted the prestige of UIUC. The academic reputation of the university and its high status among premier institutions was attractive and beneficial for future career pursuits. Mr. Cullers explained UIUC attendance as a right as taxpaying citizens in the state of Illinois. He stated, "Since we're paying taxes for this institution, we felt we should be able to take advantage of it" (1997). Discussions of the possible incongruence between Black Power ideology and attendance at a predominantly White institution existed but was not the primary concern of Black UIUC students. As Townsend stated, "We were more concerned with trying to pressure this university into being all it could be" (1997).

To be considered "truly Black" could be difficult and demanding. "Your academic success wasn't what you were measured by, it was your participation in relevant things" (Roberts 1997). Expectations for Black students included attending every BSA meeting. Mr. Shelley remembered that students took attendance, socialized with Blacks only, dated Blacks only, participated in all Black student sponsored events, and avoided White friendships. As Mr. Roberts described it, "if you ventured outside of that you were considered an outcast" (1997). Commenting on the pressures to conform Mr. Shelley stated, "Many of them were here trying to decide how Black they had to be while they were here. There was lots of pressure on students for them to behave a certain way. You could see the dissonance in how they were expected to act and how they really wanted to act" (1997).

Some interviewees noted a pressure to conform to certain ideas of Blackness. The degree of pressure felt by interviewees or exerted by interviewees varied. Mr. Eggleston acknowledged there was pressure but did not consider it a factor in relationships between Black students. Though it may not have influenced Black friendships, Mr. Cullers explained how this pressure to be "truly Black" influenced friendships between Black and White students, "As the 1960s wore on, those relationships were not tended to. It was that period of being to ourselves and trying to work with ourselves solely" (1997). Also, Ms. Williams described the influence of the new ideology on the Black Greek fraternities and sororities, "We were pressured to get involved in BSA and not other things, especially Greek life. BSA would say to be Greek is to be White" (1997). Other interviewees who were also members of Greek letter organizations expressed similar sentiments. Whereas in decades earlier membership in a Greek letter organization brought prestige, in the later 1960s it became antithetical to the cause of Black liberation. Many interviewees indicated that the number of members in Black fraternities and sororities suffered during this period of "Black consciousness."

Regardless of the differences in ideology and the often stringent nature in which Black students could be considered "truly Black," all interviewees believed the Black students of the late 1960s left a positive legacy on the campus and that they benefitted from their involvement in the Black student movement as well. Remembering the personal for Black students, Ms. Long-Green stated, "I think a strength is that it produced tremendous leaders. They understood and appreciated the opportunity the university gave them and what the university meant for those who stayed. I think it was a character building and strength building process" (1997). Mr. Roberts attributes his current success to his years at UIUC and his involvement with the Black student movement, "Reflecting back, if I didn't do anything else at the U of I, I learned how to think for myself" (1997).

Also, interviewees believed the Black student movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s left an indelible mark on the UIUC campus, "I think Black students, especially the 1968 group, changed the direction of the university. They definitely turned the ship around" (Roberts 1997). Interviewees believed the legacy included forcing the administration to recognize the heterogeneous quality of its student population and its need to sponsor organizations and activities that reflect diversity, to understand the need for more Black faculty and staff, and to be adaptable and think and act strategically. They prodded the university to action and placed it and themselves at the forefront of Black student struggle across the nation.

Lasting tangible evidence of Black Power era student influence on campus includes the Afro-American Studies and Research Program, the Afro-American Cultural Program, courses in various disciplines on the Black experience, Black Chorus, Black Homecoming, Black academic associations, and the Black Congratulatory Ceremony. Today the university continues to provide funding and space for the above activities and associations in an effort to promote and maintain diversity on campus, a diversity fostered by the arrival of the SEOP students.

Most interviewees valued their experience as UIUC students despite the tension that existed on campus during the late 1960s and early 1970s, and would repeat the experience. As Ms. Long-Green stated, "For me, U of I was a good fit in spite of coming in the back door" (1997). They recognized deficits in the university structure, but agreed that their UIUC education was invaluable and helped them attain success in later life. Attempting to explain the fondness with which students of the late 1960s and early 1970s remember their experience at UIUC Mr. Shelley stated, "They look back on their days here with much more affection than students who left after them because they accomplished so much in such difficult times. They honor the experience more. It cost them more to get through it therefore they value it more"(1997).

The 1968 SEOP students left a tangible legacy on campus in the form of institutionalized programs and policies. Their insistence on separate activities based on race continues in the form of Black residence hall councils and academic associations. Their attempt to force the university to grapple with their demands as Black people subscribing to the philosophy of Black Power acted as the catalyst in the university's increasing commitment to its multicultural student population. As the interviewees mentioned, they prodded the university out of its protective shell and into the forefront of Black student struggle on predominantly White college campuses.

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Talent Knows No Color: A New School's Multiple Beginnings

Elaine Clift Gore
The University of Texas at Austin

In the fall of 1971, the Houston (Texas) Independent School District (HISD) opened the High School for the Performing and Visual Arts (HSPVA). Modeled on New York City's High School for Performing Arts and High School for Music and Art, HISD Superintendent Dr. George Garver and the HISD Board of Education hoped that HSPVA would be Houston's first positive demonstration of voluntary racial desegregation (Garver 1997, Oser 1997, Tinsley and Tinsley 1997).

The need for a positive demonstration of voluntary desegregation in Houston in 1971 could not have been more urgent. In August 1970, Federal District Judge Ben Connally ordered the immediate implementation of an unpopular, involuntary desegregation plan for HISD, the sixth largest school district in the United States (C of C 1970). On appeal, the Fifth Circuit Court developed a complex plan for HISD. Secondary students were assigned to their geographically closest school, an arrangement which changed the previous racially gerrymandered zoning, and the staff of each school was racially mixed to approximate black and white racial percentages in the district as a whole (History 1972, Houston plan 1972).

Historic school loyalties, perceptions of excellence, and racial prejudice encouraged many students and their parents to falsify home addresses or to rent apartments to remain within the districts of their preferred schools (Bull et al. 1997, Kronzer 1970). Private schools sprang up overnight to meet the demand of parents and students who decided to quit the public schools. Although HISD escaped court-ordered busing, public anger directed at HISD's Board of Education and Superintendent Garver crossed all racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic lines (Garver 1972, Tinsley 1974).

Garver sought to restore the Houston public's faith in schooling as a positive experience even though student bodies were racially desegregated (Garver 1997). This goal was shared by the Board of Education (Oser 1997, Tinsley and Tinsley 1997). In the search for such positive educational experiences, three new formats gained acceptance. The first, in 1971, was the creation of the Houston Community College, which held evening and weekend classes on high school campuses. The second was the establishment of HSPVA in 1971, and the third was the establishment of the High School for Health Professions in 1972 (Garver 1997, Oser 1997). The latter two programs were referred to as "alternative" or "special" high schools, as was Houston Technical Institute (HTI). These schools were planned to be fully desegregated and drew their student bodies from the entire district based on their educational focus (Whiteley 1997). Starting in late 1971, HISD officials began to refer to them as "magnet" schools (Houston plan 1972).

White Houston arts supporters had long looked to New York as the only model worthy of their attention in the development of their city's as a national arts center. Since New York had high schools for artistically talented students, of course Houston needed one as well (McLanahan 1997). The HISD music and drama teachers simply wanted a school capable of challenging their most talented students. HISD Supervisor of Music Education Mildred Roach had begun to enlist support for such a school during the mid-1950s after she visited the New York High School of Music and Art (Red and Munson 1997). However, talk of such a school died after Sputnik's launch in 1957; all discretionary funds were used for science laboratories in secondary schools (Clifton 1997, Red and Munson 1997). Plans for HSPVA in 1970 revived the dormant dream.

By January 1971, letters from Houston arts organizations arrived at the HISD Office of Board Services in support of the creation of HSPVA (Gockley 1971). Former drama teacher Ruth Denney assumed all responsibility for the school's planning and implementation. Since 1966, she had directed HISD's Coordinated Vocational and Academic Education (CVAE) program which featured a close tie between vocational and academic curriculum for students perceived as in danger of dropping out of high school (Whiteley 1997). This melding of the vocational and academic curriculums became a primary feature of HSPVA (Denney and Nipper 1997, Orlando 1997).

Superintendent Garver was not content with a vision of HSPVA as a vocational high school for the traditional fine arts. During the winter of 1971, he approached both Denney and Lamar High School's CVAE teacher Jean Nipper about the possible inclusion of media as one of the HSPVA arts majors. Nipper had just finished raising funds from Houston businesses for a vocational media program at Lamar which would place interns at Houston's radio and television stations as well as corporate audiovisual departments. By February 1971, the planned program had moved from Lamar to HSPVA (Denney 1971a, Denney and Nipper 1997).

Denney spoke of herself as the person who took the idea for HSPVA, one that had bounced around HISD for years, and made it go (Denney and Nipper 1997). Her first actions enlisted the aid of HISD's ninth grade counselors and arts teachers in the organization of the new school.

> An exciting opportunity to participate in the planning of a High School of Performing Arts is being offered to all of us. Briefly, the purpose of such a school would be to more effectively and professionally train and educate those students with ability, potential and desire in any of the many fields of the performing and visual arts. The students would also have the opportunity to be trained in the arts of stage construction, costume design, scenic design, radio and television techniques, film and video taping, photography, instrument repair, lighting and sound design and operation, and the many other skilled occupations allied with the fine and performing arts (Denney 1971a).

This description emphasized the desirable efficiency of concentrating HISD's arts resources in one high school.

Denney also organized a creative planning workshop to which she invited HISD trustees and central office administrators, representatives of Houston arts organizations, arts professors from several Texas universities, HISD arts supervisors, and HISD high school arts teachers. Out of this workshop came HSPVA's official motto: "Education is an adventure in trust" (Denney 1971b). Students at the new school would be offered artistic and personal freedom coupled with adult trust in their responsible use of that freedom. A required student contract spoke to the issue.

> The privilege of attending this school rests upon my own personal responsibility and dedication. I commit myself to good attendance, cooperation, respect for people and the school, and serious work in order that I may continue at the High School of the Performing and Visual Arts (Contract 1972).

The planning workshop also acted as a recruiting forum for HSPVA's future faculty, but recruiting was never necessary. By June 1971, "150 applications from through[ou]t the country for faculty positions" had been received (Lawes 1971). The number of faculty applications grew to 300 before the school opened in August (Weber 1971, 9). From these, Denney picked a tri-ethnic faculty of seven full-time academic teachers, twelve full-time arts teachers, and one counselor (Faculty 1971, Sinclair 1997). Part-time arts consultants were hired by each of the arts departments (Bonner 1997).

Despite Denney's careful involvement of HISD's arts teachers, she necessarily contended with their belief that HSPVA would "steal" their best students. A reassuring memorandum to all arts teachers followed the planning workshop.

> In further explanation a High School of Performing Arts would *not* be a threat to any existing drama, music, or art department, nor to individual teachers and/or studios as it would be geared to take care of only those students who wished to pursue a professional career . . . . In my twenty years as a drama teacher I doubt that there were more than 5 students a year who would have taken advantage of such training. I do know there are too many boys and girls that we are missing who get 'turned off' by regular classes, who drop out and do not complete high school. These talented teenagers are the boys and girls--the talented, untrained, unsure, and poorly educated--that we must keep in school and better equip to become productive artists (Denney undated).

The music teachers were the most difficult to convince, but Westbury High School instrumental teacher Leslie Munson recalled that he lost only two students to HSPVA when it opened in the fall (Denney and Nipper, Garver 1997, Red and Munson 1997). Denney's memorandum highlighted her view that HSPVA would serve to decrease dropouts of artistically talented students.

Denney was offered her choice of three locations for HSPVA and she enlisted the help of architect Barry Moore to reach a decision. Two of the sites were former elementary schools with many classrooms, but only a multi-purpose cafetorium for performance and rehearsal space. Moore, like Denney, was inspired by the former Beth Israel's auditorium and attached Levy Memorial Hall and educational buildings at the corner of Holman and Austin streets. The site lay east of Main Street within the attendance boundaries of traditionally black Jack Yates High School. With columns padded by mattresses, Lower Levy Hall became the dance studio; the auditorium of Upper Levy Hall became instrumental rehearsal space. The main auditorium of the former synagogue needed only a stage to become a theatre used full-time for drama classes as well as most performances. The courtyard provided space for an outdoor classroom and performance space (Moore 1997). The Beth Israel site was HSPVA's temporary home until bonds could be passed to create a permanent facility with adequate space for the projected capacity of 600 students (Garver 1997, HISD Chance 1972).

Denney presented the plans for HSPVA to the HISD Board of Education in May and, again, they responded with unanimous approval (HISD 1971, 17). Off the record, Garver and the Board gave Denney three years to demonstrate the school's viability as a Houston high school (Denney and Nipper 1997). HSPVA would open in fall 1971 with 200 sophomore students recruited exclusively from HISD's junior high schools. If juniors or seniors wished to be part of the school, they were to initiate their own involvement and spend afternoons only at HSPVA for their arts classes. Academic classes and graduation would take place at their home school (Denney and Nipper 1997; Proposal 1971). Forty upper-level students chose this option during the first year (HSPVA Progress 1972). The approved plan called for the addition of a sophomore class of 200 in fall 1972 and again in fall 1973 until the school reached its planned capacity (HISD Board 1971, 15).

The first hand-lettered recruiting flyer described HSPVA as "a program for professional training in the arts" (Flyer 1971). The arts were listed as instrumental music, vocal music, drama, technical theatre, photography-film-television, art, and dance. Correlation of academics and arts, student-centered curriculum, team teaching, and a daily three-hour arts time block were emphasized, along with the school's location near the "Houston fine arts district" (Flyer 1971). The only nod to desegregation was the description "student body representative of all areas of the city" (Flyer 1971). Given that HISD had been ordered to racially desegregate its schools by the 1970 court order, authors of the flyer must have believed unnecessary the mention of Garver's and the Board of Education's primary purpose for the school.

On June 13, the *Houston Chronicle* published the first feature article of what would become a media love affair with HSPVA. Fifteen-hundred interested students were reported to have auditioned for the 200 sophomore openings (Lawes 1971). Students remember hoping for entrance into the school for two primary reasons. They wanted either to get into a school with an artistic curriculum, or they wanted to get out of zoned high schools full of racial tension and student unrest. For those students who received HSPVA acceptances, their excitement and relief betrayed a mixture of both concerns (Bull et al. 1997).

In the auditions, Denney and the arts faculty looked for students with "creative potential, not artistic accomplishment" (Cunningham 1971, 30, 31). Talents of admitted students ranged from raw potential to polished artistry (Denney and Nipper 1997). Superintendent Garver, recognizing that HISD's tri-ethnic constituency should be evident at HSPVA, established racial goals for the school: 40 percent black, 40 percent white, and 20 percent brown, a rough approximation of Houston's racial demographics (Garver 1997). Although a representative of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People requested racial quotas at a July Board of Education meeting (HISD 1971, 69), Garver's percentages remained only goals.

After HSPVA's opening on 26 August 1971, word of the "natural" racial integration spread to educators in other urban districts who were faced with busing orders and other involuntary means of racial desegregation (Denney and Nipper 1997). Visiting educators began to stream into the school, a development which necessitated a change in HSPVA's dress code by fall 1973. Whereas students previously were advised to "wear shoes because there's nails on the ground," the new directions were to "look neat and tidy" (Bull et al. 1997, Denney and Nipper 1997). HSPVA became a public relations success.

Although all the evidence pointed to HSPVA as a vocational high school, fine arts and academic teachers preferred to think of media as the only vocational component of the school (Whiteley 1997). Unknown to these teachers and fine arts students who often looked down on their media colleagues (Bull et al. 1997, Kobb 1972), the media department quickly brought both recognition and financial assistance to HSPVA. When heads of Houston's major corporations visited the Industrial Media Technology (IMT) program they already funded, coordinator Jean Nipper made certain that they met Denney and toured the entire facility. Frequently, impressed with the caliber of both the media and arts programs, business leaders contributed additional funds to HSPVA (Denney and Nipper 1997). Only two years after the school opened, the U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Office of Education declared IMT "An Outstanding Program Deserving Special Recognition" (HEW 1973).

For the educators involved in HSPVA's establishment, the school was not about racial desegregation. Rather, desegregation was a by-product of district-wide recruitment, auditions, and acceptance of artistically talented students of all colors. Denney was quoted as saying "we take students on the basis of talent, which knows no color lines" (Albright 1974, 25). She firmly believed that color was subordinate to talent in the arts' industry; HSPVA's focus on talent, not color, simply reflected her belief (Denney and Nipper 1997).

What did HSPVA's founding mean? For HISD, the school's natural integration provided a ray of hope at the end of the long racial desegregation tunnel. Director Ruth Denney thought that it meant the success of a dream for artistically talented students bored by traditional high schools (Denney and Nipper 1997). To Assistant Superintendent Whiteley (1997), it was a vocational success story. HSPVA's faculty believed that college acceptances and $118,815 in scholarship money meant that connecting the arts and academics provided success for the artistically talented (Albright 1974, 25). To HSPVA's graduates, it meant an exhausting and exhilarating high school experience with other artistically talented students (Seriff 1974, 225).

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Outflanking Oppression: Critical Pedagogy as Developed by W. E. B. DuBois

Karen L. Graves
Denison University

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries African American scholars and educators adhered to an educational philosophy that empowered oppressed people, challenged scientific myths which supported social injustices, and inspired citizens to transform society. Yet scholars have not, generally, acknowledged the work of African American educators in the field of educational philosophy (Dunn 1993, 25). This is especially true regarding the educational theory which came to be known as critical pedagogy.[1] In brief, critical theorists work from the premises that the world is marked by asymmetries of power and privilege; that the individual's relationship with society is dialectical--one at once creates and is created by society; that schools, long operating as sites of domination, can be restructured to operate as sites of liberation; that any valid theory of schooling must be partisan, that is, committed to an agenda for justice and against oppression (McLaren 1994, 175-177). Although African American educators and scholars articulated an educational philosophy consistent with the major tenets of critical pedagogy, their contributions have been little recognized. To make the case that African American scholarship foreshadowed the development of critical pedagogy, this paper begins begin with the words and ideas of W.E.B. DuBois, the scholar Mary White Ovington distinguished as "the master builder, whose work will speak to men as long as there is an oppressed race on earth" (Lewis 1993, 496).[2]

William Edward Burghardt DuBois came to see his own life as representative of African Americans' struggle for justice in the United States, and eventually of all Africans in the Diaspora. Eric J. Sundquist comments that DuBois' writing and his life's work as historian, sociologist, teacher, civil rights activist, editor, novelist, governmental envoy, Pan-Africanist, and political theorist underscored the intensity of DuBois' efforts to understand the biography of his race (DuBois 1996, 5). Called the "premier architect of the civil rights movement in the United States," DuBois exemplified the meaning of praxis that is central to the critical theorist's agenda (Lewis 1993, 4). Research on African American scholarship in the area of critical theory, certainly, cannot end with a study of DuBois alone; but, as James B. Stewart has argued, the magnitude of DuBois' intellectual and social contributions, together with the difficulty scholars have in comprehending DuBois' work with the use of traditional labels, justify an initial focus on DuBois (1984, 298).

Indeed, no single intellectual tradition has yet been able to capture the ideas of the man perhaps best described as a Black Radical Democrat (Sundquist 1996, 10; Marable 1986). In the course of ninety-five years DuBois moved from what could be described as a conservative intellectual-political position, to a liberal, and then radical, perspective. Throughout his life, however, DuBois remained constant to an ideal that characterizes critical pedagogy: belief that education can be used to generate economic and political power to overturn oppression. In this paper I argue that DuBois' scholarship foreshadowed the development of critical pedagogy by focusing on two themes in his writings on education: education as an essential element in the process of liberation; and, schools as significant sites of struggle. In his 1930 address, "Education and Work," DuBois articulated ideas that resonate in the work of critical theorists six decades later. Speaking to African American students in the days of Jim Crow, DuBois explained:

> We are not going to share modern civilization just by deserving recognition. We are going to force ourselves in by organized far-seeing effort--by outthinking and outflanking the owners of the world today who are too drunk with their own arrogance and power successfully to oppose us, if we think and learn and do (DuBois 1973, 77).

Nearing the height of his leadership of African Americans in the United States, DuBois was beginning to outline a different strategy for outflanking oppression than that articulated by the young Harvard school earlier in his career. Forty years of education and economic productivity among African Americans had done little to loosen white America's grip of race hatred and discrimination. As DuBois turned to organization as a key element in the liberation of African Americans, he wielded the same "weapons" with which he began his life's work, "grand ideas propelled by uncompromising language" (Lewis 1993, 4; DuBois 1968, 192; Wright 1978, 85).

DuBois exposed the asymmetry of power that marked U.S. Society with clarity. His was a hegemonic society in which

> the Negro is not free. In the backwoods of the Gulf states, for miles and miles, he may not leave the plantation of his birth; in well-nigh the whole rural South the black farmers are peons, bound by law and custom to an economic slavery, from which the only escape is death or the penitentiary. In the most cultured sections and cities of the South the Negroes are a segregated servile caste, with restricted rights and privileges. Before the courts, both in law and custom, they stand on a different and peculiar basis. Taxation without representation is the rule of their political life (DuBois 1901, 364).

This was the environment for which the young professor at Atlanta University argued for schools as sites of empowerment.

DuBois understood the consequence of using "knowledge as power" to overturn an unjust social system. In 1901 he wrote "for education among all kinds of men always has had, and always will have, an element of danger and revolution, of dissatisfaction and discontent" (DuBois 1901, 361). Five years later DuBois stood before an audience at Hampton Institute and, in an unforgettable speech that antedated Paulo Freire's concept of *conscientiazacao*, traced repressive educational policy to a "Great Fear." DuBois explained that "when a human being becomes suddenly conscious of the tremendous powers lying latent within him. . . he rises to the powerful assertion of a self, conscious of its might, then there is loosed upon the world possibilities of good or evil that make men pause" (DuBois 1973, 8-9). DuBois' references to the dissatisfaction and discontent stirred up by education, the awareness of the power within an individual to alter social structures, are forms of a critical consciousness that Freire described as *conscientizacao*: "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against oppressive elements of reality" (Freire 1970, 19).

DuBois identified the "Great Fear" as the dominant group's aversion to the empowerment of the oppressed; Freire wrote of a "fear of freedom" expressed by the oppressed--that critical consciousness would lead to disorder. Both the oppressors motivated by the "Great Fear" and the oppressed paralyzed by a "fear of freedom" hold that it would be better for victims of injustice not to recognize themselves as such (DuBois 1973, 8; Freire 1970, 19-20). Freire concluded that the oppressed remain resigned to the structure of domination, and to adapt to it, as long as they feel incapable of withstanding the risks associated with the fight for freedom. He believed that oppressed often found the security of conforming to a state of unfreedom preferable to the consequences of a pursuit for freedom. This was the type of response that DuBois called to question in his 1903 essay, "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others." Crediting Washington for possessing incredible insight on the emerging economic conditions at the turn of the century, DuBois nevertheless charged that "Mr. Washington represents in Negro thought the old attitude of adjustment and submission" (DuBois 1990, 42; Freire 1970, 32). DuBois countered Washington's accommodationist strategy by arguing for empowerment through suffrage, civil rights, and education. In doing so, DuBois attacked the notion that the oppressive reality of Jim Crow was unchangeable. The ability to perceive oppression as a situation capable of transformation, a fundamental principle in DuBois' and Freire philosophies, was held as a necessary condition for liberation (DuBois 1990, 44; Freire 1970, 34). DuBois defined education as the drawing out, the fullest and roundest development of one's powers as a human being. Aware that such a process would incite "Great Fear" in the oppressors, DuBois became a forceful and constant advocate of education designed to empower African Americans and transform society. Speaking from the platform at Hampton Institute in the summer of 1906, DuBois justified his philosophy with the warning, "unless we develop our full capabilities, we cannot survive" (1973, 9-10).

DuBois' argument for a systematic method of education for empowerment sharpened focus with his 1903 essay, "The Training of Negroes for Social Power," in which he called for the "training of youth to thought, power, and knowledge in the school and college" (1903, 413). Four years later he underscored the important role the public school would play in the twentieth-century battle over the color line, writing that the "public school is the greatest single thing that is going to solve the race problem" (DuBois 1907, 174). The education which would insure survival in a hostile environment and enable African Americans to dismantle the color line could not be narrowly conceived. Writing in the *Crisis* in 1912 DuBois urged readers to "educate your children. Give them the broadest and highest education possible; train them to the limit of their ability" (1912, 76). DuBois' championed education not only to build up knowledge and strength among African Americans, but also as a means to enlighten white oppressors who acted, DuBois concluded, from a position of ignorance.

The idea that education was essential to the process of liberation emerged in DuBois' support of public schools. In "The Negro Common School," DuBois urged national support for common schools in the South on this basis: "Race antagonism can only be stopped by intelligence. It is dangerous to wait, it is foolish to hesitate" (Lewis 1993, 221).

Less than four years later, as editor of the *Crisis*, DuBois pointed to the need for organization along with intelligence in the fight for freedom. The training ground had been expanded to include the entire community, but education remained the essential element in the struggle.

> the great blow--the freeing of ten million--and of other millions whom they pull down--that means power and organization on a tremendous scale. The men who fight in these ranks must be educated and *The Crisis* can train them. . . (Lewis 1993, 494).

Although DuBois never expected the color line to fall in the United States at just one blow, his faith that white America would learn to respect African Americans dimmed during his years in Atlanta. Following the Atlanta race riot of 1906, DuBois noted that ten years of living in the South had convinced him that no amount of desert on the part of African Americans would induce white citizens to grant them equal rights (1974, 244, 254). By 1916 DuBois was convinced that disfranchisement and separate, unequal schools would characterize U.S. Society for several more generations (Lewis 1993, 469, 521). His "overworked theory" collapsed under the weight of evidence, mounting with every lynching and riot, that accomplishment did not bring an end to prejudice and discrimination. Racism in the North was not far removed from conditions in the southern states, causing DuBois to write in 1934 that the solution to the race problem was farther away than he had dreamed in his youth (1986, 1240, 1256). By 1935 DuBois was calling for action in "A Negro Nation Within The Nation" (1996, 436).

DuBois was attentive to race and class dimensions of oppression throughout the twentieth century but conditions during the Great Depression pushed economic reconstruction to the forefront of his thought. In 1936 DuBois argued that political freedom and power were dependent on economic organization (1985, 112; Marable 1986, 61). DuBois' call for organization within the African American community was not an acceptance of racial subordination nor was it a retreat from the ideal of cultural pluralism. It was, simply, a means of preparing a direct assault on the forces which maintained a rigidly segregated society. DuBois' most cogent writing on the school as a significant site of struggle emerged during this period.

By 1933, DuBois acknowledged "in my own mind some change of thought and modification of method" regarding segregated schools (1986, 1012). As a young scholar DuBois held to the notion that the evils of segregation and other forms of discrimination would fall away once African Americans were afforded access to full human development through education and the dominant class was faced with clear evidence of the social impact of oppression. Lewis writes that it was the "bitterest of revelations" to DuBois that "scientific truth, repeatedly broadcast, was apparently impotent to ameliorate collective behavior" (1993, 225). When it was clear that reason and humanitarian appeals for justice were ineffective in altering the racist social structure of the United States, DuBois turned to a new strategy for outflanking oppression. DuBois maintained that as long as "overwhelming public opinion sanctions and justifies and defends color segregation," African Americans must use the segregated workplace, churches, and schools to think, plan, and condition themselves for the fight against segregation (1986, 1256-1259). DuBois held this position consistently across the last four decades of his life, always explaining that this was not an argument against desegregation (DuBois 1996, 28; Marable 1986, 134). DuBois wrote with great power and intensity against segregation, calling it wasteful and undemocratic, an indictment of the hatred and prejudice leveled against African Americans in the United States. It was an illogical, distinct slap in the face of civilization which emphasized that the organization he suggested along segregated lines was no reason for giving up the fight against equality. DuBois' new approach represented a change in desegregation strategy, mandated by the conditions of U.S. society in the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century, not an abandonment of the principles he expressed earlier in the *Crisis*.

DuBois offered a concise articulation of his stand on segregated schools in the conclusion to his 1935 article, "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?" In theory, he explained, the African American needs "neither segregated schools nor mixed schools. What he needs is Education" (DuBois 1935, 335). All things being equal, the mixed school was preferable for a number of reasons. But in 1935 all things were not equal, and it was better for African American children to attend segregated schools where teachers respected the students' abilities to learn. DuBois' conditional preference of segregated schools was based on the understanding that schools could serve as sites of domination or empowerment. Any system of schooling which abused and discouraged the children was to be avoided. DuBois believed that restructuring schools to serve as sites of empowerment for African American students was essential to the struggle against oppression.

In "The Field and Function of the Negro College" DuBois supported African-centered education for its proactive potential. He championed the idea of an African American university by contrasting it with the notion of a French university. DuBois explained, with persuasive logic, that an African American university founded on a knowledge of African American culture and language was as valid as a university founded in France, using the French language, assuming a knowledge of French history, and committed to a study of the current problems of the French people. One was no more universal than the other; the expectation for both was that, from a starting point grounded in the experience of the students, the university expands toward all knowledge. DuBois described the process as "a matter of beginnings and integrations of one group which sweep instinctive knowledge and inheritance and current reactions into a universal world of science, sociology, and art" (1973, 93-95). DuBois was ready with an answer to those of his day who categorized the program as working against national unity. Was it not a program of segregation?

> It is, and it is not by choice but by force; you do not get humanity by wishing it nor do you become American citizens simply because you want to. . . [The program] does not advocate segregation by race, it simply accepts the bald fact that we are segregated, apart, hammered into a separate unity by spiritual intolerance and legal sanction backed by mob law. . . (DuBois 1973, 99-100).

DuBois developed his endorsement of segregated African-centered education out of the understanding that schools were significant sites of struggle. He hoped to find a place from which African-Americans could carefully shape a future which might insure physical survival, spiritual freedom, and social growth (DuBois 1973, 99-100).

Upon reflection, DuBois considered "The Field and Function of the Negro College" as the beginning of a new line of thought. In this speech DuBois sounded the call for organization within segregated institutions as a vehicle for empowerment. "Therefore, let us not beat futile wings in impotent frenzy, but carefully plan and guide our segregated life, organize in industry and politics to protect it and expand it, and above all to give it unhampered spiritual expression in art and literature" (DuBois 1973, 100-102).

DuBois continued the theme of education for empowerment in 1935. Such education required sympathetic touch between teacher and student; knowledge on the part of the teacher of the individual taught and of his or her surroundings, background, and history; and contact between teacher and student, and among students, on the basis of social equality (DuBois 1935, 328). He encouraged educators in African American schools to develop a curriculum and style of teaching that would help students claim their own power and ability. African American students ought to study, from their own point of view, African and African American history, particularly the history of the slave trade, slavery, emancipation, Reconstruction, and twentieth-century economic development. He called for curricular revision in the social sciences, the arts, and the sciences to counter the racist intellectual propaganda emanating from elite colleges and universities (1935, 332-334). The task DuBois laid out for scholars was not to replace white dominance in the academy with black dominance, or as he stated, "to parallel the history of white folk with similar boasting about black and brown folk" (1935, 334). His charge prompted scholars toward an honest evaluation of human effort and accomplishment, one stripped of white-supremacist notions. DuBois' educational paradigm indicated that a teacher should start with experiences and knowledge central to the students' culture, but to expand to encompass all knowledge. His ideas were echoed in Molefi Asante's definition of centricity:

> a perspective that involves locating students within the context of their own cultural references so that they can relate socially and psychologically to other cultural perspectives. . . . A person educated in a truly centric fashion comes to view all groups' contributions as significant and useful (1995, 339).

African-centered pedagogy in segregated schools represented the educational complement to DuBois' call for economic organization along race lines in the 1930s. Both efforts required an exercise in what DuBois called race pride--teaching African Americans that they had established an historical record of which they should be proud, "that their history in Africa and the world is a history of effort, success and trial, comparable with that of any other people" (1996, 76).

For DuBois, critical thought was the vehicle through which the future was to be shaped. Criticism was at the center of DuBois' philosophy tying education to social democracy, just as it lies at the heart of critical pedagogy. The meaning of criticism that DuBois outlined in his 1903 challenge to Washington became the hallmark of his efforts against injustice (1990, 39).

> But the hushing of the criticism of honest opponents is a dangerous thing. . . . Honest and earnest criticism from those whose interests a re most nearly touched. . . Is the soul of democracy and the safeguard of modern society.

At the age of 92 DuBois spoke before the twenty-fifth Conference of the Association of [Black] Social Science Teachers in Charlotte, North Carolina. He sketched a program of action leading to social equality in the United States, an existence unmarred by discrimination against African Americans and their cultural patterns. His long-held goals were to eliminate color discrimination completely and to preserve African history and culture in the process. DuBois called for children to be educated in African American history and culture, urging families and community organizations to carry the responsibility until public schools revised the curriculum. He called for widespread study of political economy and the media to shake loose the control of hegemonic structures.

DuBois held to the notion that education was essential to the process of liberation throughout his life. His recognition that schools were significant sites of struggle fueled his determination to make segregated schools centers of empowerment, even as he despised the principle of segregation itself. DuBois pointed to the danger of schooling children to submission decades before the NAACP battle against segregation was won in the courts and African American children faced this very situation in public schools.

Critical pedagogy is practiced by those who commit themselves to the fight against injustice and oppression. In this, admittedly partisan, endeavor, teachers and students can learn from the life and work of DuBois, one whose "greatest virtue was his committed empathy with all the oppressed and his divine dissatisfaction with all forms of injustice" (Martin Luther King, Jr, quoted in Marable 1986, 217).

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Endnotes

1. Scholars who have acknowledged African American contributions to critical theory include Aptheker, Asante, Dunn, Greene, hooks, King, Lee, Lomotey, Shujaa, and Stewart.

2. Many quotations in this paper contain gender-specific language or the term "Negro" to refer to persons of African descent.

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Ivan Illich as Deschooler: A History of the Center for Intercultural Documentation

Pat Inman
Northern Illinois University

In 1970 Ivan Illich published his radical criticism of compulsory schooling, *Deschooling Society*. It is this work for which Illich is most well known. This series of essays was the result of a collaboration with Everett Reimer dating back to 1967 when Reimer and Illich met regularly at the Center for Intercultural Documentation (CIDOC) in Cuernavaca, Mexico. Their ideas were refined through Wednesday morning discussions during the spring and summer of 1970 along with Paulo Friere, Peter Berger, John Holt, and Paul Goodman.

While Illich had written of the dangers of dependence upon institutionalized values which "leads inevitably to physical pollution, social polarization, and psychological impotence. . . ," it was at this time that he developed his thinking further regarding institutionalized knowledge production (Illich 1970, 1). He carried this idea one step further when he concluded that compulsory education was actually harmful in that social reality was shaped and reinforced through school's curriculum, which stressed dependence on expert knowledge and institutions. One example is that technocrats define poverty through their standards of consumption which they change at will. Defined in this manner, poverty refers to those "who have fallen behind an advertised ideal of consumption in some important respect" (Illich 1970, 4).

While the poor have always been socially powerless, Illich states that compulsory schooling increases their impotence as "increasing reliance on institutional care adds a new dimension to their helplessness" (Illich 1970, 4). Further, as formal education itself increasingly comes to be viewed as a necessary commodity, the gap between social classes widens as those who are able to afford it consume a greater number of years. The mere existence of school is viewed by Illich as disabling as the poor no longer take control of their own learning. But Illich's greatest concern with the hidden agenda of consumption within schools was the modernized poverty of spirit experienced by all classes in society. Illich feels that this spiritual poverty is the result of an educational system which creates false needs. Economic expansion deprives both rich and poor of their freedom and power to act autonomously; to live creatively. Illich believes that this confines humanity to survival through market relations. Even knowledge becomes a commodity that not all can afford. So what action must be taken if we are to restore dignity and autonomy to the learner? Illich states:

> The current search for new educational *funnels* must be reversed into the search for their institutional inverse: educational *webs* which heighten the opportunity for each one to transform each moment of his living into one if learning, sharing, and caring (Illich 1970, v)

Such an educational system would have three purposes:

> (1) provide all who want to learn with access to available resources at any time in their lives. (2) to empower all whom want to share what they know to find those who want to learn from them. (3) to furnish all who want to present an issue to the public with the opportunity to make their challenge known (Illich 1970, 75)

The founding of the highly controversial Center for Intercultural Documentation in Cuernavaca, Mexico by Illich was the result of just such an unconventional educational approach. Established in 1961, CIDOC was part language school, part conference center, part free university, and part publishing house. An extension of a previous missionary training center in Puerto Rico, it was designed to keep all but the most progressive missionaries away. As it evolved, CIDOC became an oasis for the free exchange of knowledge and experience. This paper will trace the history of this educational endeavor which existed well ahead of its time, discuss the irony that such a progressive site of learning should emerge in a country which has produced one of the world's most reactionary brands of Catholicism, and review several of the criticisms which have been leveled of CIDOC. The use of Illich's publications, secondary sources, CIDOC documents and publications, interviews with CIDOC students and instructors, as well as tapes from the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and Illich acquaintances provided the base of my research.

One cannot discuss the history of CIDOC without first looking into the background of its founder. Illich was born on September 4, 1926 in Vienna, Austria to Ivan Peter and Ellen (Regenstreif-Ortlieb) Illich. His father, a diplomat from an aristocratic family, was a Roman Catholic Croatian. His mother was from a Sephardic Jewish family that originated in Spain before settling near Heidelberg. Illich was an honor student at the Piaristen-gymnasium in Vienna from 1936 until 1941, when in accordance with anti-Semitic laws imposed by the Nazi occupiers the family left the country. At that point the Illich family stayed mainly in Florence and Rome. In Florence, Illich enrolled in the university, obtaining his degree in chemistry. After the war, he obtained a Ph.D. in history at the University of Salzburg and studied philosophy and theology at the Gregorian University in Rome, where he prepared for the priesthood. It was here that he met a man who was to become his mentor and friend, the French Catholic philosopher, Jacques Maritain who "laid the Thomistic foundations of my entire perceptual mode" (Illich 1989, 3). This implied that rational thought was not complete without spiritual grounding. St. Thomas affirmed the value of the individual in its subjective contribution. In years to come Illich would echo this in his critic of societal institutions.

After his ordination in 1951, Illich's superiors in Rome groomed him for a career in canon law or the Vatican diplomatic service. He attempted to escape the papal bureaucracy by working on a post-doctoral thesis in New York City. On his first evening in the city, he overheard friends of his grandfather making disparaging remarks about the influx of Puerto Ricans. Intrigued, Illich spent the next two days in the barrio beneath the tracks of New York Central, where they had their market. His fascination with the Puerto Rican culture gave an entirely new direction to his life and two days later Illich went to Cardinal Spellman's office and asked for an assignment to a Puerto Rican parish. Cardinal Spellman, then Archbishop of New York, assigned him to assist the pastor of Incarnation Church in the Washington Heights section of Manhattan. Formerly a parish consisting of Irish-Americans, Incarnation's character was rapidly changing with the migration of Puerto Ricans. The older immigrant populations, the Irish, the Italians, and the Jews, were reacting to the Puerto Ricans with the same prejudice which they had experienced.

Illich soon became aware that the American church ignored the Puerto Rican culture when considering its policies and practicies. He felt that by doing so one missed out on a great richness which would have enhanced perspectives and, consequently, lives. Illich revolutionized the archdiocese's approach to the Puerto Rican "problem." During his yearly vacations he steeped himself in the culture. He walked, rode horseback, and hitchhiked all across Puerto Rico. After one such trip he wrote:

> The first Mass I said at about six in the morning, after I had slept on the alter steps of the chapel. Then I traveled on, by horseback, to the next chapel. I heard confessions, baptized, married, and off I went to the third chapel, still on horseback, where I arrived after noon (Gray 1970, 44).

More importantly, Illich's philosophy of cultural humility provided a whole new perspective for missionaries and ministering among minorities in the U.S. His intent was to convince the missioners to relinquish their messianic intentions and to replace them with "intercultural sensitivity." Illich explains:

> Missionary Poverty is the core of missionary formation. The development of a missionary spirit will have to start from an analysis of the concept of spiritual poverty of Ignatian indifference, or detachment..Intellectual formation in the social sciences, or linguistic studies for the missioner must be seen as an occasion and even as a means for development of a specific form of spiritual detachment and freedom for contemplative love corresponding to his very personal vocation (Illich 1962).

Illich felt that an American priest working with a foreign population should cultivate a spirit of "total cultural indifference, a beatitude of cultural poverty." In his unorthodox service to his parish, Illich cut through all formalities in order to meet the needs of the communicants. His deep respect for the Puerto Rican culture resulted in a mutual reverence of his parishioners.

In 1956, realizing Illich's insights and practice might be used to foster a bridge between America and Latin America, Cardinal Spellman agreed to Illich's appointment as vice-rector of the Catholic University of Puerto Rico, where he was to start a pioneering center for the training of American priests. While Illich and Spellman often disagreed on central issues, over the years theirs was a relationship of deep respect. The training center's purpose was to steep American priests in various aspects of Puerto Rican and Latin-American culture.

> He made them (the future missionaries) live on the simplest of native diets, inspired them to travel to the wildest mountain regions of Puerto Rico on foot and horseback, and grilled them with cross-examinations worth of a Jesuit novice-master (Gray 1970, 44).

Throughout his stay in Puerto Rico Illich aroused local ecclesiastical resentment by insisting that Mainland-born clergy and religious were imposing North American style of Catholicism on an Hispanic culture. After a particularly bitter dispute between the Most Rev. James McManus, the mainland-born Roman Catholic Bishop of Ponce, Illich was forced to end all of his work in Puerto Rico. He returned to New York determined to lessen cultural ignorance and increase professional competence of North American and European Roman Catholics intending to go to the aid of Latin America.

Under the initial sponsorship of Fordham University, Illich founded the Center of Intercultural Formation, from which sprang the center in Cuernavaca, Mexico soon to be known as the Center for Intercultural Documentation or CIDOC. Established in 1961, its opening coincided with the launching of the Alliance for progress as well as the call the Pope issued to the North American Church to send ten per cent of its personnel--or about twenty thousand priests and religious--to Latin America in order to alleviate the critical shortage of clergy in that region.

> Illich saw an ominous conjunction between the two projects. . . Illich's CIDOC-part language school, part conference center, part free university, part publishing house-was designed not so much to train missionaries as to keep all but the most progressive of them away (Gray 1970, 46).

For several weeks after his return to New York, Illich studied a map of Latin America, searching for "a valley with an excellent climate, with a town not more than an hour away from a great library and a good university, where housing and food would be cheap enough to accommodate many students" (Gray 1970, 46). He flew to Santiago, Chile, and proceeded to walk and hitchhike to Caracas, Venezuela-a distance of three thousand miles. South America provided no valley fitting Illich's specifications so he continued his search northward, settling in Cuernavaca, Mexico about fifty miles south of Mexico City. Illich also found support in the bishop of Cuernavaca, Bishop Mendez Arceo, who a year after Illich settled in Cuernavaca emerged as the leader of the Second Vatican Council's ultra-progressive ecumenical wing.

CIDOC became Illich's anti-school, which existed as a source of criticism for existing secular orthodoxies of development. Under the shadow of the Popocatepetl Volcano, a small permanent staff, a handful of cisiting scholars, and a few hundred students a year. It seems ironic that such a center existed in one of the most powerful and reactionary theocracies in Latin America. The Mexican Church had long aligned itself with wealthy landowners and "sought alliances with numerous foreign powers that periodically invaded the country to combat its movements of liberation" (Gray 1970, 47).

Ms. Valentine Borremans directed the courses in all aspects of Latin American life. CIDOC had a 15,000-item research library which included unparalleled collections of religious history and the relationship between value systems and social change. Above all, the center was the locus of discussions among intellectuals of all political hues from all continents on subjects ranging from poverty to guerrilla insurrection. While discussions were open, Illich made it clear that CIDOC was not to be used as a base for insurrection. While Illich is viewed as a progressive, he insists that a priest must abstain from direct political action. Lee Hoinacki, a close friend of Illich's states:

> The people who defined us a some sort of enemy usually knew nothing about what we were really doing. There were these illusions people had about what was going on there, and people seemed to operate in terms of those illusions in their estimation and in their actions against us (Hoinacki 1989, 6).

Accordingly, the papal bureaucracy viewed Ilich's center as a threat and in June 1968 called Illich to Rome for an inquisition about his rumored subversive activities. Soon after, the Vatican declared CIDOC off limits to priests, nuns, and other religious. In response to these allegations and sanctions, Illich decided, in 1973, that it was time to dismantle CIDOC.

> I had come to the conclusion that all that I wished to achieve and that could be done had been done. That because of the funny image created, the physical danger to my collaborators had become something which it was difficult to take responsibility for. You must think what Latin America was at that moment. And I also understood that the place would not be able to save itself from university-like institutionalization. Stanford, Cornell, and some other universities had groups of three or four professors each who wanted to take over that place, which would have meant that the 63 people who

> under the leadership of Valentina Borremans actually ran and made the centre, none of whom had a college degree, most of whom had not finished elementary school, would be replaced by a new bunch of internationals (Illich 1989, 15).

Illich also perceived changes in the Mexican economy. The center had been run on the surplus generated by the well-known language school and that depended on CIDOC's being able to charge American prices while paying Mexican wages. The post-OPEC oil boom threatened this arrangement. Illich called together his staff of sixty-three and made a proposal. He convinced the staff that for whatever time it took, the income expenditure would not be spent on the purchase of new materials or airplane tickets for requested speakers, but instead would go into a fund. When the fund had reached one and a half times the salary mass of a year, it would be divided into sixty-three equal parts and the institution would be closed. This happened on CIDOC's tenth anniversary, April 1976, with a huge fiesta at which hundreds of people from town were present.

Those involved with CIDOC dismantled the institution with a sense of acceptance. "The rapid changes in the very fluid program are at once the great asset of this contemporary program as well as the source of much criticism" (Yuasa 1967, 1). Beyond acceptance, Illich advises one to celebrate the mystery and surprise of perpetual renewal. Illich related, "The Center is like a party. It is a group of people who have rather unusual competencies living here together within a house with more rooms than we can use. So we invite guests" (Illich 1967, 11). CIDOC represented a commons where inspired individuals united in the organic generation of knowledge. The joyful detachment from permanence and limitations provided the strength for this example of institutional creativity.

Illich is an idealist. He views planning as a new species of the sin of presumption. For Illich social transformation will result from the instinctive connection of self-actualized individuals within a commons rather than planned or managed political action. This is where Illich departs from other more pragmatic social critics. It is imperitive that we provide for this commons and that we accept *on faith* that if we use learning to find our authentic selves, creative possibilities will be optimized in social transformation.

We must discard our cynicism which does nothing but limit our possibilities and we must restore our faith in the spontaneous affiliation of inspired individuals. Education viewed in this manner becomes a search for self, and this enriches a society in a constant state of renewal. Illich believes that dependence upon institutionalized knowledge production not only limits human possibilities, but stupefies participants as they are convinced of their inadequacy and need of professional educators. Michel Foucault refers to this institutional promotion as "pastoral power" (Foucault 1980).

Power for Illich resides in the acceptance of "radical powerlessness" as we exist in the present and its creative possibilities. This flies in the face of today's teacher education so heavily weighted in technique and prescription. Illich feels that as educators we must provide for the mystery and surprise which spontaneity provides. This describes the foundation provided by the Center for Intercultural Documentation.

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Seeking Racial Tolerance: The Fisk University Race Relations Institute

Katrina M. Sanders
University of Iowa

Charles Spurgeon Johnson (1893-1956) was a sociologist, race relations expert, and the first African American president of Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee. He founded the Fisk University Race Relations Institute. This essay seeks to recognize his efforts as a pioneer in the struggle for social justice and to illustrate that African Americans did not have a monolithic view of how to deconstruct America's discursive structural relations. While some African American leaders depended on educating and empowering individuals as a means of challenging the oppressive pillars that hindered African American progress, Johnson relied on utilizing social research to deconstruct structures that promoted the mental and cultural inferiority of African Americans.

Racial unrest was rampant in the United States during the 1940s. In 1943 alone, major race riots and revolts broke out in Mobile, Beaumont, Los Angeles, Detroit, and Harlem. This racially-based violence focused the country's attention on race relations and showed that racial tensions were not confined to the south. Johnson was at the forefront of examining the decade's tensions.

Born on 24 July 1893 in Bristol, Virginia, Johnson was the eldest of 5 children born to a college educated Baptist minister and a homemaker. Upon completing the African American primary school in Bristol, Johnson went to Wayland Academy, the prepatory school of Virginia Union University in Richmond. He stayed on at Virginia Union for college and received his A.B. degree in 1917. Upon graduation Johnson went on to graduate school at the University of Chicago where he met his mentor Robert E. Park. Park put Johnson into contact with the Chicago Urban League. At the Chicago Urban League Johnson began his career in race relations by "interpreting colored people to whites and white people to Negroes, Southerners to Northerners, rustics to city dwellers; analyzing people's problems so that they [could] understand themselves" (Embree 1944, 48).

Johnson interrupted his work in race relations for a year when he enlisted for military service during World War I. When Johnson returned to Chicago in 1919, he resumed his graduate studies and his position with the Chicago Urban League. He also became the investigator of African American migration for The Carnegie Foundation.

Johnson's return to Chicago also coincided with the violent Chicago Race Riots of 1919. Aware of Johnson's work in race relations, Illinois Governor Frank O. Lowden appointed Johnson Associate Executive Secretary of the Governor's Commission on Race Relations. The commission, comprised of Johnson and an interracial group of researchers, investigated the social and economic reasons for the riots. Johnson served on this commission until 1921 and published the results of the study in 1922 in *The Negro in Chicago: A Study of Race Relations and a Race Riot*.

After such experiences, in 1921, Johnson moved to New York to become head of the National Urban League's research department. There he started the organization's monthly publication *Opportunity* which published issues of race relations and showcased the literary works of African Americans. In 1928 Johnson left the National Urban League to establish and head the Social Sciences Department at Fisk University. Johnson performed several jobs at Fisk. These included serving as professor of sociology, director of the Social Science Department, and head of the Social Science Institute that later to became the Race Relations Department. From 1930 and 1943, Johnson wrote 8 books, co-authored another, and published numerous articles.

Johnson continued to work in the field of race relations with well-known philanthropic organizations like the American Missionary Association of the Congregational Church (AMA), and the Julius Rosenwald Foundation. During the 1940s as racial conflicts became more violent and frequent, the AMA set its sights on entering more directly into race relations.

In 1942 the AMA set up a special department of Race Relations at Fisk University. In an article written around 1943 for the June *Herald*, Johnson wrote that the AMA's intent was to establish a "non-institutional ministries of reconciliation in communities of acute Negro-white tension in the United States" (American Missionary Association Papers, box 243, file "Other Records: ca 1943). Confident of Johnson's ability in the area of race relations, the AMA selected him to direct their endeavor. During the 1940s Johnson and his staff, known as "The Common Ground Workers", worked as advisors to authorities in Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and other cities in the North and West that were experiencing racial tensions. He also conducted a month long race relations seminar for

Chicago city officials during February of 1943. The seminar had drawn over 150 city officials and about 400 citizens (American Missionary Association Papers, box 243, file "Other Records: ca 1943).

The Rosenwald Fund, established in 1917 by Julius Rosenwald, president of Sears, Roebuck and Company, was also interested in directly entering the field of race relations. The fund was incorporated in Illinois as a non-profit organization concerned with the well-being of mankind (Embree and Waxman 1949, 28). By 1948, when the Rosenwald fund ended, it had partially funded some 5,000 schools for African Americans (Embree and Waxman 1949, 42). From 1928-1948 the Rosenwald Fund had also donated $1,832,820 for 1,537 fellows of which 999 were African American (Embree and Waxman 1949, 28).

Johnson drew upon his affiliations with Fisk University, the AMA, and the Rosenwald Fund as he sought solutions to the racially tense times. Johnson was an adamant believer that "scientific" theories connecting race and intelligence negatively influenced American society. They contributed to the feelings of racial superiority and discriminatory myths reinforcing white beliefs that African Americans were mentally and culturally inferior. In a 1923 article, "Public Opinion and the Negro," Johnson argued that a long line of white scientists had based their conclusions about the African American's inferiority on faulty beliefs and research (Johnson 1923, 201-206). Johnson targeted this research at the Fisk University Race Relations Institute. He dedicated his "laboratory of social action" to training future social scientists, promoting research on minorities, and providing a place where research could be discussed and disseminated (American Missionary Association Papers, box 243, file Other Records: ca 1943).

The 1942 prospectus for the Fisk University Race Relations Institute illustrates Johnson's basic premise that the training of social leaders had to take place in an environment of active research about race relations. Together, these were constructive social action methods (Charles S. Johnson Papers, Amistad, box 28, file 4). Although there was an increase in race and culture consciousness throughout the world, Johnson and the Institute's organizers contended that Americans lacked the social and moral unity to correct domestic injustices. This unity, they believed could only come through "intelligent direction by specialists trained in the social science of human relations" (Charles S. Johnson Papers, Amistad, box 28, file 4).

It is important to recall that Johnson believed pseudo scientific theories about the intellectual and cultural inferiority of African Americans contributed to the discriminatory practices and racial tensions. Thus, Johnson utilized social science researchers to gather and present accurate information on African Americans. He believed this evidence would, in turn, combat the negative scholarship of the day and thereby promote racial tolerance.

In the prospectus for the Institute, it's evident that Johnson organized the program to utilize social science research as a tool for alleviating racial tensions in a "laboratory of social action". The first section concentrated on training in the social sciences. Here, provisions were made to ensure that undergraduate and graduate students would be a part of the cooperative program. Doctoral students were encouraged to spend a year as research fellows at the Institute to gain research training and experience while working on dissertations. Master's students would receive Training Fellowships enabling them to conduct research on various minority group relationships that culminated in a Master's theses. Undergraduate students would be encouraged to enter the field through tuition waivers and honor's courses. This coordinated approach provided a body of knowledge and a group of trained personnel (Charles S. Johnson Papers, Amistad, box 28, file 4, 8).

The second major operating section focused on research in the social sciences. Here, current research was exchanged and provided to participants of the Institute. The third major operating section of the Institute concerned social action. This covered methods and techniques in dealing with racial tensions, as well as community planning. The director of the Institute named representatives from each section to serve on an executive committee which were responsible for integrating the policy and work of the program (Charles S. Johnson Papers, Amistad, box 28, file 4, 4).

The head of each section was a specialist with university faculty status. This was required so that the developing information would be related to Fisk's program.

Four basic areas were addressed in the research and social action areas of the Institute: (1) race and racial theories, (2) racial aspects of social problems, (3) methods, techniques and community planning, and (4) the role of personal religion in human relations and democratic practices. The four areas were covered daily during eight hours of lectures, seminars, and discussion groups led by thirty-six resident lecturers and consultants. The program ran for 3 weeks on the Fisk campus to promote interracial contact and group exchange (Charles S. Johnson Papers, Amistad, box 28, file 4, 2).

A program announcing the Third Annual Institute advertised that the workshop was divided into 5 basic types of sessions called "methods of study": panel round-tables, seminars, cross-topical round-tables, consultations hours, and evening lectures. The evening lectures were a special feature of the program offered in the Fisk Chapel and open to local people who couldn't attend the entire Institute (Race Relations Department Papers, box 34, file 35).

Johnson asked leading scholars and specialists to come to share their findings at the Institute. Several news releases show that, on average, 90 lectures per workshop by invited scholars and specialists were given during the first few years of the Institute. Later programs averaged 40 lectures (Race Relations Department Papers, box 50, file 22; box 54, file 24; box 62, file 22).

Some luminaries were psychologist Gordon W. Allport of Harvard University, psychologist Kenneth Clark of Queens College New York City, Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP, and Hilda Taba of the University of Chicago (Race Relations Department Papers, box 38, file 10; box 50, file 22; box 54, file 24; box 62, file 22).

Although W.E.B. DuBois had been invited and did participate in another race relations project directed by Johnson's in the north, DuBois did not attend the Fisk program. Robbins notes that Johnson felt it too risky to invite W.E.B. DuBois and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. to Fisk given the implacable hostility toward Fisk by the white power structure in Nashville. Martin Luther King, Jr. attended the 1956 Institute and spoke on the Montgomery bus boycott, which was going into its ninth month (Robbins 1996, 123).

The first Institute, held on 3 July through 21 July 1944, had 137 registered participants from nearly all the southern states, with whites outnumbering blacks about 8 to 5 (Robbins 1996, 122). The Eighth Annual Program Announcement shows that by 1951 over 800 participants from 200 communities in 36 states and 6 foreign countries had attended the Institute (Race Relations Department Papers, box 47, file 1). The initial program ended in 1969.

News release show that on average 125 participants attended the program each summer (Race Relations Department Papers, box 50, file 22; box 54, file 24; box 62, file 22). A program from the Third Annual Institute also shows that full participation in the 3 week workshop carried 3 semester hours of credit at Fisk and was priced at $61.75. Those participants who could not be in attendance for the full 3 weeks session could attend sessions at their convenience for an adjusted fee. Evening lectures were also offered for those who could not attend because of jobs. Participants lived in an integrated setting on campus in the residence halls and university houses (Race Relations Department Papers, box 36, file 1).

Evaluations from participants of the first Institute indicate that they were pleased with their experiences and welcomed the opportunity to gain information on racial issues. One participant believed that there were Americans who were "geniuiely [sic] interested in improving race relations but who [did] not have the time to search for the sources of information that would be necessary to improve their understanding of the problem." Others praised the program for using a scientific approach to deal with the issues of racial tensions and allowing them to explore one social field objectively (Race Relations Department Papers, box 34, file 35).

Several participants, however, expressed concern over the Institute being geared more towards the scholarly community, rather than the community at large. One student complained that the audiences were composed of "a very exclusive group" of "intellectuals." He wanted the program to involve a broader range of people. Another participant noted that the Institute's usefulness depended on reaching "a larger mass of people who [were] not professionals or who [did] not claim any scholastic standards" but had "tremendous influence in urban affairs." Thus they called for people from barber shops, churches, and school rooms (Race Relations Department Papers, box 34, file 35).

Although the Institute was the first of its kind in a Southern university setting, it was not the only organization where interested persons of all races could meet to discuss issues of social change. Highlander Folk School, established in Monteagle, Tennessee by Myles Horton in 1932, had turned its attention during the 1940s toward strengthening its education programs so that the area's poor -- African American and white -- could fight social oppression (Glenn 1988, 129-30; Payne 1995, 70).

The Institute differed from Highlander in many ways. Whereas the Institute's basic philosophy held that research could be used as a social action method, Highlander's philosophy held that common oppressed people could produce that change for themselves; or as John Egerton puts it, "that ordinary working people, no less privileged, could find within themselves and their neighbors the solutions to whatever problems they faced" (Egerton 1994, 161). Because of its faith in the oppressed, Highlander sought to bring in leaders like Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, Jr. to share their experiences with participants(Payne 1995, 71).

The Institute also differed from Septima Clark's citizenship schools, which Highlander spread across the South. Although the citizenship schools used workshop formats, they concentrated on utilizing the culture of the oppressed to help them learn to read and write. For example, while the Institute held workshops on theories of race and race relations, the citizenship schools held workshops on teaching people to write money orders, or fill out voter registration forms, or use sewing machines. Again, like Highlander, the goal of the citizenship schools was to empower the oppressed so that they could in turn help themselves. As Payne points out the schools often discussed what he called the "big" ideas like "citizenship, democracy, and the powers of elected officials" (Payne 1995, 71).

The Fisk University Race Relations Institute relied upon scholars and the social sciences to build racial tolerance and change social policies by providing an arena where current research impacting race relations could be studied, presented, and discussed. Although some may criticize the Institute's theoretical approach, Johnson saw it as the best way to challenge and refute the "scientific" evidence that contributed directly to the oppressed status of African Americans and indirectly to racial tensions.

Realizing that improving race relations was a difficult task and finding definitive methods even more illusive, Johnson believed that there were at least principles that could be followed.

In his eyes, the Institute provided those principles as it utilized trained researchers and specialists in a laboratory of human relations to disseminate factual information to community leaders.

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Meanings Of The Term Strategy In Second Language Education, 1960-1997

Isabel Cavour
University of Dayton

Learning a second or foreign language is a long, complex, time- consuming, and, at times, frustrating experience. Many individuals share the experience that after having studied a language for several years they are unable to hold a conversation in a second language setting. Acquiring a second language for communicative purposes (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills [BICS]) takes two to three years and for academic purposes (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency [CALP]) six to seven years (Cummins, 1980). Researchers have constructed models and teaching methods for acquiring a second language with the intent of accelerating and optimizing this process and having better outcomes. One approach to enhance the acquisition of a second language has been through embedding strategy training into the curriculum, either as daily practice or in special sessions. The idea of strategy triggers the notion of better ways of solving problems to achieve goals.

Unfortunately, strategy has become one of those terms that everybody uses indiscriminately. Seliger clearly describes this situation:

> We have reached a point of semantic satiation with regard to the term 'strategy' and in many ways the term itself has become empty of any distinctive content. To call everything we observe in second language acquisition a strategy, divests the term of meaning. Everything to which the term is attached appears to have the same importance or psychological status in the hierarchy of events that lead to acquisition (1991 36).

Indeed, the meanings conveyed by this term vary in essence and reference. Strategy is used to convey more than thirty-five ideas such as an activity, a skill, a technique, or aprocess. In spite of this lack of agreement, the idea of using more effective and efficient ways to teach and to acquire a second language are still germane for investigators, teachers, and learners.

Individuals who need to master a second language frequently have time constraints, especially those who need to achieve superior proficiency levels, for example, learners acquiring the language to teach it, or learners who are studying content in the target language. These individuals, in many (if not most) instances, are still acquiring the language while they are already performing academic or professional tasks and competing with native speakers of the language. Teachers with inadequate proficiency levels may provide students with impaired input. Many second language learners acquire knowledge through a still developing language which translate into limitations to understand lectures or group discussions, or to take good lecture notes. In addition, they have difficulties in memorizing information, expressing or elaborating ideas appropriately, and writing smoothly and cohesively (Harrington and Sawyer 1992). They spend long hours in completing simple assignments. Hence, learners need mechanisms to help them compensate for their language and cultural limitations. Teachers need more effective methodologies to enhance learners' language development and to help learners surmount language limitations that interfere with communication, comprehension, and/or acquisition of knowledge. All these needs can be in part satisfied by employing strategies.

Strategies used in second language help handling breakdowns in communication and are useful means of maintaining interaction among second language learners, especially in situations where students run short of appropriate linguistic resources (Tarone 1983). In other words, strategies help compensate for the lack of language resources and obtain cognitive academic skills. These strategies can enlighten, inform, and guide teaching and learning across the curriculum. Learners may monitor their own learning if they are aware of their own cognitive processes, which helps them to learn better, more efficiently, and to become autonomous and critical learners sooner (Wenden 1987). Further, using strategies in learning and instruction promotes the achievement of one of the ultimate goals in education: produce independent, effective, and critical thinkers. If students monitor their knowledge and use it wisely and purposefully, they would deem learning as a much more interesting endeavor and, in turn, achieve higher levels of proficiency faster.

I wanted to explore the development of the numerous connotations that the term strategy/ies has had from 1960 to 1997 in second language teaching and learning. I thought that searching through these publications I would find a picture of what has happened to the meaning of this term since it was incorporated into second language literature.

The overwhelming number of publications on this topic made it difficult to analyze and categorize the various meanings given to this term. From 1965 to 1997, the word strategy was part of the title or the focus of 65,698 articles stored on the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), out this number, 8,360 refer to second language strategies directly. This number would substantially increase if all the other publications (i.e., books, chapters in edited books, and dissertations) not recorded by ERIC were added. In the 1960's there was a handful of publications on this topic. In the 70's and 80's the number of publications increased exponentially. In the 90's, this trend did not slow down, as it can be inferred from two recent publications. Caverly and Orlando reviewed 114 experiments related to the use of four strategies, 31 publications exploring the effect of using the strategy "underlining"; 30 on "note taking"; 27 studies on "outlining and mapping," and 26 on "SQ3R" (1991). In the International Reading Association, Annual Summary of Investigations Related to Reading, 71 investigations out of 454 had either the term "strategy" or the term "strategies" in the title (1997).

Since a comprehensive and thorough review of the existing literature on strategy is an almost impossible task, I decided to review one hundred publications. I developed some criteria to select them to reflect the salient directions research has taken while defining, identifying, determining effectiveness, and teaching strategies. The criteria I used were as follows: I took the first ten published articles on strategy in second language literature. Then I selected fifteen publications for the 70s , 80s, and 90s that were written by widely cited authors. Finally, I randomly chose fifteen publications for the 70s, 80s, and 90s and looked for the influence of major researchers and to check for novel ideas or new trends.

In the first part of the twentieth century, there were scattered publications dealing with strategies in the field of education. These writings were concerned mainly with educational programs or administrative issues. In the 1940's and 1950's some new trends in theories of learning and linguistics started to evolve. Focus on the learners and on their covert cognitive processes became central to some models. Strategies were components of those models and discussed as such. In the 1960s, they became the focus of some studies, and consequently the first publications, authored by psychologists, on 'strategy' related to learning and instruction appeared. At this time, the meaning this term conveyed was that of an innovative way of doing something, e.g. using mnemonics to retain more words. In 1965, researchers embarked in the investigation of the use of strategies in second language teaching and learning.

In the 1960s strategy was not defined; it was brought into the classroom to mean effective classroom activities, techniques, and methods. Asher, a psychologist, and his colleagues used the term strategy in the title of a series of publications to refer to his method known as 'total physical response,' or TPR (1965, 1966). Records indicate that he was the first researcher who used this term on an second language publication. From the ten publications for this decade, 20% were related to second language teaching, i.e., classroom activities. Another 20% were related to second language vocabulary learning, 20% to language programs and policies, 30% to mental processes, and 10% to question the assigned meaning of this term in educational circles.

Throughout the 1960s, authors used the word "strategy" in different ways. For example, Atkinson and Shiffrin regarded strategies as memory processes (1968). Not mnemonics, but the processes that the brain engages in to store information in long term memory. Guszack in an analysis of teachers' questions to enhance comprehension, claims that: "Questioning strategies suggest carefully planned questioning tactics;" elsewhere, he states that there is no evidence that teachers engage in this careful planning and decides to call these teachers' behaviors "patterns rather than strategies" (1969, 111).

Although the number of publications on strategy in the sixties is small compared to the next 20 years, the field was already broadly using and discussing about this topic. Still rooted in the traditional military term, the term 'strategy' had three main connotations, (1) a sound teaching activity, technique, or method; (2) functions or brain information processes or behaviors; and (3) programs or policies.

In the 1970s, research on strategy in second language settings boomed. Over two thousand investigations and theoretical papers were published. Inquiries into the trends of the 1960's continued to occur, but a quite significant number of trends and meanings were added. The surgence of new sciences, e.g., psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics, and artificial intelligence, highly contributed to this increase. For instance, the areas of 'error analysis' and 'interlanguage' opened the door to new meanings. Researchers focused on learners' errors as a way to explain the cognitive processes involved in second language acquisition. For Burt and Dulay, strategies were behaviors and/or techniques learners use to deal with language difficulties (Burt 1975, Dulay and Burt 1972). Twenty-three percent of the publications for this decade indicated that strategy was a systematic technique employed by a speaker to express his/her meaning when faced with some difficulty. Difficulty in this definition is used to refer to the speaker's inadequate command of the language used in the interaction.

Selinker, one of the most influential writers on strategy, found himself unable to define strategy in spite of using it as a component of his interlanguage theory. Within the "latent language structure" component, he claims that

> strategies are fossilizable items, rules, subsystems which occur in interlanguage performance as a result of an identifiable approach by the learner to the material to be learned and to communication with native speakers of the target language [. . . and that] this strategy of communication dictates to them [second language learners] internally as it were, that they know enough of the target language in order to communicate and they stop learning. . . the fossilizable error is due originally to a type of transfer of training and later to a particular strategy of second language communication" (1972, 18-19).

He also provides examples of strategies which include "acquired psycholinguistic constraints, poor behaviors, and acquiring a regional accent of the foreign language" (1972, 19). Twenty percent of the articles followed Selinker's notion of strategy.

New perspectives in cognition and language acquisition also contributed to the development of more understandings of this term. In the latter part of the sixties, Chomsky's Language Acquisition Device (LAD), Competence and Performance theories changed the stimulus-response views of language (1968). This change and other cognitive and psycholinguistic theories were not easily understandable. Therefore, research based on the new theories branched, thus creating disparate insights and trends in the meaning of strategy. For example, strategy/ies was/were the LAD, cognitive processes or functions, combinations of components (or steps) involved in a thinking task which constitute the first level of information processing (Rivers 1972, Hosenfeld 1977, Sternberg 1979). Thus, he states "strategies are sets of components that are always performed in combination for certain classes of thinking tasks" (Chomsky 1968, 212). Thirty-three percent of the articles, defined strategies on similar grounds. In spite of having the cognitive bond, these researchers regard this term quite differently. In other words, distinct functions, operations, connections, parts, and actions of the brain received the label strategy. Depending on the perspective taken by the scholar, the notion and definition of the term strategy was depicted.

Also, in the seventies, the first categorizations of strategies were published. Tarone, Cohen, and Dumas, after defining 'communication strategy' as a systematic attempt by the learner to express or decode meaning in the target language in situations where the appropriate systematic target language rules have not been formed, identified second language communication strategies (1976). Some examples include transfer from the native language; over-generalization; pre-fabricated patterns; over-elaboration; epenthesis; avoidance; and getting around the language rules or forms which are not yet an established part of the learner's competence. Also, 6.67% of the articles offered some categorizations of strategies, but they did not offer working definitions. There are noticeable differences in the quantity and type of events included in these categories. The remaining 13.33% of the publications offered strategies such as classroom activities to improve reading comprehension and vocabulary.

Thus, in the 1970s, the meaning of strategy was much less clear than it was in the1960's. As the decade advanced, researchers came to relate strategies to thinking processes or mental functions. This preference also shows the change of direction of second language research and teaching. Learners' and teachers' roles changed as well as an interest in cognitive functioning. Finally, it is important to note that attempts to define this term were based on psycholinguistic issues.

In the 1980s, strategy obtained a central position in second language acquisition and teaching investigations. The number of publications on this topic reached alarming dimensions. Numerous aspects and kinds of strategy were studied. First, a significant number of definitions were proposed which clearly revealed a turbulent status of the meaning of this term. All sorts of concepts were insinuated in the definitions, from mental, abstract, and complex ideas to specific, irrelevant, and minute actions. Some definitions are quite specific while others could be applied to a great number of events.

One of the most important definitions was constructed by Faerch and Kasper (Faerch 1980, Faerch and Kasper 1983). They claim that strategy is "a potentially conscious plan for solving what to an individual presents itself as a problem in reaching a particular goal" (Faerch and Kasper 1983, 59). Their comprehensive and thorough study on the essence and defining features of strategy differentiated it from other concepts such as process, plan, and behavior.

Other strategy experts for second language teaching and learning offered a great variety of definitions. Oxford, in her extensive work on learning strategies, defines this term as "all specific actions taken by the learner to make learning easier, faster, more enjoyable, more self directed, more effective and more transferable to new situations. . . learning strategies are steps taken by students to enhance their own learning" (1989, 1-8). For Weinstein and Mayer, strategies are "behaviors that a learner engages in during learning" (1985, 315). They also differentiate a teaching strategy from a learning strategy as the 'framework for analyzing the teaching-learning process' in the following words: "A teaching strategy is what the teacher does during teaching and a learning strategy is what the learner does during learning" (Weinstein and Mayer 1985, 316).

A second event in the 1980's is the extreme specialization of the studies of strategy and of course its meaning. For instance, many studies researched the effectiveness of one single 'strategy' (e.g. underlining); the strategies used in a segment of a task, e.g. pre-reading strategies. Thirty-three point thirty-three percent of the articles belong to this category, each one displaying a great array of meanings of strategy. Alternative words such as skill, procedure, process, action, rule, behavior, activity, technique, approach, method, and thinking process are used interchangeably with strategy. Since they were studying different items, their findings are considerably different. Some researchers found that the main difference between successful and nonsuccessful learners is that they used different strategies; whereas, others suggest that these students used the same strategies, but in different amounts or in different sequences.

Twenty-three point thirty-three of the publications were related to strategy instruction. Training is more effective when students learn why and when specific strategies are important, how to use them, and how to transfer them to new situations. Language teachers help students to gain self-awareness of how they learn and develop the means to maximize learning. This instruction should be direct and explicit. Opposing views argued that strategies should be embedded in daily practice, without raising awareness of the rationale for their use.

Thirteen point thirty-three percent dealt with the identification and classification of second language strategies. These organized lists of strategies are generally long and cover different areas of human behavior. That is, the variety and number of phenomena classified as strategy varies significantly among studies. Bacon and Finnemann, for example, listed the following phenomena as second language strategies:

> being called on in class, finding new ways of using Spanish with others, hearing Spanish being used naturally, hearing Spanish being used in class and out of class, expressing oneself to others in small groups, listening to tapes, trying out what one has learned on someone else, repeating what I hear on tape, comparing Spanish with English, guessing at what may be going on, translating what I hear or read to English, writing the English words above the Spanish ones, keeping my dictionary close by, and rehearsing in my head before I speak (1990).

Certainly, some of these tasks would not be advisable for second language learning.

Twenty-six point sixty-seven percent regarded strategies as mental or cognitive functions, processes or operators. Detailed descriptions of mental models and thinking paths were their main foci. Delineating the content of these publications could be a publication in itself due to the detailed description of mental processes. Noticeable, as well, is the refinement and sophistication of these theories compared to the initial ones. Baron portrays this mental scheme of action, or strategy, as follows: a conscious, goal-directed episode consisting of a series of interdependent phases (1985). Essentially these phases are search processes in which the thinker seeks to define a goal or criterion for ending the thinking episode; tries to find various potential means for achieving that goal (possibilities); and then collects evidence for and against the alternative possibilities. Thus, thinking is a process in which evidence is used to choose among potential possibilities in order to satisfy a goal. The aim of the search process is to find the best solutions to problems. However; there are costs associated with these processes in terms of their expected success and the time and effort required for their execution. In order to maximize the utility of these processes, the thinker should continue to search as long as the expected gains outweigh the costs. Ideal strategizing involves maximizing the utility of the search processes for any given task, as well as using the available evidence in such a way that all possibilities are fairly evaluated.

During the 1980s the most prolific second language scholars extensively investigated and published on this topic. Bialystok, Chi, Cohen, Faerch and Kasper, Flavell, Hosenfeld, Oxford, O'Malley and Chamot, Paris and his colleagues, Pressley and his colleagues, Rubin, Wenden are a relatively small sample of strategy experts who widely published on this topic. Thirty publications from this period are not enough to portray the events of this time. Certainly, thirty publications do not even represent one of these scholars' writings. Needless to mention that along with the thousands of publications during these ten years, the notion of strategy became more vague.

From 1990 to 1997, researchers investigated strategy from the perspective of the 1980's. But as they further specialized, the meaning of "strategy" became more blurred. This is the time when phases and components of a task became strategies, when techniques are no longer techniques but strategies, when processes no longer exist because they were substituted for strategies, and when skills became obsolete and sort of faded out to yield the road to strategies. Jargon and concepts in education such as programs, objectives, methods, policies, activities, lesson plans, classroom routines, aptitudes, attitudes, behaviors, coping behaviors, processes, procedures, heuristic, algorithms are all under an umbrella called "strategy/ies".

More researchers are discussing the meaning of this term and limiting its use to particular events. At least three events can clearly be noticed, a return to the initial works in the second language field; an importing-adapting strategy theories in other fields, e.g., military, games, sports, business; and a building of working definitions. Seliger, for example, brought back Chomsky's LAD concept as a strategy (Seliger 1991). Oxford includes features of the military field in her explanation of strategy (1989). A greater number of treatises on the essence of strategy have been published in the 1990's. However, this information has not been spread out yet; investigators keep giving it new meanings. Twenty-six point sixty-seven percent of the articles for this decade focused on the definition of strategies.

Another 26.67% of the papers offered a working definition and categorizations of strategies. The phenomena included in them substantially vary in quantity and quality, making these lists much longer. In actuality, three of these taxonomies are 3-4 pages long. There are strategies for every language skill and subskill, for every move an individual makes, for every feeling the learner feels, and for every circumstance surrounding the second language learning and teaching event. The most common superordinates in these categorizations are: affective, metacognitive, cognitive, emotional, environmental, circumstantial. Likewise, several strategy inventories have been developed to predict performance in language learning. The application of learning strategies inventories (13.33%) have yielded too many inconsistencies as predictors of grades on standard tests and of success in college.

During the 1990s, qualitative and quantitative investigations studying strategies from every imaginable angle proliferated. Factors repeatedly analyzed are degree of awareness, effectiveness, influence, effect, types of learners, surrounding circumstances, stage of learning, task requirements, teacher expectations, age, sex, nationality, ethnicity, learning style, personality traits, motivation level, and purpose for learning the language. Fifty percent of the publications reported findings of such studies, indicate in that researchers are testing theories and hypotheses formerly proposed. Most of them do not offer a working definition; they assume a common understanding. Sometimes, examples of strategies or alternative words help to infer its meaning.

Further, during the 1990s, 6.67% are reviews of strategy literature. Their main conclusion is a total lack of correlation in findings and object of study. It is not surprising whatsoever because these investigations are dealing with different phenomena. Sixteen point sixty-seven percent focused on the development of instructional designs to promote competent performance with an emphasis on assessing the value and effectiveness of strategy instruction in naturalistic settings. Actually, great emphasis is currently placed on the teaching of strategies at all levels of second language instruction. As a matter of fact, another 6.67% publications reported the implementation of strategy training programs at state levels. The last 6.67% for the 1990's were replicas of previously conducted investigations and did not define strategy. Interestingly, their findings greatly differ from the original studies. When terms are not clearly defined, the chances of obtaining the same results are minimal. They may be studying other phenomena.

An interesting new trend arising in the 1990's was the study of strategic learners, rather than studying individual strategies. These investigations changed the focus of their study from the strategy itself to the learners as strategic performers or users, that is, as creators and users of appropriate strategies to respond to the uniqueness of the situation. This approach came from the field of psychology on studies related to reading (Paris 1993; Paris, Wixson, and Lipson 1994; Pressley et al. 1990, 1993).

Strategic reading is achieved with rational arguments since readers are involved with what they believe to be rational procedures. Indeed, they take pride in the rationality of strategic reading and thinking, in which they invest their knowledge competence. These scholars ascertain that strategic readers weigh carefully all the surrounding circumstances of the situation, evaluate carefully each factor and lead to reasonable decisions that are the basis for action. They will include a careful study of negative forces and a careful consideration of the means they have at their disposal for overcoming them. The way they decide to use their resources will form their plan of action.

In brief, trends born in the 1970's and 80's are further investigated in the 90's. In addition, new perspectives emerged such as strategic learners, strategy-based teaching methods, and philosophical studies on the meaning of this term.

Definitions and characteristics described in these studies on strategy were summarized as follows. A strategy is an intentional conscious scheme of action for doing, making, arranging, adapting and/or employing the most suitable techniques, moves, skills and resources--physical or mental, internal or external--for solving what is perceived as a problem by the individual to ensure the achievement of a goal most efficiently. In short, a strategy is a mental activity to envision what seems appropriate to overcome obstacles to achieve a goal when the usual skills and/or means fail or are insufficient.

Strategy, to happen, requires the following elements: (1) a problem which needs to be identified, mentally represented, and solved to be able to achieve a goal; (2) an individual with skills, weaknesses, background knowledge, and cognitive processing style; (3) a goal to achieve; (4) several possible paths to follow and decisions to make; and (5) time constraints (Paris, Lipson, and Wixson, 1994). Implied and/or stated in this definition of strategy are the following distinguishing characteristics: conscious, flexible, fallible, complex, individual, context-bound, effective, efficient, goal-bound, and problem-bound.

Clearly there was no single meaning for the term "strategy" that guided researchers. However, under this term an extremely broad spectrum of second language issues have been investigated. Many studies, conducted as studies of strategies, did not study strategies. It bears repeating, they investigated other aspects of the teaching and learning processes, but did not investigate strategies.

Furthermore, there is a worrisome lack of agreement on what this term denotes. Definitions abound. In general, most definitions of this term contain one or more of the defining features mentioned above. If investigations, based on these partial definitions, yielded positive effects on learning, merging all those powerful characteristics could get even better and consistent outcomes. Research findings continue to "prove" that strategies help learners take control of their learning and be more proficient in a second language. Also, teachers' experiences indicate that strategy is a very useful way of enhancing the language acquisition process. In addition, the number of investigations could mean both that this area is so important and complex that needs all this study. Or it could also mean that the situation is chaotic; thus, scholars think that it needs to be addressed. Therefore, having consensus on the meaning of this concept could have avoided much of the redundant research and writing.

Nonetheless, important contributions to the understanding and improvement of second language acquisition and instruction are the result of this extensive research activity. From 1960 to 1990 the second language field has advanced tremendously. Especially, the growing areas of theoretical and applied psycholinguistics, neurolinguistics, cognitive science and second language acquisition and instruction are leading theory to new areas.

Still, more thinking, discussion, and investigation are needed to delimit the uses of the term "strategy." When unlimited notions are included in the concept "strategy" the effort to find the way to optimize the second language acquisition process declines. In spite of the considerable amount of investigations conducted on this topic, future research seems to still be needed to arrive first at a more focused understanding of what strategy is to identify strategies, to debate its characteristics and to develop methods to enhance learning under this understanding.

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Editors note--the author submitted the references for the one hundred articles. While they could not be included in the present article, if interested, parties may contact the author at 300 College Park, Dayton, Ohio 45469-1539.

Maudelle Bousfield and Chicago's Segregated School System, 1922-1950

Dionne Danns
University of Illinois

Maudelle Brown Bousfield was a pioneer Chicago educator from 1922-1950. She was able to succeed at a time when Chicago's education was becoming increasingly segregated. In 1928, Bousfield became Chicago's first Black principal during Chicago's defacto segregated school system. Her achievements paved the way for Black teachers and principals alike. Bousfield's accomplishments were not limited to her teaching and administrative advancements. Bousfield was a club woman who headed Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority; she was a youth advocate; and she was appointed special city and federal commissions.

Bousfield's background provides pertinent information as to her determination and advantages for success. Maudelle Brown Bousfield was born June 1, 1885 to St. Louis educators, Charles Hugh Brown and Arrena Isabella Tanner Brown. Bousfield's family could be considered middle class despite Bousfield believing otherwise. She considered her family to be poor, though not paupers (*Chicago Defender*, 8 May 1943, 15). However, compared to the masses of St. Louis Blacks, who either lived in dilapidated housing or poor city environments, the Brown's suburban housing was deemed middle class. Bousfield was privileged to learn about nature and partake in private piano lessons. As a result of being an accomplished pianist, Bousfield became the first African American to be admitted to the Charles Kunkel Conservatory of Music in St. Louis. She graduated from there in 1903.

Although Bousfield's teachers thought she a musical prodigy and recommended that she study for the concert stage, she excelled in her educational endeavors as well. She graduated from St. Louis' first Black high school, Charles Sumner in 1903, after only three and a half years. After graduating from high school, Bousfield chose college over a musical career. Bousfield became the first African American woman to attend and graduate from the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. She continued to be the only African American female at the university for about two years. A 1943 *Chicago Defender* article states that because Bousfield was the only Black female at the university, "there was no discrimination against her. She participated in school activities and was generally accepted by the rest of the women students" (*Defender*, 8 May 1943, 15). While at the University of Illinois, Bousfield made money by tutoring in math, her major, and working in the cloakroom or playing the piano at sorority dances. In 1906, after only three years, Bousfield graduated with honors. The University's Phi Beta Kappa chapter was established in 1908, after Bousfield's graduation. But on January 14, 1965, Bousfield became an honorary initiate of the university's Gamma chapter.

Bousfield began her teaching career at East St. Louis' Lincoln High School. She taught there for one year, 1906-1907, before moving to Baltimore to teach math at the Baltimore colored high school. In 1914, she returned home to St. Louis and taught briefly at her old high school, Sumner. Maudelle Brown married Midian O. Bousfield on September 9, 1914, and gave birth to her only child, who took her name, Maudelle Brown. Soon after their marriage, the Bousfields migrated to Chicago. Bousfield took a seven year hiatus from her teaching career to raise her daughter. She furthered her interest in music by attending Chicago's Mendelssohn Conservatory of Music, where she graduated in 1920 (Cook 1996, 41).

Middle class and elite Blacks tended to marry among themselves. The Bousfields were no different. Midian Bousfield was born in 1885 in Tipton, Missouri to Willard Haymen, a barber, and Cornelia Catherine Bousfield. Dr. Midian Bousfield graduated from Kansas State University in 1907 and received his M. D. degree from Northwestern School of Medicine in 1909. After setting up medical practices in Kansas and Brazil, Dr. Bousfield and his wife settled in Chicago. Dr. Bousfield went on to hold a rather esteemed position in the Black community due to his involvement in several Black social and health organizations. From 1921, he was the co-founder, medical director, and president of Liberty Life Insurance Company. After a 1929 merger of his company and another, they were renamed Supreme Liberty and Life. Dr. Bousfield was director of the Negro Health Division of the Rosenwald Fund from 1933-1942. Starting in 1934, Dr. Bousfield served a one year term as president of the National Medical Association, an organization of Black physicians. From 1935-1939, he served as the Chicago Urban League president and as a member of the executive committee of the National Urban League. During World War II, Dr. Bousfield was the commanding officer of an all Black hospital he organized at Fort Huachuca, Arizona. He retired in 1945 after becoming the first African

American colonel in the Army Medical Corps. Dr. Bousfield died of a heart attack on February 16, 1948 (Salzman, Smith, and West 1945, 410).

During Maudelle Bousfield's teaching hiatus, she tutored students having difficultly in school. In 1921, Bousfield decided to go back to teach high school. She took a teaching examination, as was required along with two years teaching experience in Chicago's elementary schools or at an outside high school, and a college degree. After passing the examination, Bousfield was placed at Wendell Phillips High School in January 1922 to teach math. Permanent teaching jobs did not come easy for Black teachers. Many had to remain on substitute lists for a number of years before being placed permanently. African Americans remained on the list longer than whites primarily because the substitute bureau purposely identified Black teachers so that they could be placed at majority Black schools (Herrick 1931, 34-35).

In 1916, the *Defender's* editorials criticized the practice of placing "race" teachers at predominately Black schools. While forced segregation was the norm in the South, the *Defender* recognized that in the North, teachers had the opportunity (though limited) to teach at predominately white schools. Furthermore, more opportunities were available to Black teachers in a non-segregated school system as opposed to a segregated one. The editorial also suggested that racial contact in mixed schools aided in breaking down prejudice.

It is ironic that what was argued in 1916 is still being debated today. In 1984, Michael W. Homel in *Down From Equality: Black Chicagoans and the Public School 1920-45* chronicles the move of Chicago public schools from "integrated" schools to de jure segregation 1863-1865 then from desegregated to de facto segregation from 1920. The segregated status of Chicago's schools took its toll on potential African American teachers and students. Teachers had to battle white principals and a racist school board in order to be hired permanently. The placement of teachers was dependent on a particular principal's acceptance of them. Principals often rejected Black teachers due to their belief that Blacks were inferior; principals feared the response of communities where the school was located; and the school's prestige may have been lowered due to the common practice of assigning Black teachers to low status schools. Some Black teachers resorted to using their political connections to speed up their assignments to permanent positions (Gosnell 1935, 32-33).

Bousfield's quick placement was rare for African American teachers. It did not take long for Bousfield to be recognized by Wendell Phillips' administrative staff. Principal Albert Evans offered her the position of dean of girls. Bousfield agreed to take the position, however, the board of education insisted that Bousfield take an examination before she could become dean. In an interview with Harold F. Gosnell, Bousfield stated, "At that time the dean was selected by the principal, or rather the candidates for the position were selected, for we all had to take an examination, the only one in fact that has been given for this position" (Gosnell 1935, 295).

The board required teachers have a least five years teaching experience before they could take the examination. Bousfield only had four years experience. Ironically, the principal's examination only required four years. Bousfield ingeniously asked the board if she would be eligible for any position if she took and passed the principal examination. The board replied yes, but as Bousfield recalled, "They laughed in my face when I told them I'd take that exam" (1969). The board obviously believed that they had cleverly placed an obstacle in Bousfield's path. The board reasoned that since only eight African Americans had taken the exam by 1927, but none made competitive scores, Bousfield would also be unsuccessful. Bousfield scored among the top twenty out of the more than 600 individuals who took the exam. The board's discrimination tactic eventually was a boost to Bousfield's career. Bousfield became Chicago first African American dean in 1926, and remained so until 1927.

On December 20, 1927, Bousfield became the first Black principal during Chicago's defacto segregation. Her appointment to Keith Elementary School made national headlines, particularly in the Black press. Despite the celebration, rumors persisted. Many believed that Bousfield used the political connections of her husband to get appointed. Cary B. Lewis of the *Pittsburgh Courier* claimed, "It is no secret that the appointment of Mrs. Bousfield to the principalship of the Keith School had the o.k. of Mr. DePriest [Oscar DePriest, Chicago's first Black city alderman]" (Lewis 1928).

Bousfield vehemently denied allegations of politics in her appointment. She proclaimed that "If there has been any politics in the school, I haven't come into contact with it" (Gosnell 1935, 295). Bousfield's comments indicated both her confidence in her qualification and her ability to be a formidable opponent to any school board antics. Bousfield and her husband were known locally and nationally and knew that they could muster support for protest. She appeared to be unwilling to accommodate blatant discrimination, while at the same time recognizing her importance.

Mary J. Herrick, who studied Negro employees of the Chicago school board, came to Bousfield's defense (Herrick 1931). Not only did she recognize Bousfield's qualifications, but she acknowledged that Bousfield had been assigned a school that was "the smallest, oldest, and most poorly equipped in the city." Keith Elementary was indeed an inferior school. The building had been built since 1883 and was one of the two oldest schools built that contained a sizable Black student population by 1920. Keith had no gymnasium. It also had one of the largest Black student populations at a time when Chicago's schools were becoming more and more segregated (Chicago Commission on Race Relations 1922, 242-243; Homel 1984, 6).

Bousfield stated that Keith was the kind of school that new principals were assigned. An estimated 400-500 students attended what Bousfield describes as a horrible school in a horrible location. "It was run down like I don't know what." The building was ancient, Bousfield said, "with rickety stairs. The toilets were in the basement, and somebody was needed down there to prevent tramps from coming into the school and getting girls when they went to the toilets" (1969). Keith was located in a low income neighborhood in the Black Belt (where most of Chicago's Black population was crammed). Bousfield's 1931 masters thesis from the University of Chicago entitled, "A Study of the Intelligence and School Achievement of Negro Children," which interviewed Keith students from fifth to eighth grade, revealed the high level of poverty among the families of the pupils she studied. Bousfield's appointment to Keith, while celebrated, was the very least the school board would assign her.

Bousfield was soon promoted to principal of Stephan A. Douglas Elementary School in 1931. Support from the Colored Women's Republican Clubs of Illinois, Inc., headed by Irene McCoy Gaines helped to secure Bousfield's promotion. In a letter to Gaines dated September 24, 1931, Bousfield wrote to the ladies on the Board of Directors of the Second Ward Republican expressing her appreciation of their interest in her coming to the Douglas school. On October 14 Gaines replied, the members of the Colored Women's Republican Clubs of Illinois, Inc. were happy to participate in the reception given in her honor. This correspondance revealed Bousfield's political connections.

Commenting on her promotion, Bousfield stated, "Most persons think that the Douglas assignment was a move up but it really wasn't for there was no increase in salary at all, only more work" (Gosnell 1935, 295). Douglas was viewed as a promotion primarily because it had 2000 pupils, more than four times the size of Keith. Moreover, Douglas was located in a better neighborhood of the Black Belt than Keith. While at Douglas, Bousfield faced white teacher opposition, extreme overcrowding, and depression era cutbacks which left her like other principals temporarily demoted to teacher in 1934. Bousfield had one insubordinate teacher transferred from Douglas. Several others transferred out as well, ending teacher resistance (Bousfield 1969).

The overcrowding situation at Douglas was handled with "double shift" school assignments. During Bousfield's entire tenure at Douglas, she had to operate with double shift assignments. Double shift meant that students were in school either three or four hours daily, as opposed to five hours. So many students were in school for less time than was necessary to compete with other children in the city. Overcrowding had plagued white schools as well. However, their overcrowding was rectified by the construction of more schools (Homel 1984, 76-80).

Bousfield endured at Douglas and was promoted to principal of Phillips High School in September 1939. She became the first African American principal at a Chicago high school and the first African American to head a multi-racial high school, although Phillips was overwhelmingly Black. While at Phillips, Bousfield worked to upgrade the reputation of that school. Bousfield recalled, "Phillips had a low-down name when I took it" (1969). Phillips was located in an area with a lot of negative activities. There was prostitution, gambling, illegal drug dealing, and a liquor store selling alcohol to under- aged Phillips' students. Bousfield had the liquor store owner arrested and took him to court to have the store shut down. Five judges refused to take the case against Mike Feldman. One judge claimed, "I've been on the bench too long to take such a chance. There has been too much pressure brought to bear already. I don't want to be put on the spot. Let somebody else handle it!" Eventually Mike Feldman was fined and the liquor store was put out of business (*Defender*, 13 April 1940, 2; 4 May 1940, 1; 25 May 1940, 1-2, courtesy of Michael W. Homel). Bousfield's victory helped to booster Phillips' reputation.

Bousfield ended her career in 1950 due to forced retirement. She had spent twenty-eight years in the Chicago school system and had been a trailblazer. One of the themes of her career was that she was a fighter be it for herself or her students. Bousfield threatened to fight the school board if she had not been promoted to a principal position. Fortunately, there was no need for a fight. She got the opportunity to head Keith, although she was probably passed over for schools with larger white populations. After all, the school board did not even think Bousfield possessed the intelligence to pass the principal examination. Why would they then have give Bousfield an opportunity to head a "reputable" school in a "reputable" area?

Bousfield got the white Douglas teachers in order. She demanded the respect of her subordinates and made sure that she received it. As she gained the respect of her subordinates, her superiors recognized and promoted her. Bousfield tried her best to fight for her students. The liquor store shut down was a situation in which Bousfield passionately fought against outsiders for her students. She was both persistent and determined to close the store down. When judge after judge refused to take the case, she kept pushing until a decision was rendered. Bousfield was by no means afraid to use her political connections to benefit her and her students. Thus, Bousfield did not appear to be an accommodationist. She made the best of any situation and fought when the need arose.

Bousfield's publications expressed her deep concerns for the mis-education of Black people and the inappropriate use of intelligence tests. In her article, "The Intelligence and School Achievement of Negro Children," which appeared in the first Journal of Negro Education in 1932, Bousfield concluded that the test available in the 1920s and 1930s were insufficient measures of intelligence. Her evidence revealed that three tests she gave to Keith Elementary students yielded vastly different results. Bousfield had hoped that the results of her study would be a valuable aid for northern teachers and school officials supervising Black students to "interpret pupil performance intelligently" (Bousfield 1932, 395).

Bousfield's second article, "Redirection of the Education of Negroes in Terms of Social Needs," also appearing in the Journal of Negro Education in 1936, argued that African Americans were not being served either in kind or degree by the type of education they received at any level.

Bousfield suggested several ideas to combat the miseducation of Black people. She added that health and Black history be added to the curriculum. She recommended adult classes, special education for exceptional children, and physical and vocational education. Above all, she called for well-trained teachers (Bousfield 1936, 412-419).

Commitment and dedication to organizational activities is one of the things Bousfield is remembered for. Bousfield was initiated into Alpha Kappa Alpha, the nation's first Black sorority on a college campus in 1921. By 1927, she move through the ranks of the sorority to become national vice president. From 1929-1931, Bousfield was the sorority's national president. During her administration, she led a drive to recruit inactive members, initiated a project to print a sorority handbook, and developed a bond purchasing program for the sorority. Bousfield also headed a committee from her chapter that worked towards purchasing and maintaining a sorority house on the campus of the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign (Parker 1990, 52-64). Bousfield and her husband frequently went to Champaign for football games. Her trips to Champaign enabled her to keep an eye on the sorority house and serve as an advisor to the women there (Evans 1997).

Serving in numerous organizations, Bousfield kept busy throughout her life. Her organizational affiliations were mostly based on her educational and musical interests. She belonged to the National Educational Association, National Association of Deans of Women, Chicago Teacher's Federation, Central Association of Science and Mathematics Teachers, Chicago's Principal's Club, National Negro Music Association, and the National Negro Business League. She also served as vice president of the Board of Trustees of Provident Hospital. Bousfield chaired the Board of Saint Edmund's Episcopal Parochial School which she helped organize. During World War II, she was the only African American appointed to the Women's Advisory Committee on the War Manpower Commission as the representative of the 6th region. Bousfield was also appointed to Mayor Richard M. Daley's Commission on Juvenile Delinquency.

Maudelle Evans recalled that her mother contributed to every committee that she was a part of (1997). Despite being the only Black person on War Manpower Commission, Evans said her mother spoke up on that committee. Evans called her mother a genius and said that she took every task seriously.

Maudelle Bousfield opened so many doors for African American women and African Americans in general. She was the first Black to attend the Charles Kunkel Conservatory of Music in St. Louis, the first Black woman to attend and graduate from the University of Illinois, the first Black dean in Chicago, the first Black principal in Chicago, and the first Black principal of an integrated high school. Bousfield's contributions need to be further studied and analyzed. Her role in Chicago's educational history is too important to continue to go unrecognized.

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From Majority to Minority: The Choktaw Society and the Wright Family in Oklahoma

Joan K. Smith, Grayson Noley, Courtney Vaughn, Mary Frances Smith
University of Oklahoma

During the early nineteenth century, Indian education in Oklahoma developed in the communities of the five tribal nations. Prior to this, the original homeland for Choctaws was Mississippi where there had been some successful attempts to proselytize them by missionaries. These tribal groups were forced to vacate their land due to the desires of whites to develop Mississippi. Thus, as a result of the 1820 Treaty of Doak's Stand, the tribal communities agreed to leave the Mississippi tract and to move to new lands in a territory bordered by the Red, Arkansas, and Canadian Rivers in what is now the southern half of Oklahoma and the southwestern portion of Arkansas. The Original treaty called for a gradual resettlement process, but this was circumvented by a new agreement, the treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, which called for quicker removals so that whites could occupy the land sooner. The purpose of this study is to: 1) describe the development of the Oklahoma Choctaw society; 2) chronicle the events that ended the Choctaw republic; and 3) discuss the contributions of three generations of Wrights in both the anglo and Choctaw societies.

The 350 mile journey from Mississippi to their new lands was made under extremely harsh conditions. One particularly tragic misfortune was a cholera epidemic that killed many. President Andrew Jackson and other politicians were unsympathetic to the difficulties the Choctaws encountered even though they were responsible for evicting them from their homeland. Nevertheless, those who endured the trek established several small towns with post offices, hotels, blacksmith shops, stores, and produce markets. These communities were located at intersections where travelers emigrating to Texas and California would pass (Wright Interview 1997).

Shortly after arrival, the Choctaws began to build a school system with help from missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Several of these missionaries, including the physician, Dr. Alfred Wright actually helped with the relocation and joined the Indians in the new territory. By December of 1832 Wright had organized Wheelock Presbyterian Church originally under the trees. By 1836 there were eleven schools in the new nation with a total of 228 Choctaw children enrolled. That same year five log school buildings were also constructed with funds from the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek. In addition to these, one school was established in each of the three districts named after the 1824 Choctaw delegation: the Mushulatubbee, Pushmataha, and Apukshunnubbee districts. Each had a district chief and an administrative council (Debo, 1967).

In addition to district councils, there was a national council, headed by a chief, that was responsible for administering the entire Choctaw society. In 1842 this council began making provisions for a comprehensive school system including boarding arrangements. In 1844 Spencer Academy and Fort Coffee were opened. Two years later Armstrong and New Hope Academies were opened, and by 1848 the nation was supporting nine boarding schools including four that had been founded by the American Board. The council usually made arrangements with mission boards to conduct the actual business of managing the schools and hiring the teachers. At about the same time, the council also began the practice of sending some of their best graduates of these academies to college.

During the 1840s and 1850s as the population increased, the original districts were subdivided into counties, and more day schools were opened and ultimately funded by public appropriations. By the eve of the Civil War in 1860 the nation reported that five hundred children were enrolled in day schools along with four hundred others attending the boarding schools. Thus, a total of nine hundred students were being schooled in English and Choctaw. The American Board missionaries including Alfred Wright translated and published Choctaw versions of the New Testament and portions of the Old Testament along with hymn books, moral lectures and sermons, and hagiographies of pious Indians.

Adults were also provided for educationally, through Sunday schools conducted by missionaries with help from the council. They met on Saturdays and Sundays and often instructed the whole family in arithmetic and the fundamentals of reading and writing in Choctaw. Although Moshulatubbee had resented the Christianizing of the Choctaws, their work continued after his death and by the Civil War the Choctaw nation was considered Christian. Sunday Christian observances were common in the society which was between twenty and twenty-five percent Protestant--mainly Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian; and council meetings began and ended with prayers (Debo 1967).

By the late 1850s Choctaw society was well established in the new territory. Economically, the settlers were agricultural. Those who farmed along the Red River developed cotton plantations and held slaves. Those along the Arkansas and Canadian Rivers planted corn and fruit orchards and raised cattle, hogs, and ponies. In addition, to the school system, they created a fourth district for new arrivals including the Chickasaws, and increased the number of council members to reflect this growth in population. In 1843 they changed the constitution so that the governing body would be bicameral: a Senate with four members from each of the four districts who would hold office for two years; and a House of Representatives who would be elected annually and who would be apportioned according to the total population which was about fifteen thousand. Polygamy was made illegal in 1849, and marriage ceremonies were also modified so that they became custom. In addition, property laws made the wife equal to her husband.

During the Civil War the Choctaw nation sided with the South, because their economy and their customs had been influenced by their stay in Mississippi, as evidenced by their practice of slavery. Furthermore, they had been concerned with some of the policies that the Republican Party had advocated, especially the proposed policy to sieze the Oklahoma lands for white settlement. In response to this proposal, the Choctaws petitioned Congress to adopt an article that would allow for Indian representation in the House of Representatives. They hoped that this would be a way of protecting their land from being confiscated. They elected a delegation to be sent to Fort Smith to negotiate a preliminary treaty with the North. A prominent member of the Choctaw party was Allen Wright.

Allen graduated from Union College in 1853 and immediately enrolled in Union Seminary in New York City graduating from that institution in 1855. He returned to the Choctaw Nation and served as its general Secretary and as Superintendent of Education. In 1866, after the Civil War, he was appointed to the treaty commission that was necessary to make peace with the U.S. government due to the Choctaw Nation's alliance with the confederacy. Principal features of the treaty negotiated stated that the Choctaw Nation was compelled to surrender the western extension of its territory and that it was forced to accept freed slaves as citizens of their nation with full rights and privileges.

Allen was elected Principal chief of the Choctaws that same year and served two terms in that office. He believed in tribal modernization and consolidation of tribal affairs. In today's terms, he might have been considered a constitutional constructionist as he believed in the primacy of law over what has been called "reactionism," or the act of policy-making for contingency. He emphasized that laws should be created that are reasonable and that establish standards and guidelines for society. The traditional "blood covenant" or an "eye for an eye" attitude was not considered by him to be an appropriate response to murder, for example.

He is also credited with establishing the manner in which the U.S. government and other American Indian nations arrived at the point at which territorial status would be granted. Allen is credited with many firsts, one of which was the establishment of the first masonic lodge in the state. He probably was the first head of an American Indian nation to hold a university and seminary degree. He authored a Choctaw dictionary for the purpose of standardizing a language.

During this period Allen Wright had married a woman who was a direct descendent of the Mayflower Pilgrim, the Elder William Brewster. Their first born was a son whom he named Eliphalet Nott Wright after the President of Union College (1802-1866). Both Dr. and Mrs. Nott had taken a special interest in Allen during his years of study there. Eliphalet was born in Boggy Depot, in what is now Southeastern Oklahoma, on 3 April 1858. He grew up during the Civil War and Reconstruction periods and started his educational career at the local school under the tutelage of Miss Clara Eddy, a graduate of Emma Willard's Seminary in Troy, New York. His next schooling experiences included a year in the preparatory department of Westminster College in Fulton Missouri and three years at the Spencer Academy in the Choctaw Nation.

In the fall of 1878, E. N. Wright entered Union College, his father's Alma Mater, along with his brother Frank. They became members of his father's fraternity, Delta Phi and friends with sons of nationally and internationally prominent families. Unfortunately, his father could not afford to continue E. N.'s education, because he had four other children away at boarding schools and colleges. Thus, in order to help out the others E.N. left Union in his junior year and entered Albany Medical College for one year. In 1883 he returned to Boggy Depot to set up a much needed but temporary practice--temporary because he intended to return to Albany to complete his medical studies. By collecting on his IOU notes, he was able to complete his medical course, and he graduated in the spring of 1884. His father, Allen, died the following year in 1885 (Wright Collection, Box 4).

Despite encouragement to practice in New York, the young doctor returned to the region where he knew the Choctaws needed him. He became chief surgeon and physician for the Missouri-Pacific Coal Mines. In 1888 he married Miss Ida Belle Richards, a teacher in Atoka who was a graduate of Lindenwood College in Missouri and whose ancestors were from the New England lineage of Bassett, Stone, and Sprague. In 1889, a daughter, Muriel was born to Dr. and Mrs. Wright (Wright Collection, Box 1).

In addition to his heavy medical practice, Wright took up the work of the Medical Board and the Choctaw Oil and Refining Company. He also was in charge of recording and reporting the amounts of coal mined and sold during Choctaw Chief, Thompson McKinney's administration (1886-88). In 1890, under Chief and Governor, Wilson Jones, Dr. Wright was appointed as supervisor of all stone, coal and timber contracts and inspections. Throughout his life he tried to organize a Choctaw run company that would have oversight of their mineral interests worth about seventy-five million dollars at the time. However, with the merger of the Indian and white societies and the establishment of the state of Oklahoma, such an organization never materialized. By the end of his life the proceeds from mineral sales had been poorly managed and yielded only a small percentage of its original value.

In 1894 Wright was appointed to a delegation that was to meet with the Dawes Commission--a special committee appointed to treat with the five tribes in order to dissolve the Indian governments and allot the lands in severalty among the citizens of the nations. However, by 1896 the Dawes Commission had changed the provision so that the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations would convey in trust all interest of their lands to the United States. Dr. Wright was the only tribal delegate to refuse to sign the paper, indicating the trust as his main reason for not signing. The document was never signed by the federal government. Instead, the Dawes Commission met with another Choctaw delegation at Atoka in 1897; Dr. Wright was informed that his services were no longer needed. Known as the Atoka Agreement, it deeded to the United States all tribal lands to be divided equally among its citizens and to remain inalienable and non-taxable for twenty-five years with one exception: there could be periodic sales of certain portions of lands. The tribal governments were to continue for an eight-year period at which time the Indian portion of the territory would become a state. By 1905 the white people living in the nations were eager to create a government and not willing to wait the eight-year period. Consequently, Congress passed the Enabling Act in 1906 and the new state joining the Indian Territory with the rest of Oklahoma was admitted in 1907 (Debo, 1967).

During this eight-year period Dr. Wright continued to work for better conditions and solutions to the Choctaw Nation's Problems. In 1900 he ran for Principal Chief on the platform of improving the inadequate Atoka Agreement conditions. However, he was defeated. He also realized that dissolution of the tribal government would not be an easy task under the inadequate Atoka provisions. In 1908 Choctaw Governor Green McCurtain sent Wright to Washington as the representative of the Choctaws. Wright hired an attorney to secure a better settlement under the treaty's provisions. Unfortunately, McCurtain died in 1910 and Wright's position was abolished. As he had predicted, the tribal government never really came to an end, although it lost power and authority (Wright, 1935).

Wright continued to promote Choctaw interests in Oklahoma. Along with his brother James Brooks, he founded and developed the town of Olney as a major station of the Rock Island Railroad. This was near the family farm. He contributed to the establishment of the Presbyterian Church and the Ash Flat Valley Bank in Olney. He also saw to it that public schools were established in the town.

Wright continued to be politically active on behalf of the Indian nations. He worked to alleviate poor economic and educational conditions. He ultimately realized that the only way Indians would be treated fairly would be to elect their own people to public office. This was to be without regard to party affiliations. He also continued his medical practice and was instrumental in merging the Indian Territory Medical Association with the Oklahoma Territory Association as the Oklahoma State Medical Association in 1906.

His place in American and Choctaw society was one of continued prominence. However, such was not the case for most of his Choctaw brothers. The bright civilization that had known such distinctiveness in its governmental, social, and educational institutions continued but without the strong support it had once known. Wright died in 1932 leaving his legacy to one of his two daughters, Muriel, who would make her own unique contribution to Choctaw and American societies.

The eldest of the two daughters, Muriel grew up in Lehigh near Atoka during the years of the allotment struggles with the Dawes Commission. While many of the governments ceased to function effectively, Muriel would later recall that the Choctaws were tenacious enough to keep a form of their government and educational institutions running. She started her formal education in the Choctaw and missionary schools. Muriel recalled later that even though she received good marks and got along well with the children, the atmosphere in these schools was "terrible." Consequently, she was "delighted" when in 1902 her father moved them to a farm ten miles southwest of Lehigh--later to become the site of the town of Olney. This meant that she was to be taught by her mother at home, because there was no school in close proximity to the farm (Wright Collection, Box 1).

After teaching Muriel what she could, Mrs. Wright made a survey of girls' schools in the East, and Muriel chose Wheaton Seminary in Norton, Massachusetts. In January of 1906, Dr. Wright took his daughter to Norton, via Washington, D. C., and New York. At the age of sixteen she bid good-by to her father and found herself alone for the first time in her life.

Being shy and in a panic at the thought of trying to academically compete at this institution she was afraid that she would not make good grades. She later recalled: " the fact that she was a '*Choctaw Indian*' was no asset; and from the *Indian Territory* and *southern* in some ways caused a flurry in the school" (Wright Collection, Box 1). The teachers and President Cole were able to manage the situation, and Muriel overcame her "blank panic" in about a month. She ended up receiving A's in history, Latin, and geometry. She attributed her academic acuity to her mother's teaching. Her teachers--all women-were from the best institutions: Radcliffe, Wellesley, Holyoke, Oxford, and Paris. Muriel went out for sports, and excelled as a wing in field hockey.

After graduating from Wheaton, Muriel returned to Oklahoma in 1911 and she matriculated as a senior at the newly opened East Central Normal School in 1912. She described her teachers as very "forward-looking" admonishing all future teachers to get acquainted with the parents of their students by making home visits. After graduation in 1912, she spent the next four years as a teacher and then a principal in elementary and high schools in Wapanucka and Tishomingo, Oklahoma.

In the fall of 1916, Muriel had an opportunity to enter Barnard College in New York City. Her uncle by marriage to her father's sister was from an old prominent New York family and sat on the Board of Regents of Columbia University's School of Mines. She spent the year there, and became close friends with John Dewey's younger daughter, Lucy and Ellen Borden of the Borden Milk Products. While in New York she became fascinated with the Roman classics, especially the folklore of Virgil's *Aeneid*.

With war developments, Muriel returned to Olney without her master's degree. She began teaching again, and soon became the principal of the Hardwood School District. She also began writing historical articles about Indian experiences in Oklahoma. She became active in the Choctaw Tribal Council, first as Secretary from 1922-1928 and then as a member of the Choctaw Advisory Council from 1934-1944. These organizations carried on continued business matters of the tribe (Wright Collection, Boxes 1-2).

From 1943-1973 she became editor of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*. She continued writing including a prominent book, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*. It is an encyclopedic coverage of sixty-seven tribes that made Oklahoma their homeland. Her other publications include *The Story of Oklahoma*, *Our Oklahoma*, *The Oklahoma History*, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* with Dr. Joseph B. Thoburn, and *Civil War Sites in Oklahoma* with Dr. LeRoy H. Fischer.

Throughout her life she maintained an active involvement with Choctaw society as well as with friends in the East. This is evidenced by her nomination and acceptance into the Daughters of the American Revolution. Her awards include: Oklahoma Hall of Fame, 1940; Distinguished Service Citation, the University of Oklahoma's highest award, 1948; State Women of the Year, 1950; The White House Award for distinguished service in preservation of American heritage, 1971; and the National American Indian Women's Association Award for historical writing and civic contributions, 1971.

She died in 1975, and part of the dedication recalled what historian and co-author LeRoy Fischer had said about her:

> Leadership, courage, dedication, ability, efficiency, enthusiasm, preserverence, [sic] service, insight, creativity--all are words that aptly describe Miss Muriel Hazel Wright. Filled with enough viable research and writing ideas in her work in Oklahoma history to last two or three lifetimes, she is spurred on by her desire to continue her notable contributions to Oklahoma's heritage and culture (Wright Collection, Box 1).

By the time that Allen Wright was an adult, the Choctaw society was developing into a sturdy socioeconomic society with political and educational institutions that would perpetuate a bicultural tradition. The Choctaws seemed eager to incorporate some of the legal, political, religious and educational customs of their white neighbors. However, they did maintain their system of common ownership in land control. Thus, any Choctaw citizen could develop a piece of land as long as it did not infringe upon the developments of another citizen. This system allowed some Choctaws to become the upper class members who enjoyed vast holdings and large rambling southern-type mansions. Some even had a slave-based plantation. On the other hand, the majority of the Choctaw citizens satisfied themselves with small portions of land and the rudiments of a basic education in both languages. During the mid-nineteenth century, the Choctaw society experienced majority status with protection of their new lands. In the aftermath of the Civil War this cultural status changed. Original treaties were no longer being honored, and the Union was eager to allot the lands in severalty, instead of honoring the community property notion. As Muriel noted conditions in the tribal schools and in towns such as Atoka were quite dismal. Choctaw culture no longer dominated Oklahoma society, and they reverted to a minority status.

Individual leaders, such as Allen Wright, had achieved political and educational standing in both Choctaw and American societies as evidenced by his administrative position and his educational experiences. His adoption by the Alfred Wright family allowed him to pursue a very prestigious educational course of study and develop elititist New England friendships. Hence, he ended up marrying into Massachusetts's mainline society. As Principal Chief and diplomat and as a large landowner in Oklahoma, we can see that Allen Wright held high status in both societies and identified with the most powerful group in the Choctaw society and a relatively powerful group in American society.

In applying these constructs to Dr. E. N. Wright, a similar picture emerges. Even though the status of the Choctaw society was diminishing, Dr. Wright maintained his professional, social and economic standing as Oklahoma became a state. He also continued to work on behalf of Choctaw society by maintaining his medical practice, and founding and developing the town of Olney. He was able to pass this standing on to his daughter, Muriel, who as a woman, receives her status from her father or her husband. Her eastern educational opportunities and her DAR membership attested to the mainline WASP reference group with which she was able to identify, while her work in Oklahoma as a prominent Choctaw historian made her an important member of the Choctaw society.

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The American Baptist Home Mission Society and the Development of Historically Black Colleges

Stephanie R. Sims
Baltimore, Maryland

Following the Civil War, Northern benevolent societies invaded the South in an attempt to aid ex-slaves in the transition from slavery to freedom. Many of these missionary and philanthropic organizations established and helped sustain Black schools. The American Baptist Home Mission Society (ABHMS) was one such organization. Beginning its work during the Civil War period, the ABHMS aided in the building of elementary schools as well as in the establishment of institutions of higher education for African Americans.

The American Baptist Home Mission Society was not the largest philanthropic organization in the South, but it was one of the most important. ABHMS leaders such as Thomas Morgan, Henry L. Morehouse, and Malcolm MacVicar were outspoken advocates of Black education. Using their periodical the *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* as well as their agents and teachers in the South, members of the ABHMS set out to spread both the social and religious gospel as well as its philosophy on higher education for African Americans. In addition to advocating higher education for Blacks through their journal and missionary activities, the ABHMS provided the financial backing to establish Black colleges throughout the South. Some of the colleges it was instrumental in helping to establish were: Benedict College in South Carolina; Bishop College in Texas; Leland College in Louisiana; Atlanta Baptist College (later Morehouse) in Georgia; Spelman Seminary in Georgia; Virginia Union in Richmond; Jackson College in Mississippi; Shaw University in North Carolina; and Alabama Baptist (later Selma University).

Despite the importance of the American Baptist Home Mission Society as a philanthropic organization, a thorough critique of its activities, philosophy, and role in Black education has yet to be written. A study of this missionary society could contribute to several areas of history and education. Three areas in particular are: the history of religion and education; the history of philanthropy and higher education; and the history of African American philanthropy and self determination.

In its own writings, the ABHMS implied that it was simply waiting for an opportunity to help freedmen and that this opportunity presented itself with the onset of the Civil War. However, evidence does not support this claim. Its history in regards to abolitionism indicates that the debate over when and how involved to become in the lives of enslaved Blacks (many of whom were Baptist) was a complicated one within this Baptist organization. Blacks in the slave states were particularly attracted to the evangelicalism of the Baptists as many evangelical Baptists allowed Blacks to practice a form of religion which enabled them to combine slave culture with White religion (Washington 1986, 7). Although the American Baptist denomination maintained the largest number of followers among both the slave and ex-slave Black population, it lacked a commitment to Black liberation prior to the Civil War. Black Northern based Baptist associations formed during the antebellum period had abolitionism as one of their primary interests. However, few White Baptists could assert the same. While the American Baptist Home Mission Society was the largest, oldest, and richest of the Northern Baptist groups, it was not the most committed to Black life and education prior to the Civil War (Washington 1986, 28,54). The Society started out its mission to educate Blacks as a fairly conservative organization. The persistent thread of conservatism and paternalism within the Society is one that would not disappear despite the new commitment of the ABHMS to Black education.

The primary questions in the study of the history of the American Baptist Home Mission Society in relation to Black colleges are: what motivated this group, who refused to make a strong commitment to the abolitionist movement, to become supporters of Black education in the South; was the ABHMS able to live up to the ideals which it espoused to its followers; and was its involvement with Black education beneficial to African Americans? In order to address those questions, this paper focuses primarily on two issues: ABHMS policy on Black education and issues of power and control between the Society and African Americans.

American Baptist Home Mission Society involvement in Black education began near the beginning of the Civil War. In 1862 two men who had led the fight to expel slaveholders from the Baptist mission societies in the 1840s also took the lead in establishing a freedmen's department within the Home Mission Society (McPherson 1975, 154). In the same year the Society set out with a goal to evangelize and educate ex-slaves. From the beginning of its involvement in Black education, the American Baptist Home Mission Society was committed to providing African Americans with an opportunity to receive a higher education. The ABHMS believed that African Americans needed to be educated if the South was to be won for Christianity. It hoped to make a "homogeneous Christian people" out of the heterogeneous population of the United States (*Home Mission Monthly* 9 1887, 40). According to James McPherson, Northern missionaries saw providing schools as a way of atoning for White sins against Blacks. White Northern missionaries as well as some African Americans hoped to incorporate Anglo-American ideals of citizenship, religion, and family into Black culture. In their view, the only valid American culture was the Northern Anglo-Protestant culture. H.L. Morehouse, Executive Secretary of the ABHMS defined the goal of missionary education as "America in the Negro" (McPherson 1975, 184). Education was percieved as a way to control the assimilation of the African American population into Anglo-America.

The goals of the Society were deeply rooted in its beliefs about African Americans and in the importance of religion in the members' lives. Thomas J. Morgan, editor of the Society's *Baptist Home Mission Monthly* and a former leader of Black troops during the Civil War wrote several articles on African Americans which were published in the journal. Morgan's writings reflect the ways in which the thinking of Society members both differed from and was similar to general Euro-American modes of thought during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Morgan and other Northern missionaries believed that slavery had a severely negative effect on African American morality and spirituality, prompting the belief that African Americans were hedonistic, child-like, and in need of white leadership. In "Africans in America," Morgan argued that slavery left no place for the recognition of manhood and womanhood; "it made no provision for the cultivation of self-respect, industry, thrift, intelligence, enterprise, [nor] independence" (Morgan 1897, 395).

The crux of ABHMS commitment to Black education lies in the final passage of Morgan's essay "Africans in America." In it he wrote:

> Without any doubt one of the great questions that will insist upon solution during this century [the twentieth] will be that of the proper relation of the Africans in America with their white fellow citizens. The Negroes. . . are here to stay. They will remain an integral part of our national life. They will exert a tremendous influence, for good or for evil. There is every reason that they should be educated and Christianized. If the white people do not lift the black people up, the black people will pull the white people down. It is manifestly to the interest of the white people themselves to do everything possible to foster education and Christianity among the Negroes, and to prepare the rising generation not only to become self supporting, but to become efficient factors in promoting the common welfare of the nation (Morgan 1897, 403).

Morgan believed that as human beings African Americans were equal to European Americans, but without the influence of Whites in the new century, the effects of slavery would lead them astray. This, Morgan believed, could be the downfall of both White and Black Americans.

While Morgan's description of Black personality is clearly stereotypical, it differs significantly from the ways in which Southern Whites were describing the people who they claimed to know and understand as no White Northerner ever could. By the 1890s when Morgan provided his assessment of Black personality, White Southerners had begun to characterize Blacks as dangerous, subversive criminals in need of strict codes of control. Morgan embraced stereotypical images of African Americans as dependent and docile as part of his justification for their education.

While the ABHMS claimed that it was trying to prepare Blacks for independence and gave some control (primarily over churches and grammar schools) to Southern Blacks, some of its other actions call into question whether or not it always acted in the best interests of the people for whom it claimed to serve. For example, Charles Becker, a White Home Mission Society selected president of Benedict Institute in South Carolina, had repeated disagreements with a leading Black minister, Edward Brawley. Brawley advocated for more Black teachers and a local Black board of trustees. Becker responded to Brawley's demands by writing to Secretary Morehouse at the ABHMS that Brawley's idea of a local board of trustees was absurd, stating that "There is not a single man [among the black preachers] aside from Brawley who can speak two consecutive sentences correctly. . . . If I see a little more of the ignorance and degradation of these people. . . I think I shall give up work in sheer despair" (McPherson 1975, 285-87).

A case in Georgia illustrates yet another thwarted effort of African Americans to gain more influence in the running of Black schools. In the 1890s, Black Baptists were demanding an increased leadership role in Atlanta Baptist Collage and Spelman Seminary. One of the leaders of the Black Baptists and advocate for Black controlled education was E. K. Love. Mr. Love had several reasons for the need for an increase of Black power and leadership at Black colleges. He argued that White teachers did not have a genuine belief in racial equality and therefore could not stimulate Black pride in their students. He also asserted that White control deprived Blacks of responsibility and hindered them from developing self reliance (Range 1951, 110). In 1899 Love, upset that the re-organization of the Board of Atlanta Baptist College did not give Blacks more representation, founded a Black run college in Macon, Georgia (Brawley 1970, 171).

For its part, the American Baptist Home Mission Society attempted to deflect Black calls for control. Morgan expressed the reluctance of his organization to turn over control of colleges in a number of editorials and letters to Black Baptist conventions. He believed that those Northern missionaries who had aided in founding Black schools should be rewarded with leadership positions. They had, according to Morgan, helped Blacks at a time when they could not help themselves. He argued that while "the Negroes have made great progress. . . the white race. . . have made far greater progress" (Morgan 1897, 338). Morgan went on to argue that Blacks had not reached the same stage in civilization as whites. Moreover, Morgan wrote, the Home Mission Society had made every effort during its tenure in the South to cooperate with Blacks and give them every opportunity to gain experience for the purpose of assuming responsibility. He noted that over half of the Black schools aided by the ABHMS were under the exclusive control of Blacks. Furthermore, Morgan asserted that

> the greatest unkindness that could be done to Negroes at their present stage of advancement would be to turn over to them absolutely all of the schools that have been established and maintained for their benefit; they are not yet prepared *fully, financially, or otherwise, for this responsibility* (Morgan 1897, 339. Emphasis mine).

Morgan and other White philanthropists felt that as long as the schools were reliant upon money from the ABHMS, the Society should retain chief control over the management of the schools.

Morgan made a number of statements which deserve attention. If one ignores Morgan's ignorance of African civilization and slave culture which was the norm for his day, his editorial still contains several objectionable assertions. First, the history of the ABHMS does not support his claim that they made every effort to cooperate with southern blacks in gaining responsibility for their education. In fact, the ABHMS seemed to perceive Black efforts at independence as an affront and threat to its Southern work. It seemed absurd to the ABHMS that it channel its money through Black organizations, although it wanted Black groups to channel money through the ABHMS (Washington 1986, 79-80).

While Northern White missionaries were indeed important to the founding of Black schools, at no time did it appear that African Americans depended completely upon Whites to build their schools, provide teachers, nor for financial assistance. In fact, the *Home Mission Monthly* reports and editorials often made special reference to Black contributions to the establishment and maintenance of ABHMS schools. Black schools could not have been established or sustained without African American support (Anderson 1988). Understandably, many Blacks sought to have a significant say in the administration of schools teaching people of color. It seemed impossible to many Black Americans that they would ever be able to assert their personhood if they were not even able to run the affairs of Black institutions. Furthermore, the paternalistic attitude of many of the White missionaries led Black leaders such as T. Thomas Fortune to wonder if "the black man had any manhood left after the missionaries and religious enthusiasts had done picturing. . . his debased moral and mental condition" (McPherson 1975, 187).

The Home Mission Society was not able to ignore the continuous pressure put upon them by members of the Black community, students, and in a few cases, faculty to increase Black autonomy. Regardless of whether or not Blacks gained complete control over faculty appointments and/or boards, the conflicts between Blacks and the Society did result in change. Through negotiations, concessions were made and Southern Blacks continued their involvement in and influence on Black schools.

The ABHMS was not always able to live up to its ideals. It was often reluctant to share power with African Americans and used stereotypes to justify its reluctance. At times its actions seemed to undermine Black efforts at self determination and autonomy. The curricula established at the institutions were Eurocentric, except for a class on Negro life taught at Spelman, Atlanta Baptist, and Atlanta University on Negro Life in the early 1900s. The colleges, and the society that helped establish them, focused on education and left unanswered questions of political, economic, and social oppression of Blacks. A reason for this is that it was assumed that if African Americans received an education they would become accepted and equal partners in American life. This of course, did not turn out to be the case.

The Home Mission Society attempted to provide African Americans with the best possible education by Northern standards. For the most part, Northern missionary sponsored schools were the only places where African Americans could receive a post-secondary education. The Home Mission Society believed that a select group of African Americans should be given as great an opportunity for learning as White students at Harvard and Yale. African American religious organizations did operate a small number of their own schools enrolling less than fifteen percent of Black college students (Anderson 1988, 240). Colleges established by the state governments in the South also existed but most of these schools lacked college-level courses and although managed by Black administrators and teachers, were strictly controlled by state legislatures (McPherson 1975, 269). Thus, schools established by Northern missionary societies such as the ABHMS offered a unique curriculum in terms of the type of education available to African Americans during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

The history of the American Baptist Home Missionary Society opens up a number of avenues for further study. The writings of the Society's leaders leave an impression of an organization with a complex and sometimes paradoxical racial ideology. In *1984* George Orwell described a concept he called "double think." Double think, according to Orwell, is the power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one's mind simultaneously and accepting both of them. The ABHMS seemed to accept notions of both Black equality and inferiority. Articles within one issue of the Home Mission Monthly might refer to African Americans as pickaninnies in one paragraph and ladies and gentlemen in another. Though the Society attributed Black inferiority to culture and the impact of slavery, they were never quite able to separate the concepts of environment, race, and culture. The relationship between the Society and Black community leaders and early Black college presidents also reveal their "double think" in action. At times the Society encouraged independence among Black men, yet seemed reluctant to relinquish control to them. An examination of the Women's American Baptist Home Missionary Society, a branch of the ABHMS, could reveal much about gender issues. Comparisons of Morehouse and Spelman offer opportunities to examine the impact of race and gender on the development of two Black institutions. Finally, the history of the ABHMS reveals the complexity of race, gender, and class ideologies during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

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The Israel Defense Forces' Education Department, 1949-1967: An Adult Common School

F. Michael Perko, S.J. and Katherine M. Brown
Loyola University of Chicago

In recent years, observers of publicly-supported schooling have come increasingly to view such education from the perspective of its role in individual and societal development. Nowhere is such a viewpoint more illuminating than in the case of American common school formation in the first half of the nineteenth century. As historians like Lawrence Cremin, Carl Kaestle, and David Tyack have repeatedly pointed out, one of the major results of the foundation and development of such institutions was the socialization of immigrants into American life and culture (Cremin 1980; Kaestle 1983; Tyack 1967, 1974).

The unique character of America as an immigrant society throughout the nineteenth century made this task especially critical. Between 1830 and 1840, nearly half a million immigrants, mainly from Britain and Western Europe, came to the United States. By the end of the century, the intake of immigrants was around 500,000 annually, and the migration pattern had shifted first to Central, Southern and Eastern Europe, then the Mediterranean and East Asia (Bureau of the Census 1976, 106-08). Only with the passage of the restrictive Johnson Acts in the 1920s did the flow decrease significantly.

Israel in late twentieth century, like America in the mid- and late nineteenth, is demonstrably a society of immigrants. While immigration to Palestine was relatively limited until after the First World War, it expanded dramatically in subsequent years, so that nearly half a million people arrived between 1919 and the eve of statehood in 1948 (Central Bureau of Statistics 1969, 112-13). This, however, was only the beginning. In the following two and a half years, 687,000 immigrants, the majority of them having European origins, entered the new state. Over the next four decades, these were joined by another 1.6 million, coming initially from the Arabic-speaking countries of North Africa and the Middle East, and more recently, from Ethiopia and the former Soviet Union (Central Bureau of Statistics 1994, 176-77).

While both nineteenth century America and twentieth century Israel have been immigrant societies, the roles of formal schooling in immigrant socialization have been significantly different. In the United States, a form of state-supported and controlled universal education, the common school, took on primary responsibility for the assimilation of newcomers into the society. Israel, in contrast, chose not to develop a single comprehensive system of schools. Instead, it opted for state support of multiple educational arrangements with significantly different characters and cultures. At the primary level, the majority of children have attended "state Hebrew schools" that are roughly analogous to public schools in the United States. Some families, however, elect to send their youngsters to "state Hebrew religious schools" that emphasize the fusion of the Hebrew-Zionist ideology with Orthodox religious tradition and observance. Others choose to support "independent schools" that are affiliated with non- (and occasionally, anti-) Zionist Orthodox groups, and offer an intensely conservative religious education in gender-segregated classes. Finally, both Arab and Druze Israelis have their own schools in which the medium of instruction is Arabic and the curriculum is geared to the culture and needs of these communities (*Facts About Israel* 1992, 158-59). These latter even operate on a different calendar than the Jewish schools, making any sort of common activity virtually impossible.

Secondary education is similarly heterogeneous. While most young Israelis attend general academic schools, more specialized institutions have been founded to offer agricultural instruction, as well as train future career soldiers and military technical specialists. Secondary-level *yeshivot*, the majority of which serve a population of male boarders, have provided intensive religious instruction along with a more secular curriculum (*Facts About Israel* 1992, 160).

This institutional diversity has created a markedly different educational ecology than that of the United States. Although the Ministry of Education has always exerted significant control over large segments of the curriculum, the cultures of different categories of schools have been widely divergent. Although a Hebrew common denominator of basic culture and some elements of unique Israeli social behavior have developed, such a diffuse educational sector has not (and probably, could not) exert the powerful social influence of more standardized American K-12 education.

To assert that Israel lacks a culturally coherent school system, however, is not to say that there is no analog within the society to the American common school and its mission of assimilation and nation building. In Israel, this purpose is fulfilled by *Zahal*[1].

The Israel Defense Forces has, since its inception, been the most universal social institution to be found in Israel. For men, there is near universal conscription after completion of secondary school for three years of service. Only some *yeshiva* students are exempted, although the period of service for certain special groups (e.g., immigrant inductees over the age of 26) serve for shorter periods of time. About 85 percent of the males in any given annual cohort are inducted, with about 3.5 percent of those remaining rejected because of severe illiteracy (Gal 1994a; Schiff 1986, 104-105). It is noteworthy that many with medical conditions that would be grounds for automatic rejection in most military establishments routinely serve in non-combat roles in the IDF, an indication of the degree to which participation in this comprehensive socializing institution is promoted (Gal 1994b, 21). Annual reserve service for men (about 30 days annually) continues until their early fifties: one result of this is that many develop some of their closest friendships with other members of their military units (*Facts About Israel* 1992, 73).

Jewish women, too, are subject to conscription, but exemption categories are broader, and include marriage or formal engagement, or less than a primary school education. The largest category of those exempted consists of women who declare that their "religiosity prevents them from serving in the military." Around 60 percent of the women in any age cohort actually are inducted. However, half of those exempted choose to volunteer for one to two years of national service (Gal 1994b, 21).

It is small wonder that the IDF is a major social influence within the Jewish state. The overwhelming majority of Israeli citizens have been shaped by its culture. Lack of discharge papers makes employment, education, or advancement difficult, and civil society frequently evaluates individuals on the basis of rank achieved or the prestige of units in which they served (Schiff 1986, 104).

All of these factors are indicators of the extent to which the Israel Defense Forces functions as both cognitive and cultural educator within Israeli society. Accounts of army life make it clear that both its formal and informal cultures exert a powerful influence in socializing the young and recent immigrants into the national culture, as well as providing them with wide exposure to the nation's heterogenous population. Emphasis on loyalty to the group, a strong motivator on the battlefield, as well as the informal relations between officers and enlisted personnel, and the expectation of a high level of institutionalized concern for individual welfare are all examples of attempts to utilize the military culture to inculcate important civic virtues (Gal 1994a; Pa'il 1994; Wolf 1989).

Within the army, a significant part of this task historically has been the responsibility of the Education and Youth Corps (formerly, Education Department). Utilizing an organizational table unlike that of many military services, the IDF has separated training and education into two distinct units. To the former belong the classic military tasks of providing instruction in areas having direct military applications. The Education and Youth Corps has been more concerned with the sorts of general education that characterize civilian schooling. The result has been what amounts to an almost totally unique entity among modern military forces, a formal agency that concerns itself with the development of highly motivated soldiers who will become, as a result of their term of service, even more productive members of the nation. In the words of one recent Chief Education Officer, one purpose of the Army in general and the Education Department in particular was to "maximize the potential of its members" (Perlmutter 1969, 69-79; El 1994).

Here, our concern will be with the history of this corps' formation and development from the establishment of the Israel Defense Forces in 1949 until 1967. Responding to particular social and cultural needs created by the rapid growth of the State of Israel and wider socio-political forces operative during these years, it established itself as a major agency of cultural formation and transmission within Israeli society. Thus, it established itself as the Jewish state's "common school," taking on the task of assimilating immigrants and socializing children to the national culture with at least as much intentionality as did the American common school.

The roots of the IDF's Education and Youth Corps are to be found in the pre-state underground military units: Haganah, Palmach and Irgun. Each of these had political officers whose role was one of morale building and the creation of a political consciousness, especially within the officer corps (Rothman 1972, 158-59). In many ways, the model was that of the political commissar in the Red Army.

With the creation of the State of Israel on 14 May 1948, a military establishment sprang into existence to meet the threat of imminent invasion from Israel's Arab neighbors. Pressing personnel shortages demanded the immediate recruitment of recent immigrants, sometimes literally taken from the boat and sent to the front with only a few hours training in weaponry and rudimentary Hebrew. The critical nature of the latter was shown in the accidental killing of an American volunteer, Col. David Marcus, by a nervous recent immigrant unable to understand Marcus's reply to his challenge (Luttwak and Horowitz 1983, 52). Under Yosef Krakovi, the fledgling army established a "cultural services" unit that operated at the brigade and battalion level, to provide basic language instruction and activities geared toward morale building (Bar-On 1992).

Regional geopolitics made it clear that Israel would have to maintain a standing army. National security concerns, local and international politics, and the positive experience of Chief of Staff Yigal Yadin, an archaeologist by training, with the Swiss model all moved Israel in the direction of a "people's army" consisting of a core of professional careerists and a very large standing reserve (Bar-On 1994).

With the passage of the Defense Service Bill in August, 1949, by the first Knesset, the framework of an army in service to society was set. Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion proposed that it should act as a citizen-maker and assimilator of immigrants, as well as serve as a model of fraternity and collaborate with the national youth movement (Perlmutter, 1968). One month later, in September, 1949, Ben-Gurion met with Minister of Education Zalman Shazar, Army Chief of Staff Ya'acov Dori, and the children's poet Aaron Ze'ev to create army educational structures (Dagan 1992).

The initial structures of both the army and its Education Department were grounded in the socialist origins of the state. Bitter experiences with oppressive military structures in Eastern Europe, coupled with fear of the threat that a military caste might pose to the fledgling democracy, led Ben-Gurion and the other founders to assure that the military would always remain firmly under civilian control (Ben-Meir 1995). Besides formal legislation designed to serve this purpose, *Zahal* structures themselves were designed to diminish the army's political power within the society. Overt political activity by active duty soldiers was forbidden. A system of rapid promotion that would have most officers achieve significant rank and retire by their mid-40s helped to thwart the development of a *Junker*-style officer caste.

Besides such checks put on the IDF's potential for control of civil society, the army was also given the positive role of taking on tasks that civilian institutions were unwilling or unable to fulfill (El 1997). This was a natural role for the IDF, given the central role of military defense in the national life and, as a result, the intimate relationship between the military and the rest of Israeli society. Immigrant assimilation, for example, was a fundamentally civilian issue but one with profound military implications. So, it was logical that the military would involve itself with this issue.

At the same time, the ideology of a "people's army" inherited from the pre-state Haganah and Palmach encouraged the IDF's understanding of itself as being in service to society rather than standing apart from it. As Chief of Staff Yigal Yadin forcefully argued at the time, the issue was

> whether to create an army from 600,000 selected Jews who resided in the country before the war of independence and treat the others as garbage or to conceive of the problem of the IDF as part of the problem of a state that is absorbing immigrants with all the attendant difficulties and dangers (Schiff 1974, 54).

All of these factors, political and ideological, helped to create an army linked to society in a fairly unusual fashion.

It was in the context of this vision that Ze'ev, Ben-Gurion, and Dori designed the Education Department. Ben-Gurion, especially, was insistent that the whole army be intertwined with the wider society like *Nahal*, the movement that combined army service with the establishment of new *kibbutzim* on the frontier. Fundamentally, the army was to be a social as well as defense agency (Bar-On 1994).

The unusual choice of Aaron Ze'ev to head the Education Department indicates how unique this new army's educational establishment was to be. A charismatic children's poet who, as one contemporary has commented, "walked through the world with a magic wand" (Tzvion 1994), Ze'ev served as Chief Education Officer from 1949 to 1963. Although criticized by some as an uncompromising socialist, he brought to the department a visionary perspective that sustained it through its early years. His personality also was a major factor assisting him in recruiting highly talented officers into his unit, and obtaining the resources necessary to create programs[2].

The Education Department's greatest task in its early years was the remedial education and assimilation of immigrants. Hebrew language instruction became the centerpiece of these educational efforts. This was due, in large part, to the almost unique situation in the twentieth century in which the overwhelming majority of the citizens were not native speakers of the national language. The problem was compounded by dramatic increases in Jewish immigration from the Arab world, with over 120,000 new arrivals from these countries in the single year of 1951 (Central Bureau of Statistics 1994, 176).

Between 1948 and 1950 alone, 4830 soldiers received such Hebrew instruction under IDF auspices (Roumani 1978, 52). Over time, these efforts would blossom into highly specialized diagnostic testing as well as sophisticated intensive instruction in both written and spoken Hebrew (Wolf 1989, 67-68).

This Hebrew instructional program also served an indirect but very intentional socializing purpose. Exploding Jewish immigration from the Muslim world made both government and army concerned about integrating Sephardic Jews with their Arab-influenced culture into the overwhelmingly European Israeli culture created by the Ashkenazim who had dominated the society since its creation. Texts used to teach basic Hebrew did so via stories emphasizing desirable cultural values. In one, a soldier rushes to visit a comrade in the hospital only to find his entry delayed by visiting hour regulations. The friend, replying to his puzzlement, comments:

> You get it [regimentation] everywhere. Isn't there regimentation in civilian life, too? You get up at a fixed hour and you go to work and at work there is regimentation again. You go home and there is regimentation at home too, and the same is true in restaurants and on public transport. It exists everywhere. Even though it is a little inconvenient, life is impossible without it (Koresh, 1955, 88).

Other stories in the same series promote cleanliness, awareness of Jewish and Zionist history, and the importance of seeing oneself as an Israeli rather than in terms of national origin or background (Koresh 1955, 20-21, 74, 78-9). Here, the tone and purpose of the texts greatly resemble those utilized by common schooling in late nineteenth America for similar purposes (Tyack 1967, 128-77; Elson 1964).

Addressing the cultural disjuncture and social tensions resulting from the massive Sephardic immigration also became part of the army's mission. Sephardic youth were rapidly becoming an underclass. In academic year 1964-65, for example, only about sixty-three percent of these teenagers entered secondary school and, of those who did, only about sixteen percent passed the university matriculation examination. More generally, around eighty-three percent of those in substandard or slum housing were Sephardim (Sachar 1996, 539-40).

At the level of individual units and commanders, special attention began to be paid to the particular needs of Sephardic immigrants, especially those whose families lived in poverty. It became fairly common, for example, for units to give soldiers from such families four to five weeks of leave at a time so that they could return home and take a temporary job to generate income for their families (Arad 1994). Officers were expected to visit the homes of their soldiers and provide whatever assistance was available. A commander of the officers' school, situated in a location where many of the residents were Sephardic immigrants, required that his largely Ashkenazic officer candidates spend some of their weekend leaves with Sephardic families to promote friendship and understanding on both sides (Pa'il 1994). In short, there was a general expectation that units at the grassroots level would actively try to promote understanding and interaction between the groups.

Several of the structures of the Education Department formalized these values as well. The initial language program at Camp Marcus became the seed of an extensive elementary educational program serving a largely Sephardic population. By the late 1960s, a General Order had established the requirement that every soldier complete elementary school by the end of national service, and that those coming from abroad complete the Israeli portion of the curriculum. Study of Bible, national geography, History of Israel, World History and civics in a program that consisted of 500 hours of class and seventy-five hours of extra-curriculars was designed to inculcate immigrant soldiers with Israeli cultural values as well as an appreciation of modern democratic society and the role of active participants in it (Roumani 1978, 54-56).

By 1954, the program had expanded to include an evening secondary education program designed for those whose education had been interrupted by World War II, the 1948 War, and the lack of educational resources in the state's early years. Although participation in the secondary program obligated soldiers to an additional four months of service, those who sought promotion to NCO or officer status found the opportunity especially attractive. In 1965 the program was expanded to include a secondary correspondence division. By the end of the 1960s, students were even matriculated in a program designed to prepare them to sit for the university matriculation examination (*bagrut*). One requirement for eligibility is that the soldier come from a North African or Middle Eastern background, clear indication that, like the other programs, this one was aimed at enhancing the life chances of those young Israelis for whom educational advantages were least available (Roumani 1978, 56-62).

Along with such programs to serve disadvantaged youth, the Education Department concerned itself with other sorts of education that also reflected broader societal needs. On 29 October 1956, forty-three farm workers, unaware that a curfew had been changed from 7:00 to 5:00 PM, were massacred by the paramilitary Border Police at Kfar Kassem, an Israeli Arab village on the Jordanian border. Despite a defense that soldiers were simply following orders, several including the major commanding the unit received prison sentences at the court martial that followed. The military court established the precedent that a soldier not only was obliged not to follow an illegal order but had a positive duty to interfere with its execution (Luttwak and Horowitz 1983, 207-08).

It became the responsibility of the Education Department to develop materials and a curriculum to support the IDF battlefield ethic of "purity of arms." Initially introduced at the Officer School, such ethical study became a mandatory part of military education throughout the army, and every soldier was given a copy of the court's decision on the Kfar Kassem case upon his or her induction (Pa'il 1975, 1994; Bar-On 1992; Gal 1986).

This and similar projects occurred during the tenure of Mordechai Bar-On as Chief Education Officer from 1962 to 1968. Bar-On, a Columbia University-educated intellectual, sought to standardize the charismatic Ze'ev's programs, as well as develop new ones rooted in social research. For him, "Freud as well as Marx is important" (Bar-On 1992).

More broadly, the army undertook leadership training, especially for officers, utilizing current research in organizational psychology. An important part of IDF culture became the belief that the individual soldier needed a high level of understanding of his situation personally and as a citizen of the Jewish State in order to maintain the motivation necessary to fight as well as the personal autonomy required to make necessary decisions in battlefield situations (Rothman 1972, 161; Shalev 1994)[3].

During this period, too, the Education Department began extensive involvement in what might be termed cultural education. *Galei Zahal*, the army radio station, had begun broadcasting during the War of Independence (Brosh 1992). Now, it underwent expansion to include music programming spanning the range of classical, modern and folk idioms. Fine arts activities undertaken both by Army Radio and the Education Department directly included the establishment of small theater groups and even an IDF string quartet, which had the additional benefit of allowing talented young musicians to spend their military service improving their musical skills (Bar-On 1992).

A unique activity instituted during this period was "Sunday Morning Culture." Soldiers returning from weekend leave, rather than being left to their own devices at staging areas to await buses to transport them back to camp, were instead taken to different venues for lectures, plays, concerts, and movies. For many, especially those from backgrounds of poverty, this was frequently the first experience of such cultural activities (Bar-On 1994; Novack 1994, 77-78).

The IDF also became a literary publisher during this period, sponsoring the publication of works by fifty classical authors (e.g., Dostoyevsky) in editions of 10,000. The army's weekly magazine, *Bamachane* (In the Camp) became a forum for a wide range of social and political viewpoints, publishing over 5000 pieces a year (Bar-On 1994; Roumani 1978, 44).

Reflecting the IDF belief that the primary educator within the army is the small unit commander, structures were created that placed Education Officers in brigades not so much to provide educational services as to be resources and catalysts for education by junior combat officers. These activities included discussions of Bible, ancient, and modern history done in conjunction with sites visited while on training exercises, as well as bi-monthly group discussions with soldiers on politics, culture, and international affairs (Pa'il 1994; Roumani 1978, 44). The goal, as always, was to inculcate national ideals and values as well as encourage young soldiers to be reflective about the society and world in which they lived.

Thus, the IDF's education structures were formalized and expanded during these years. So successfully were its activities viewed within the society that in 1965 the Education Department was awarded the annual Israel Prize for Education (Rothman 1972, 171).

From its inception during the War of Independence through the Six Day War, the Israel Defense Forces Education Department took on a function analogous to that of the American common school. While much of its activity was directed toward instruction in traditional curricular areas like language and history, its most important function has been to serve explicitly in a role that the IDF implicitly takes on as a whole. This is to function as the Israeli "common school," the one universal national institution with the task of socializing the young and recent immigrants into the culture and values of both the army and the wider society.

Like the common school, much of the effectiveness of the IDF and its Education Department lies in linkages with broader Israeli life and culture. Just as Mann, Barnard, Lewis and the other common school pioneers intentionally created an institution that would engage in such socialization, so did Ben-Gurion, Dori, and Ze'ev under the auspices of the newly-established IDF.

The Education Department, in a manner similar to the public school, has been both shaped by the fledgling nation that created it, and has served as both creator and articulator of that nation's culture and values. Thus, over time it has taken on specific tasks that have arisen as a result of civil and military exigencies. From the assimilation of immigrants to the propagation of key societal values, it has attempted to grapple with major national concerns, in the process helping to articulate and shape the country's culture.

It has been aided in this task by the unique role that the Israel Defense Forces has played in the Jewish State's life. Unlike the situation of the American military, but closely resembling the common school, the IDF has been since its creation a highly regarded institution in which the vast majority of the citizenry has participated. As a result, it has close linkages with the broader society that allow and encourage it to take on a major formational role within the nation. If Israelis have been willing to delegate such responsibility to the IDF and especially, its Education Department, it is because they, like American participants in public education, have experienced it in an overwhelmingly positive manner.

None of this is to say that problems are nonexistent. It can be argued that, in the 1950s and 1960s, the Education Department has engaged to a significant degree in a form of "cultural imperialism" in which Ashkenazic culture was trumpeted to the detriment of Sephardic interests (Bar-On 1992, 1994). In that, it mirrored Israeli society as a whole.

Within the Israel Defense Forces, the Education Department sometimes appears to have had questionable status. Most of its unit-level officers have historically been women, a serious issue in a highly male-dominated society. While one commentator has argued that the presence of such a large female contingent has benefited the Corps by making it so unique as to remove it from the usual status "pecking order" (Fisher 1997), it may also be the case that the gender imbalance has marked it as a comparatively low-status unit.

After the Ze'ev era, the Education Department traditionally has drawn its commanding officer from another branch of service, with the second in command usually being an education professional. The rationale appears to be that a commander from outside would have a wider view of the needs of the IDF and the role that the Corps might serve. Negatively, it might be argued that this has created a situation of "management by amateurs" with resulting instability, especially when the rapid turnover of Chief Education Officers is taken into account[4]. What is especially interesting, though, is the further career paths of these commanders. Although not trained as educators, former commanders and senior officers have served in two cases as Director of Yad V'Shem, the Holocaust Memorial, as well as in the roles of Member of Knesset, founding Dean of Students of the Hebrew University, Director of the Jerusalem Theatre, and senior staff member of the United Jewish Appeal[5]. What this suggests is that the sort of officer likely to command this Corps also has been likely to have both temperament and skills that lead to additional careers in educational activities.

The configuration of the army and its relation to the wider society present what is arguably the greatest future challenge. With genuine peace a foreseeable possibility for the first time in the nation's history, the question has been raised once again about the utility of universal conscription into a "people's army" rather than defense by a smaller cadre of permanent professionals. Were universal conscription to end, the army inevitably would cease to function as "common school." While the argument has been made that all ought to be inducted but for a shorter term of service, there is significant question about whether service of a year or one and a half years would be enough to allow for appropriate training to meet national security needs (Gal 1994a). Alternative national service provides an attractive option, but it is unclear that the heterogeneous experiences of those in the military and those in civilian occupations would foster the socialization into a common culture that has made the IDF such a potent force in Israeli life.

How any of these issues eventually will be resolved is unclear. What is obvious, however, is the degree to which the Israel Defense Forces, especially operating through its Education and Youth Corps, has served as the "common school" of a nation as young, volatile, and dynamic as was the United States during the era of common school formation. In this sense, it offers a unique opportunity for comparison and contrast with its civilian counterpart that can serve only to illuminate and sharpen the common elements of both, as well as the unique perspectives of each.

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Endnotes

[1] *Zahal* is an acronym for *Zva Ha-Haganah Le-Israel* (Israel Defense Forces).

[2] Avraham Tzvion, one of these young disciples, named Ze'ev, along with Ben-Gurion and Martin Buber as one of the three most significant influences on his life. Tzvion eventually became commander of Camp Marcus, the IDF's principal compensatory education facility, near Haifa.

[3] In Israeli military parlance, this is sometimes called the "great head" doctrine (as distinct from the "small head" centralized command approach of most modern armies).

[4] It is worth noting that, with the exception of Ze'ev's fourteen year stint, no Chief Education Officer has served more than five years, and three years is the mean average tenure.

[5] Yitzak "Tolka" Arad (1968-72) and Avner Shalev (1977-79) have directed Yad V'Shem, Bar-On (1963-68) has been a member of Knesset and political activist, Tzvion was the first Dean of Students at the Hebrew University, Gross (1988-91) directed the Jerusalem Theatre, and Dagan (1985-88) works for UJA.

Ordering the Cosmos: The Right Stars vs. the Right Schools

Robert E. Roemer and Melissa Sandfort
Loyola University Chicago

In Rome, on the right bank of the Tiber just inside the Aurelian Wall, the Villa Farnesina stands as a remarkable remnant from the High Renaissance. Externally the villa remains quite modest in appearance, as intended by the architect Baldassare Peruzzi, even though it was built at the beginning of the 16th-century for one of the richest persons in Europe, certainly the richest man in Rome, Agostino Chigi. In this case, the modesty was programmatic and conveyed imperial aspirations. Because of his Christian name, Agostino identified with the Emperor Augustus who, according to Suetonius, lived in a modest house with an exterior not of marble but of peperino, the same material used on the façade of the Villa Farnesina (*Divus Augustus*, 72). But within, the decorations of the villa are, if not sumptuous, spectacular in their artistic refinement and elegance, a fitting testimony to the power of Chigi's patronage and his standing with Pope Julius II, whose election to the papacy he may well have financed and whose patronage of Raphael he shared (Gilbert 1980, 75-76).

One of the villa's rooms, the Sala di Galatea (named after Raphael's fresco portraying this mythical subject) is particularly useful for understanding how ambitious families in the Renaissance went about manipulating or explaining the destiny of their children. The frescos on the upper walls and ceiling of this room use mythological subjects to describe the heavens on a particular day in the year 1466, the year in which Chigi was born. Using mythological subjects, Baldassarre Peruzzi, who in addition to designing the villa painted these frescos, placed the seven known planets of the Ptolemaic sky into signs of the zodiac to describe a sky that could have only presented itself on November 29 or 30, 1466. But the signs of the zodiac are supplemented with the symbolic representation of other constellations in the northern and southern sky. These add further precision to the horoscope cast on the upper part of this room, so that the sky portrayed is that which would have been seen in Siena, Chigi's birth place, the evening of November 29, 1466, in the three hours between 9:20 PM and 1:00 AM. In fact, it is possible to discover even more precision in the ceiling so that the indicated time is narrowed to 10:25 PM and 11:00 PM (Quinlan-McGrath 1984, 91-105).

Whatever the artistic merits of these frescos, they are intriguing because of the way they use myth and astrology to precisely fix a moment in time. Was that moment in fact the time of Chigi's birth? Verification seems to be possible in that from the time of the Black Death until the eighteenth century all Sienese infants were baptized underneath the Duomo in the Baptistery of San Giovanni and the baptismal ledgers still exist. In one of these, Mariano Chigi, Agostino's father, has written in his own hand a notice which can be translated as follows:

> Agostino Andrea son of Mariano Chigi was baptized on the thirtieth day of November 1466 and was born on the twenty-ninth day of said month at the hour twenty-one and one-half [i.e. 9:30 PM] and Giovanni Salvani was godfather (Rowland 1984, 192-193).

The written record and the celestial arrangement painted on the ceiling have a general correspondence, but the most precise reading of the ceiling places the birth of Chigi at least an hour later than what is recorded in the baptismal record. Why should there be even this small discrepancy given the precision of both the ceiling and the birth record?

Various explanations are possible: after the passage of forty-five years a failure to remember in Rome an event that took place in Siena; or perhaps the event was remembered but in a general way and not with the precision of the written record; or perhaps the astrologer who worked out the time of birth made a mistake or used unreliable timepieces. A more plausible explanation, though, comes from the confident belief among people of that time in the influence of stars on destiny. In the case of Chigi, although he was born at 9:30 PM under the waning influence of the constellation Leo, the influence of Virgo whose rising would not begin for another fifty-five minutes better explained the facts of his life. The ceiling would then have recorded both the exact time of Chigi's birth as well as the more appropriate time for his birth. That is to say, the time of Chigi's birth would have been rectified to place it under the right stars, namely those which best explain the course of his life; the virgin elbows aside the lion (Quinlan-McGrath 1984, 100-101).

This marvelous ceiling and the rectified time of birth it presents should not be considered the quirky affectation of an eccentric rich person who arrogantly wishes to reorder the cosmos. Mary Quinlan-McGrath who decoded the ceiling's astrological message notes that "such rectifications were extremely common because the facts of the native's life were considered primary evidence in determining the correct birth date" (Quinlan-McGrath 1984, 100, n. 52). In Chigi's case, the adjustment was less than a couple of hours, but adjustments of even several months were sometimes made. In fact, an argument can be made that the primary duty of an astrologer in the Renaissance when dealing with a birth date was to find a date proximate enough to the real date of birth, if in fact that was known, which would generate a horoscope corresponding as perfectly as possible with the client's actual life. Happily, in some cases this could be done without cheating. But one can point to the examples of Luther and Pope Julius III, where the search for an appropriate date of birth had to range over a year or more. One historian of natural science dryly notes: "The only thing that astonishes us today is that such a procedure, which could not possibly escape attention, in no way impaired the trust the contemporaries placed in astrology" (Hartner 1967, 227).

Since the rectification of Chigi's birth portrayed on this ceiling is modest, the ceiling may in fact be better regarded as exemplifying the Renaissance practice of providing two rising signs for a human subject, that occurring at birth but also that occurring at conception. Given that birthing is not instantaneous, determining the precise moment of birth is a troublesome question. Infinitesimally small differences in time allow for slight shifts in the heavens, which in turn produce different planetary influences. Hence whether birth occurs with the appearance of the baby's head or the emergence of the feet is a matter of some consequence. One way around this problem used by Renaissance astrologers was to focus on the moment of conception, using the rising sign at the instant of conception to accurately fix the moment of birth. Some would even have argued the influence of the stars was more important at the moment of conception than at birth. Ancient wisdom from the astronomer Ptolemy could be called upon to support this position:

> Since the chronological starting-point of human nativities is naturally the very time of conception, but potentially and accidentally the moment of birth, in cases in which the very time of conception is known either by chance or by observation, it is more fitting that we should follow it in determining the special nature of body and soul, examining the effective power of the configuration of the stars at that time (*Tetrabiblos*, 105).

Needless to say, fixing the moment of conception is no mean trick. Folk wisdom offered some suggestions on how to do this, such as looking for light cramps after coitus. The most careful approach, of course, used by those especially intent on bequeathing the right stars to their offspring was to abstain for a month in advance of the propitious moment and then see whether the hoped for incarnation had taken place (Quinlan-McGrath 1984, 101, n. 57).

But for those not so careful or so restrained, the astrologers offered the possibility of precise mathematical calculations. In a wonderfully circular piece of reasoning, the approximate time of birth was used to fix the exact moment of conception and from that to work forward and determine an exact moment of birth. Not only did this fix the influence of the stars, but it also produced two rising signs that could be used to explain destiny, one for birth and the other for conception, or in Chigi's case, Leo for his birth and Venus for his conception (Quinlan-McGrath 1984, 102-103).

We no longer live under a Ptolemaic sky, nor do we conceive the heavens as the perfect handiwork of God within which can be found the ideal model towards which human behavior should aspire (Hutchison 1987, 100-101). No longer are the planets endowed with human characteristics so that they are seen to be temperamental, crossing paths, or confronting one another. And although many contemporaries are entertained by astrology and know their birth sign if not the sign of their conception, generally speaking the influence of the stars is not used to explain human destiny, *pace* Nancy Reagan. But nonetheless, the thinking which tries to order the cosmos by getting the right moment of birth, even if *ex post facto*, features assumptions that are not strange to contemporary thought. The content has indeed changed, but the framework of belief that encourages attempts to order the cosmos for the benefit of personal destiny endures.

First, there is the belief that the determinants of destiny are external to the individual person. The stars and the planets fix the details of an individual's biography. Astrology thus was regarded as the applied branch of astronomy (Smoller 1994, 15). In fact, the influence of the stars was believed to be so pervasive that a knowledge of astrology was a fundamental component of professional expertise in the late Middle Ages. Each sign of the zodiac, for example, ruled a different part of the body, which meant that a physician before administering treatment had to read the heavens

(Smoller 1994, 22). Not only did the universe have a marvelous unity binding the heavens and earth, but the heavens as the perfect handiwork of God were primary in determining destiny.

Second, this confidence in the efficacy of the stars provided, oddly enough, space for human initiative. Destiny could be manipulated by getting the right stars, either through good family planning in advance or after a blessed event through the efforts of a skilled astrologer. Since the stars were the ultimate cause of human events, if the stars could be touched as it were, human destiny could be manipulated. Moving the time of birth to the propitious moment had life consequences. Once the right stars are selected, the rest is star-destined.

Third, the system could not be proved wrong. The complexities of astrology were such that for every discrepancy between prediction and fact, the prediction could be corrected by noting factors that had not been sufficiently considered or had been overlooked. In this way the system of astrology was endlessly corrigible and impervious to devastating challenge. For this reason, the actual events of life were conclusive in pointing to a particular moment of birth, no matter what may have in fact happened. If the noted and known time of birth did not produce a horoscope that explained the life as lived, the time of birth was changed. The order of the cosmos was maintained by simply altering a biographical detail.

Even though we have largely left behind the effort to alter or explain destiny by laying claim to the right stars, the interest in arranging beneficial life chances for ourselves or our children remains a strong motivation in our culture for deliberate action. But rather than ordering the cosmos by selecting a time of birth to get the right stars, the modern, apparently more rational approach, is to select a place of residence to get the right schools.

In 1993 the *Chicago Tribune* ran a series called "Moving Out" which examined the relocation of Chicago residents from within the city boundaries to the outlining suburbs (*Chicago Tribune* 1993a). *The Tribune* reported that approximately 60,000 Chicagoans left the city limits in 1992 with two of every three households relocating to the suburbs in the Chicago metropolitan area. Hence two-thirds of those who moved out really did leave Chicago the city, but not Chicago the metropolitan area. In preparing their story, reporters from *The Tribune* surveyed 3,000 people from the 16,000 households who migrated out of Chicago between April and October, 1992. While only thirty-one percent of the survey participants had children under the age of 19, four of every five of these families specified better education and safety as the main reasons for their move.

In the second part of the series, the Tribune printed personal statements from those who had relocated. Four responses in particular demonstrate the modern approach to determining destiny (*Chicago Tribune* 1993b):

- Time for my daughter to go to kindergarten. No Chicago public schools for us, thank you.
- The Chicago Public School System chased me out of Chicago. I could not see paying all that school tax and not feel safe sending my child to a Chicago public school.
- The birth of our son caused us to leave. If we hadn't had a child, I don't think we would have moved out. We had a lot of reservations about city life. The biggest thing was the schools. It sort of seems like everything in the Chicago public school system is headed in the wrong direction. If we had moved in Chicago, I felt we were going to have to move five years later when Grant came of school age.
- Factor in two kids in private school at $7,500 per kid per year, and you've more than justified the economics of moving to the burbs.

These comments do not seem strange nor would the sentiments expressed be regarded as peculiar to the inhabitants of Chicago. In fact, an item of consensus among economists who examine contemporary relocation patterns is the important influence the quality of public services, such as the local public schools, has in shaping the family decision to move (Varady 1986, 20). In twentieth century America, changing residential location to gain access to the right school is an understandable motivation and an acceptable explanation for severing ties with a familiar neighborhood and beginning life in one that is strange. In some cultures, deeply cherished values such as being rooted in a place or living out family traditions precludes the instrumental approach to residence which permits choosing a place to live based on the availability of schools of a certain type. In fact, the concern for getting the right schools for one's children, starting with kindergarten and working up, can be commended in contemporary America as taking the responsibility of parenthood seriously by enhancing the life chances of one's children. The ability to relocate for access to the right school is an identifying characteristic of those who fully participate in the American dream, the advantaged; likewise, not being able to relocate at will marks the disadvantaged. And for the truly advantaged, the Holy Grail sought through the pursuit of the right elementary and secondary school is admission to the right undergraduate college. With that accomplished, the cosmos has been properly ordered and the influence now not of Mars and Venus but of New Trier and Princeton can be counted on to produce a happy and prosperous life.

How rational is this approach to ordering the cosmos? Or, to make this question more particular to the present discussion, is this approach to shaping destiny more rational than selecting the right stars?

Of course, this question in a fundamental way defies answering since all depends on the destiny which is desired and that will vary with the individual person. In this sense, destiny is like pleasure which Aristotle says "is regarded differently by different persons, and varies according to the habit of individuals" (*Politics*, VIII, 3). So at this point, we need to proceed on the basis of a major, even if quite reasonable assumption, that the destiny to which getting the right schools is instrumental is economic well being. Given that, how rational is it to pursue economic well being through getting the right schools?

There is certainly a substratum of rationality to this approach in that more schooling, i.e. staying in school, at least up to a point increases the chances for economic well being. And it cannot be denied that some secondary schools send more students on to college than do others. But as Christopher Jencks pointed out many years ago, this may have less to do with the quality of the school than with the high standards and aspirations of the families of the students enrolled. The culture of the middle class perpetuates the assumption that one must stay in school to be successful. Jencks noted, contrary to popular belief, that "living in the right school district seems to make relatively little difference to an individual's educational attainment" (Jencks 1972, 148).

But what about those who do graduate from college? Are their life chances improved? The economist Andrew Hacker has recently pointed out that "having a college degree yields a man aged thirty-five to forty-four an average income of $57,196, compared with the $32,689 for men who only finish high school" (Hacker 1997, 217). An average difference in income due to different amounts of schooling of almost $25,000 is not insubstantial. But differences between income averages leaves considerable room for variations among subsets and individuals. For example, in the study used by Hacker, twenty percent of those who have only high school diplomas were making over $40,000, while almost thirty percent of those with graduate degrees were earning less than that amount (Hacker 1997, 217). Getting the right amount of schooling for some leads to upward mobility, but for others the result is mobility in the opposite direction.

But beyond getting the right amount of schooling, how does getting the right schools affect destiny, again construed in terms of economic well being? Let us assume that the effort to get the right school eventually aims at admission to one of the most selective undergraduate colleges, namely those institutions of higher education in a position to select for admission the best high school graduates in the country. A standard list would include Amherst, Brown, Columbia, Cornell, Dartmouth, Duke, Princeton, Stanford, Williams, Yale, and the University of Pennsylvania. Since these are the most selective schools and are in a privileged position of admitting the most highly talented high school students and would figure prominently as the college of choice for graduates of the nation's best high schools, the graduates of these institutions should be, as the good souls in the after world described by Plato in *The Republic* (Book X), in the best position to capture the best destiny. But as Andrew Hacker notes, "When we look at the graduates of selective colleges, say, thirty years later, the results are disappointing" (Hacker 1997, 209). In justifying this claim, Hacker examines leadership in the corporate world. Of the one hundred largest corporations and financial firms, in only eleven cases were their chief executives Ivy League undergraduates, and of these eleven, three had studied engineering at Cornell (Hacker 1997, 209). Interestingly, Amherst, Brown, Columbia, Duke, Stanford, and Williams produced not one of these one-hundred CEOs. Eleven state universities were able to claim two each. As Hacker notes, "campuses in Kansas, Idaho, and Iowa surpassed most of the highly selective schools" (Hacker 1997, 209). If, then, getting the right schools means eventually to get into one of the Ivies, and if destiny is associated with economic well-being, even with economic prowess, then the logic of this approach is shaky at best. Hacker provides a stark summary: "Thus, if we take as our pool all male Ivy graduates who are now in the age range of current CEOs, it emerges that less than one-tenth of one percent of them have reached the summit of the corporate world" (Hacker 1997, 209). If we changed the content of destiny to, say, excellence as a philosopher or a poet is there reason to expect that the results would offer more assurance that the right schools guarantee destiny?

The attempt to order the cosmos through getting the right schools is supported by the same belief structure that led individuals during the Renaissance to seek the right stars. First, consider the belief that determinants of destiny lay outside the individual person. Schooling rather than stars is now seen to determine fate. In either case, destiny is shaped by external elements external to the individual. In the contemporary scene, destiny depends on schooling, on teachers and instructional resources that have been the maturing individual's environment. Particularly important have been those teachers and school staff who participated in the final campaign for admission to a select college. Whether the empyrean is filled with stars or schools, the universe remains harmonious. In the one case, God's design was writ large in the heavens so that earthly events satisfy an eternal plan; in the other success is regarded as the expected and even just result of good schooling. In the latter case, getting the right schools is socially and ethically a far more appropriate way to success than, say, winning the lottery.

Second, confidence in the external determinants of destiny leaves space for human initiative. In the case of the schools, the initiative can be quite determined. The act of physically moving from city to suburb is no small event. Geographic location is only the first step which subsequently must be supplemented by the *cursus honorum* of appropriate activities and experiences so that when the time comes to apply for a select college, the student's career will seem both well-rounded and interestingly diverse, even exotic, to capture the attention of the admissions committee.

Third, the system could not be proved wrong. The straining to get into the right schools produces results that are often quite ordinary. Hacker observes that "anyone who has attended reunions of Ivy League graduates cannot help but be struck by how many of these alumni end up with middling middle-class incomes and quite commonplace careers" (Hacker 1997, 217). Nothing wrong with that, of course, except that the aspirations were much more grand. On the other hand, exceptional careers come to some who went to unexceptional schools. This is to be expected in a society which allows and preaches social mobility. Getting into the right schools is hardly more effective in attaining a sought after destiny than changing ones date of birth. But that does not challenge the efficacy of the belief that schools are connected to destiny. When that connection breaks down in an individual's biography, the results can be easily explained: poor effort, bad luck, loss of interest. The belief is preserved because the individual or chance events are at fault.

The practice four hundred years ago of altering one's birth date to get the right stars may seem odd or silly to the contemporary, post-Enlightenment observer. But what about four hundred years into the future, will the practice of uprooting family and migrating from the cultural centers of our civilization to the banality of suburban sprawl in order to get the right schools seem equally odd and silly to that future observer? Perhaps, but silliness is not our common bond with the Renaissance. Rather a common, enduring characteristic of our culture is the belief that somehow the cosmos can be ordered for an individual's benefit.

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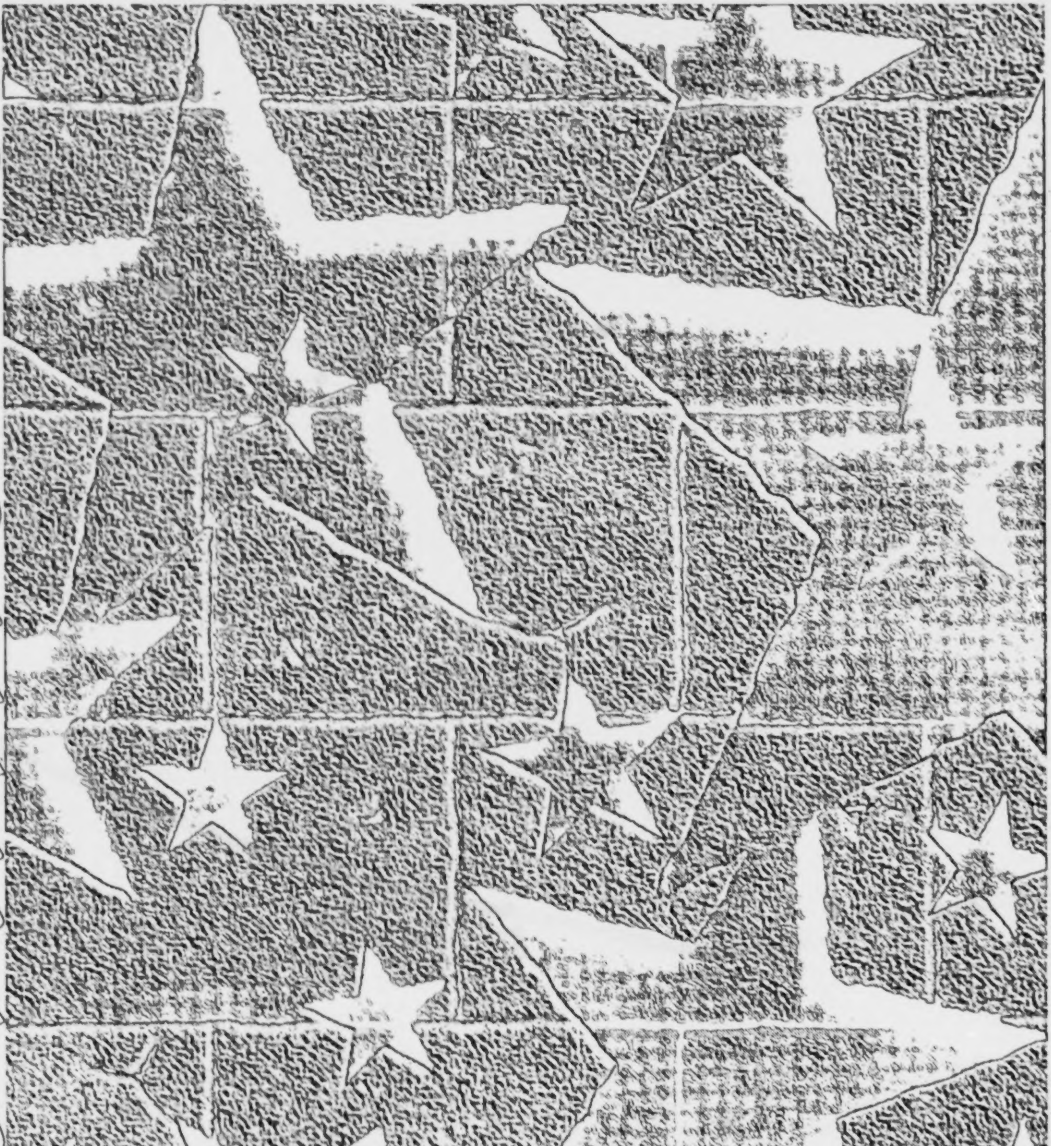

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The *Journal* has published authors from disciplines ranging from political science to philosophy to marketing to instructional technology to adult education. Its editorial board consists of a diverse group of professionals who referee articles according to their expertise. While the main criterion of acceptance consists in a well articulated argument concerning an educational issue, the editors ask that all papers offer a historical analysis. Authors should contact the editor to receive a copy of the style sheet before writing the paper.

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From the Editor

Several people made possible this issue of the *Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society*. The Provost of North Carolina State University, Dr. Kermit Hall, supported the project generously. The authors whose papers appear in these pages offered work of the highest quality. The editorial board and the associate editors worked diligently and carefully.

The *Journal* offers an important outlet for mature scholars and for students beginning professional careers. In these pages, as at the annual meeting of the Society, papers of all types appear together each reinforcing the other.

Anna V. Wilson
North Carolina State University
Raleigh, NC 27695-7801
anna_wilson@ncsu.edu
(919) 515-1744

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Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society

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The Influence of the 1957 Civil Rights Act on School Desegregation

Michael J. Bercik
University of Pittsburgh

In studying the Little Rock school desegregation crisis, it is important first to analyze the relationship of the US Federal Government to Arkansas' state and local governing bodies. Without clarifying each's defined roles and powers, one cannot fully appreciate the complexity of the crisis.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Attorney General Herbert Brownell states it was the guidelines in Brown II (May 31,1955), "With All Deliberate Speed", which gave authority to the Executive Branch, the Department of Justice, and other branches of the federal government to become involved with the crisis. However, Brownell carefully states (Brownell 1993) that those analyzing 1950's school desegregation cases must remember that the federal government was powerless to initiate any action unless the local school district first submitted a desegregation plan to their respective federal district court.

Brown II mandated school desegregation but, wanting to grant school districts a certain amount of freedom in implementing the new policy, it provided the districts with some flexibility in developing plans to submit for federal district court approval. A school district might, for example, attempt a sincere effort at desegregation -- but if it met strong community opposition, the federal government would be powerless to aid the district if it did not first have in place a court-approved desegregation plan. Brown II divided the responsibilities of the development and approval of desegregation plans equally between the local governments (i.e. school boards) and the federal government.

Brownell (1993) illustrates the complexity of this dilemma by citing the 1956 Mansfield, Texas desegregation case in which Texas Governor Allan Shivers used Texas Rangers to keep African American children from attending an all-white Mansfield public school. As events turned out, the African American students didn't even try to enter the school (Bartley 1969), and, after this episode, district school authorities sent the students back to segregated schools. Brownell describes the legal complexity of the Mansfield situation:

> We were powerless to intervene, however: in the federal court that might have led to circumstances in which the Justice Department could be called in to enforce the federal court's decision...Commentators often miss the distinction between the Mansfield situation and the later episode in Little Rock" (Brownell,p.204,1993).

Had the Mansfield School Board followed the legal guidelines of Brown II, there would have been grounds for federal intervention. As it turned out, however, this Texas community learned that Eisenhower or the Justice Department could not simply command a school district to desegregate. With 1956 a Presidential election year, Eisenhower no doubt was relieved by the School Board's oversight.

Many school boards in the South gained an opportunity to learn even more about the legal complexities of school desegregation from the Hoxie, Arkansas case. Anderson (1964) describes the effects of the 1955 desegregation incident as it reverberated through this Eastern Arkansas town and the US Department of Justice. Segregationists in Hoxie initiated a campaign of harassment and student boycott that was so effective, that at one point officials closed the schools for lack of students. The Hoxie School Board countered the segregationists' strategy by filing for a federal injunction against interference in the desegregation process, and the schools, in turn, re-opened. This action by the elected school board allowed twenty-five black students to join

> the thousand whites in the local high school, thus ending the awkward and expensive practice of shipping the students to a neighboring district with a black high school. The mayor of Hoxie explained why the town's leaders had reached their decision: "It's the law of the land, it's inevitable, it's God's will, and it's cheaper" (Ashmore, p.113, 1994).

The Hoxie case began to incite even more a traditional white supremacist mentality, especially in this eastern, Mississippi Delta region of the state.

Orval Faubus, who at this time was serving his first two-year term as governor in Arkansas and was facing an election in the Fall of 1956, recognized this as a hotbed of political controversy in which he didn't want to get involved. Consequently, he took only the smallest steps, desegregating the state's Democratic Party and some Arkansas universities, and increasing salaries for African American school teachers. Faubus went on to win his second term as governor in the heated but easily won 1956 election against James D. Johnson (Ashmore 1997), a fervent segregationist. Faubus neither attacked nor supported the renewed extreme segregationist spirit some Arkansans felt after the 1955 Hoxie incident.

Faubus would not offer encouragement even to Arkansas' state's rights supporters in the state's legislature (an organization known as the "State Sovereignty Commission"), a group that advocated the philosophy of "interposition." Adopted to challenge federal attempts to segregate their schools, interposition was the "constitutional" device of choice of the legislatures in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina. Wrapping themselves in the banner of states' rights, southern governments sought to interpose the Tenth Amendment between the federal courts and their segregated schools (Mann, p.160, 1996).

To insure success with the 1956 electorate, Faubus "endorsed segregation, as did all other Arkansas politicians" (Murphy, p.37, 1997). Because of his moderate stance on segregation, Faubus enjoyed the support of the state's liberal Democrats and the Arkansas Gazette for both his 1954 and 1956 gubernatorial campaigns.

Faubus' decisive 1956 election victory should not overshadow the racially charged rhetoric of that year's campaign, as voiced by his opponent Johnson. During the 1955 Hoxie desegregation controversy, Johnson exhibited his racism publicly since he knew media coverage would be so influential in this specific desegregation case (Murphy 1997). One can only speculate as to why Johnson did this considering that, up until the time of the Little Rock crisis, Arkansas had traditionally been a moderately segregationist state. Perhaps anticipating the need for name recognition in the 1956 gubernatorial election, Johnson pushed his extremist views so as to receive name recognition among the candidates. To further assist himself in his bid for governor, Johnson founded, at about the time of the Hoxie case, the White Citizens Council of Arkansas (which would later be questioned in FBI documents dealing with Ku Klux Klan involvement in the crisis).

In the heat of battle, as he tried to disrupt the Hoxie desegregation process, Johnson took it upon himself to cite racist data from a similar White Citizens Council in Mississippi (Murphy 1997). This external interference is evidenced by segregationist agitators from outside Arkansas making their way to Hoxie to work with native Arkansans like Johnson. Outside support exerted its influence in Arkansas during the Hoxie case and later in the Little Rock crisis.

In examining the Hoxie situation, one notes how supportive fellow segregationists in other Southern states were for like-minded Arkansans. "The State of Georgia entered the case as amicus curiae [i.e., "friend of the court," Webster's New World Dictionary, p.44,1970], in support of them (Arkansan Segregationists)" (Anderson, p.128,1964). This legal alliance between the Arkansas segregationists and the State of Georgia did not receive overwhelming publicity in 1955, but was indicative of an emerging groundswell of support from fellow Southern states for any of their brethren states who were being legally compelled to abide by the intentions of the Brown decision. South Carolina Senator Strom Thurmond typified this spirit of defiance when, in early 1956, he "proposed that southern congressmen issue a formal statement articulating their objections to the Supreme Court's Brown decisions" (Mann, p.161,1996). This document became nationally recognized on March 12, 1956 when Georgia Senator Walter George read a statement in the Senate titled the "Southern Manifesto" (originally "Declaration of Constitutional Principles") which one hundred and one Southern US Representatives and Senators signed. Those notable Southern leaders who refused to sign were Tennessee Senators Albert Gore Sr. and Estes Kefauver, and the Senate Majority from Texas, Lyndon B. Johnson (who wasn't asked to sign). Of the Southern US Representatives in the South, House Speaker of Texas, Sam Rayburn -- like Johnson -- wasn't asked to sign. The remaining US Representatives who didn't sign were from Tennessee and Florida. All House Representatives and Senators from the state of Arkansas put their signatures to the document (Brownell, p.363, 1993). These signatures of endorsement included very religious and well-educated leaders such as Representative Brooks Hays and Senator William Fulbright, who was internationally recognized for his foreign exchange student program, the Fulbright Act.

It is interesting to study how Georgia and it's political leaders such as Senator George figure into the mounting popular resistance to desegregation. It should be noted that Georgia is considered one of the Deep Southern States by scholarly works of Howard W. Odum Southern Regions Of The United States (1936) and Gunnar Myrdal An American Dilemma:The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (1962). These same Deep Southern states were supporters of then South Carolina Governor Strom Thurmond, who ran for President against the incumbent Harry S. Truman in 1948. Thurmond's presidential bid was part of his self-initiated effort to lead the Dixiecrat Rebellion, which attempted to derail Truman's modest Civil Rights proposals. Later, during the early stages of the Little Rock crisis in August 1957, this spirit of Deep Southern support from the state of Georgia would be more publicized and dramatic. This allied effort was evidenced by the state's Governor, Marvin Griffin, who arrived in Little Rock to attend a rally held by the local White Citizens' Council, which opposed the upcoming desegregation of Little Rock's Central High School.

> Georgia's governor, he declared, unlike Arkansas's, was prepared to turn out his State Highway Patrol and National Guard to bar any black child from attending any white public school, and he would enlist in their support every right-thinking, red-blooded white Georgian (Ashmore,p.126,1997).

This spirit of anti-federalist rebellion by Southern Congressional leaders reemerged once again in July 1956 while Brownell was working on a Civil Rights bill with congressional leaders. This renewed Southern defiance became tangible with publication of a new Manifesto which specifically attacked the upcoming Civil Rights legislation as violating states' rights. The new Manifesto also asserted that the pending Civil Rights legislation "effected further concentration of federal power, gave the Attorney General unprecedented authority, and increased racial discord" (Anderson,p.82,1964). These legislative attempts by Southern Congressional leaders to subvert the Brown decisions highlighted the need for increased power by the federal government to intervene in school desegregation struggles.

The Hoxie desegregation situation proved to be the first test of federal resolve in enforcing the legal intent of the Brown decisions. In particular, the power of Brown II, "With All Deliberate Speed", provided the US Department of Justice with the necessary tools of law enforcement to deal with local and state government in relation to school desegregation. Unlike the dramatic, confrontational situation in Clinton, Tennessee where governor Frank G. Clement ordered out the National Guard to insure compliance in this community's school desegregation case, the Hoxie situation brought "greater meaning to the political issue as the federal government encountered it" (Anderson,p.128,1964). As stated earlier in the chapter, Georgia legally allied itself with the segregationists in Hoxie by means of amicus curiae. With newly received enforcement powers in school desegregation situations, "the United States Department of Justice came forward as amicus in support of the School Board, the first time that the federal government had ever appeared in court to ask for implementation of desegregation decisions" (Anderson,p.128, 1964). Fortunately, the Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the federal injunction, ruling that "a federal judge has the authority to protect a local board in carrying out his orders" (Anderson,p.128,1964). This long overdue victory for the federal government in Civil Rights enforcement was much welcomed, but despite being a decisive influence, it won little notice for the US Department of Justice's role in the Hoxie case.

The Little Rock desegregation crisis of 1957 would require similar intervention by the US Department of Justice, but as events developed in that crisis, there would be a demand for action by other branches of the federal government as well.

Courtesy of Brownell's influence, members of the federal government became involved in Civil Rights enforcement by pushing for controversial legislation. On January 1st, 1957, Eisenhower and Republican Congressional leaders proposed to the Congress a comprehensive Civil Rights package. Although the 1957 Civil Rights act fell short of some of its proponents' hopes, it did set in motion the machinery of the federal government in becoming more involved in an emerging social controversy.

> The draft of the act thus empowered the attorney general, without further congressional action, to enforce the constitutional promise of equal protection for all citizens when such violations occurred. Its scope was broad enough to give the attorney general the power to enforce not only voting rights but also any federal district court decree that approved a local plan to desegregate the public schools (Brownell,p.202,1993).

The Congressional Quarterly Almanac provides a summation of the proposed legislation. In essence, the Eisenhower Administration and Republican Congressional leaders wanted to create a bipartisan commission that would (1) investigate Civil Rights violations and make appropriate recommendations, (2) establish a Civil Rights division -- to be headed by an assistant Attorney General -- within the Department of Justice, (3) enact laws to enforce voting rights, and (4) amend laws that would allow the federal government to obtain preventive relief in Civil Rights cases. Though Southern Congressional leaders had signed the Southern Manifesto a year earlier, now, as might be expected, many criticized the proposed legislation.

The version of the bill that Eisenhower signed into law to create the Commission on Civil Rights permitted the President to appoint an assistant Attorney General to head up a new Civil Rights division in the Department of Justice, and empowered the Attorney General to try for an injunction when someone was deprived of the right to vote. Regarding judicial matters, the bill "allowed the judge to decide whether a defendant in such cases should be tried with or without a jury." (Congressional Quarterly Almanac,p.553,1957). White Southern Congressional leaders realized that white juries would be sympathetic to acquitting fellow white Southerners who were guilty of Civil Rights violations even in murder cases like Emmett Till in 1955 and Medgar Evers in 1963.

The final version of the 1957 Civil Rights legislation contained no provisions for federal enforcement in school desegregation cases. To curb the power of the executive branch in school desegregation situations, the Senate "repealed a statute of 1866 empowering the President to employ troops to enforce or to prevent violation of civil rights legislation" (Congressional Quarterly Almanac,p.564,1957). My original purpose in researching the 1957 Civil Rights act was to suggest that it influenced the 1957 Little Rock school desegregation crisis. I was disappointed to discover that Southern Congressional leaders made it their specific strategy to eliminate the provision that allowed increased federal involvement in school desegregation. In this particular political strategy, they were successful. Despite the Southern Congressional leaders' victory in depriving the 1957 Civil Rights act of enforcement powers in school desegregation, it was, as Brownell suggests, "the first civil rights act of the twentieth century" (Brownell,p.226,1993), and proved to be a portent of the end to legal segregation in the South.

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Truman and the Issue of Federal Aid to Education in the Election of 1948

Don T. Martin
University of Pittsburgh

If President Truman's renomination in 1948 had depended upon his previous federal aid to education legislative proposals and their enactment, that nomination would not have occurred; however, federal aid to education had not yet become an issue of importance and had little influence on Truman's presidential nomination by the Democratic party. And even though Truman stated that he would not seek his party's nomination if Eisenhower declared his candidacy for the Democratic ticket in 1948, there were few Democrats who could challenge Truman's bid for his party's nomination. The Democrats re-nominated Truman in spite of his lack of success with much of his first term domestic program, including federal aid to education, and in spite of the President's sharp decline in popularity (Ables 1959, 1).

James Forrestal, Truman's Secretary of Defense, recorded in his diary that in late 1947 Truman looked forward with deep misgivings to another four years in the White House and that if he had not believed it his duty to run again because of world conditions he would have stepped aside. Yet at this time Truman was considered to be certain of renomination by his party and a Gallup Poll taken at the end of 1947 showed that he would have then defeated the two leading Republicans, Senator Taft or Governor Dewey, by wide margins. However, due to his stand on civil rights, the Palestine issue, and a series of other complicated events, Truman's popularity went into a tailspin and within four months a new Gallup Poll revealed a reversal and showed him far behind leading Republicans (Abels 1959, 13).

By the spring of 1948 few persons believed that Truman had the slightest chance of winning the election; one exception was Truman himself. Truman was not only having trouble with the extreme left (supporters of Henry Wallace) and the southern conservatives (the Dixiecrats) of the Democratic Party; he was also having difficulty in gaining support from the political center. For the first time since 1930, both houses of the 80th Congress were Republican, and it seemed as though the mood of the American voter was moving toward a Republican president. Fearing Truman's unpopularity many dissident Democrats tried in vain to draft Eisenhower, but Truman remained calm since he knew that former presidents in power, seeking renomination, had traditionally controlled the nominating conventions (Abels 1959, 14).

Meanwhile, Truman's decline in popularity caused a surge of optimism within the Republican party. Opening on June 21 in Philadelphia, the Republican convention four days later nominated Governor Dewey on the third ballot over Governor Stassen and Senator Taft.

NEA Convention Controversy

Shortly after Dewey's nomination and before Truman's re-nomination an important development, specifically involving federal aid to education, occurred at the 27th Annual Convention of the National Education Association. The NEA convention, being held in Cleveland July 5-9, 1948, showed special interest in gaining federal support for the nation's schools and therefore called upon President Truman to reconvene the 80th Congress to pass Senate Bill 472 providing for 300 million dollars in federal aid to education. This section, not scheduled for the conference agenda, broke unexpectedly after heated discussion by delegate members (National Education Association: Addresses and Proceedings 1948, 39).

Glenn E. Snow, then president of the NEA, disclosed to the convention delegates that he had sent telegrams to both Governor Dewey and President Truman asking them to state their position on federal aid to education. Moreover, NEA leaders announced that they would ask all teachers to canvass state and federal candidates for their stand on federal aid to education. It is understandable that the NEA would ask Dewey for his stand on federal aid since it was far from clear where he stood on this issue, but to request Truman's stand seemed unnecessary since his favorable position on federal aid was well-known to Snow and to other NEA leaders. It appears that the request was designed to force Dewey to publicly state his position on federal aid to education in order that the two positions could be juxtaposed. If Dewey came out strongly for federal aid to education (which was unlikely), then the NEA would have strong promises from both presidential candidates for support of education. But if Dewey did not support federal aid, it would give the NEA members a legitimate reason to support Truman. Either way the NEA's cause in favor of federal aid to education would benefit their cause (National Education Association Journal 1948, 335-336).

What stirred the delegates at the NEA convention most had been an article in Drew Pearson's nationally syndicated column, "Merry-Go-Round", published on June 21, the same day that the Republican Convention opened. Pearson claimed that Governor Dewey, at the Governor's Conference held earlier in June at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, had tried unsuccessfully to get other governors to support an "anti-teachers publicity campaign (New York Times 1948, 25). Pearson also said that Dewey denounced the call of the teacher's lobby (NEA) for higher teacher pay and that he called the teachers' propaganda the "biggest lie since Adolph Hitler" (New York Times 1948, 25). Pearson said that the debate in which the other governors rejected Dewey's suggestions was held in an executive session, and the press was barred because of Dewey's insistence. James Haggerty, Dewey's Press Secretary, immediately sent word to the NEA convention denying Pearson's claim. Haggerty's statement was read to the convention delegates but not until after the resolution had already been passed to get Truman to reconvene Congress (New York Times 1948, 25).

On July 8 Dewey did send a message to the NEA convention clarifying his position on state aid to education, but did not directly reply to the NEA's request for his position on federal aid to education. In sharp contrast, and on the same day, was Truman's message to the convention promising his vigorous support in the association's campaign for federal aid to education (New York Times 1948, 10). Moreover, Dewey's refusal to commit himself on federal aid to education caused more controversy at the convention. In an effort to tone down the controversy, the issue was referred to a nine-person committee; but a resolution was passed two-to-one by the delegates to mimeograph and distribute Pearson's charges against Dewey--together with a telegram from Pearson asserting that his report was accurate. The resolution commended the other governors for rejecting Dewey's alleged statement.

There was speculation that Dewey would clarify his position on federal aid to education shortly after the NEA Convention adjourned. On July 13 Dewey and Senator Taft met to discuss the campaign and other political matters, and it was thought that the topic of federal aid to education would arise since Taft was a strong advocate of federal aid. But no public mention was made about the NEA controversy nor did any public statement concerning federal aid to education come from this meeting.

The controversy over Dewey's alleged attack on the "teachers' lobby" was deliberately kept alive by the Democrats until the closing days of the campaign. In a speech in Springfield, Massachusetts, Truman provided testimony that supported Pearson's charge against Dewey. He said that Governor Lane of Maryland and Governor Maw of Utah had sent him telegrams saying that Dewey had viciously attacked the nation's schoolteachers at the Governor's Conference (Public Papers 1948, 876-877).

Regardless of whether the allegations against Dewey were true or not, these charges, backed with such reputable testimony in such a convincing manner and within a week of the election, could not but have had considerable impact upon certain voters who wanted to vote for Dewey but who could not do so because of his failure to support federal aid to education in the campaign. One way that Dewey could have rid himself of these "anti-teacher" charges, or at least have mitigated their effect, would have been to come out strongly in favor of federal aid to education. But throughout the campaign his views on federal aid to education were not clearly revealed. Since Dewey had often strongly criticized increasing centralization of government, it would have been difficult for voters who were strong advocates of federal aid to have supported him.

Special Congressional Session

The Democratic Party nominated Truman on the first ballot at their convention in Philadelphia on July 14. On the same day Truman made his acceptance speech at Convention Hall in an optimistic and self-assured manner. This was in sharp contrast to the gloom of the leaders of his party. Truman's acceptance speech was perhaps his most politically astute of the 1948 campaign for within it he called Congress into a special session to give the Republican-dominated Congress a chance, as Truman claimed, to enact the moderately progressive legislation they had called for in their platform three weeks earlier. Included within this acceptance speech was his promise to ask the Republicans to "act upon vitally needed measures such as aid to education...." (Public Papers 1948, 409).

From the beginning Republican party leaders, particularly Dewey and Taft, were opposed to the special session, and after it convened on July 27, they worked for its early (August 7) adjournment. Clearly, Truman had the Republicans in a bind. Whether the Republican-dominated Congress passed the extensive new domestic legislation Truman called for in the special session or, on the other hand, were they to fail to pass such legislation, Truman stood only to gain politically.

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Although both parties included federal aid to education in their platforms, the Democratic platform was much clearer and more positive in its support of such aid. Truman was especially proud of its inclusion of a specific request of 300 million dollars for federal aid to education and was disdainful of the generalized statement on this issue by the opposing party's platform. Truman's earlier contention that the Republicans did not mean what they said in their platform gained credence by the fact that very little of the promised Republican legislation was enacted. This rather fruitless special session, which was part of the legislative record of the 80th Congress, gave Truman his most effective political weapon. Now he had the opportunity to condemn the Republican-controlled Congress, a "do-"nothing" Congress as he incessantly called it throughout the campaign (Public Papers 1948, 409). An important part of Truman's condemnation was based on his concern over the distressful condition of American education and the Republicans' failure to support federal efforts to alleviate the Nation's educational ills. As early in the campaign as the acceptance speech at Philadelphia, Truman expressed concern that the schools were overcrowded, that teachers were underpaid, and that there was a teacher shortage. Truman could not have been more succinct and penetrating in conveying his views on the need for federal aid to education to the American people (Public Papers 1948, 408).

The Campaign Speeches

Beginning with an address before the Greater Los Angeles Press Club in June and continuing through October, Truman made the nation's shortage of teachers, their inadequate pay, and the shortage of classrooms an important issue in at least fourteen of his campaign speeches, and he included brief statements on federal aid to education in many others. Campaigning throughout the nation with great vigor, Truman frequently expressed his favorable views toward federal aid, while Dewey conducted a more relaxed, overly confident campaign in which he ignored this issue.

In many of his speeches, Truman hammered away at the distressful condition of American education and the Republicans' failure to support federal efforts to alleviate the nation's educational ills. His criticism of the Republicans became more severe as the campaign progressed; however, only a few times did he directly and specifically criticize Dewey's position on education. At a news conference early in the campaign, Truman referred to the failure of the special session to pass Education Bill §472, but deliberately avoided direct criticism of Dewey. Nevertheless, it was clear that Truman linked his opponent to the record of the Republican 80th Congress (Truman 1956, 210-211).

Truman's extensive, whirlwind speaking tour of the nation came to be known as the "whistle-stop" campaign. Campaigning throughout the nation with great vigor, he frequently expressed his favorable views toward federal aid to education, while Dewey conducted a more relaxed campaign which fell far short of his opponent's concern for federal aid to education. An example of his concern about teachers was perhaps best expressed in his statement that "There are teachers who are teaching as many as 55 to 75 pupils when 20 to 30 is about as many as any one teacher can handle; and they are the poorest paid people in the country" (Public Papers 1948, 469).

Truman's criticism of the Republicans in general terms became more severe as the campaign progressed; for example, at a news conference early in the campaign, he referred to the failure of the special session to pass the Educational Bill §472. Truman's campaign speeches consistently revealed his special interest in the plight of the teaching profession. He was perceptive of the teachers' severe problems and revealed an understanding of their frustrations over low pay and poor conditions in the schools. Calling for salary increases, he even went so far as to say that "if school teachers want to organize for better pay—I am all for them" (Schnapper 1949, 210). At the same time, he was sharply critical of the Republicans' failure to support the nation's teachers.

Federal Aid to Education Compared to Federal Aid to Highways

In addition to calling for partisan support for federal aid to education, Truman, in a number of his campaign speeches, considered the passage of federal aid to education as legitimate as the federal government's aid to states for building highways:

> Time and time again I urged the Republican 80th Congress to pass legislation, to extend Federal Assistance and aid to the States for the school systems, just like the Federal Government helps the States build highways. You'd think everybody would agree that school children are at least as important as the highways over which the school buses carry them to school. The Republicans didn't think so (Public Papers 1948, 726).

An even stronger statement was made at Madison Square Garden on October 28:

> I think it's much more important to see that the Children that ride in the buses over these roads get the proper kind of schooling and the proper sort Of teachers than it is to build the roads, myself (Public Papers 1948, 912).

Anti-communism and Federal Aid

Truman's campaign maneuver to make federal aid to education a partisan issue, and his equating the need for such aid to that of the need for federal aid to highways, did not seem as surprising a tactic as his efforts to tie the need for federal aid to education to the anti-communism cause. By 1948 Truman's policy of containment was very much in effect, and the cold war intensified because of the Berlin crisis. Anti-Communist sentiment was becoming more widespread among Americans and as a result both candidates included this theme in their campaign rhetoric (Public Papers 1951, 94).

Dewey made anti-communism one of his major campaign themes, but he did not relate it to the issue of federal aid to education as his opponent did. By contrast, in a campaign speech in Schenectady, New York, Truman told his audience that providing ample educational opportunities for all Americans was "the best safeguard there is against communism. When you have an educated people, communism hasn't a chance in the world" (Public Papers 1948, 716).

The Election—and Conclusion

Truman appealed to the voters to vote out the Republican 80th Congress and replace it with a Democratic 81st in order that the promises in the Democratic platform could be enacted. In his final message to the American voters, (a radio address from Independence, Missouri on election eve) he stated that he had done his best to discuss the issues and to explain the meaning of the Democratic platform during the campaign and told them, "I intend to carry it out if they give me a Democratic Congress to help" (Public Papers 1948, 939). The nation's voters settled in their living rooms that evening to await the returns.

As the lights burned late throughout the night all over the nation it became increasingly evident that the election was not going to be the easy victory for Dewey that the polls had predicted; in fact, to nearly everyone's surprise, the election was unfolding into one of the greatest political upsets in American history.

Dewey conceded defeat shortly before noon the next day after Ohio fell into Truman's column. That day The New York Times was flooded with a record 25,000 telephone calls seeking confirmation of the election results. Groucho Marx quipped, "The only way a Republican will get into the White House is to marry Margaret Truman" (Abels 1959, 270).

When the final results were in, Truman had received 24, 105,695 popular and 304 electoral votes to Dewey's 21,969,170 popular and 189 electoral votes. However, these figures were deceptive and the election was closer than the figures suggest. A couple of the bigger states could have "swung" the election to Dewey (Abels 1959, 289-290).

It is impossible to identify and isolate any one issue and confidently say that it contributed most to Truman's astonishing victory. Truman, himself, attributed it to labor's support, but most political analysts said the farm vote made the difference. Yet, as in most elections, there were a number of factors that converged to produce the final result. The issue of federal aid to education alone, just as any other one issue--save the issues of agriculture and labor, could not have reversed the election results.

But the issue over federal aid to education contributed to Truman's victory. American education had reached one of its lowest levels and was a national disgrace. Although most American voters still viewed education as a local affair, many were becoming impatient with local inaction, and many looked to the federal government for help. Clearly their candidate in the 1948 election was Truman.

In an attempt to analyze the reason for Truman's defeat of Dewey, Democratic women at party headquarters in Washington D.C., on the day after the election, said that an important factor in the outcome of the election was Dewey's attack on the teachers' lobby and that Dewey's failure to back federal aid to education caused many mothers and teachers to vote for Truman (New York Times 1948, 12). Considering Truman's victory a "mandate from the people" the director of the legislative and federal relations division of the National Education Association wrote:

> President Truman's victory in the election is regarded by many as a strong promise of the enactment of federal aid to education legislation in the 81st Congress. The President has a clear mandate from

> the American people to fight for legislative objectives which he clearly defined during the course of the campaign. One of these objectives is federal aid, without federal control, to help equalize educational opportunity for youth throughout the nation. The President is sincere and courageous. No one who knows him believes he will be deflected from the program he charted during his campaign (Marston, 1948, 571).

It is not possible to determine precisely how many voters were influenced to vote for Truman because of his support of federal aid to education or because of Dewey's failure to do so, but with the nation's educational system in such poor condition and with the candidates differing so clearly on this issue, I would argue that large numbers of concerned teachers and parents cast their votes for Truman because of this and other related issues.

What is more significant, however, is the fact that Truman's endorsement of federal aid to education, as reflected in his public statements and his actions, especially his support of teachers, exceeded any previous presidential candidates' concern and support for aid to education. Indeed, it was a milestone in expressed presidential concern for educational problems. His campaign set a precedent for later presidential aspirants to speak out on education as a matter of great importance to our nation's well-being.

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New Metaphors for the Interpretation of Oral History: Detective Fiction as a Narrative Genre

Brad Frey
Geneva College

In this paper I will explore the possibility of using a fictional genre', detective fiction, for investigating local aspects of civil rights history. In particular, I will show how detective fiction can inform the doing of oral history in this setting. Research on how three areas of Beaver County (western Pennsylvania) used school redistricting to segregate African-American students will be used as the example of how this might be done.

Historians have long been detective-like in their research. As they examined the data they concentrated on solving the puzzle of the research problem by logically deducing from the data what had happened. The rational process of discovering who, how and why were foremost. However, civil rights history, especially at the local level, necessitates a different kind of research (Rogers, 1994). Much of the story has never been recorded, there is great controversy over what happened and how it should be interpreted, and there is little relevant record keeping to clear up discrepancies. The oral historian is left with the dilemma of either shrugging and acknowledging the inaccessibility of the data or turning to other means to acquire it. The other means to acquire the information may well come from the genre of detective fiction. Approaching the problem with the mind set of a detective hero at work, "Ma'am, there is one other question," (Columbo).

The Detective Fiction Genre'

There is precedent for using the genre' of detective fiction in serious essays. Literary critic Henry Louis Gates in a chapter titled, "Canon Confidential: A Sam Slade Caper," uses detective fiction as a means of investigating the legitimacy of the western canon as it is traditionally configured (Gates, 1992). However, while he is making a serious point about a crucial area of higher education, he uses detective fiction more as a foil, a humorous way to make his point. What I am suggesting goes further. I am contending that the genre' of narrative fiction can enhance our understanding of this historical investigation.

Popular culture scholar John Nelson suggests the elements of the genre'. In a section titled, "Detective Fiction: Declining Hope for the Future," Nelson suggests these elements (Nelson, 1976): 1. The intellect still guides investigation but impacted by the investigator's guilt and the moral ambiguity of the situation; 2. The detective makes mistakes by overvaluing his/her own analysis and underestimating the perversity of the foe; 3. Tenacity and luck always prevail; 4. The context is depicted as corruption, cheating, duplicity, violence and perversion while much that seems normal is built on suspicion and greed (This is usually depicted as "urban."); 5. Finally, while the detective is certainly a skilled survivor, his/her significance is not found in his/her wealth and power but in the doing of justice and righteousness.

These five characteristics frame what I refer to as the detective fiction genre'. When used in conjunction with the tools for doing oral history they provide a guiding narrative. I am not suggesting that a researcher simply pretends to be a fantasy detective but that this genre' be used in conjunction with oral history. Piantanida and Garmen contend that many approach the multifaceted terrain of research looking for "the" qualitative method to substitute for "the" quantitative method when in fact multiple possibilities exist for understanding research material (Piantanida and Garmen, 1997). If, as these authors contend, knowledge is socially constructed through discourse in interpretive communities (Piantanida and Garmen, 1997), then multiple ways of getting at that knowledge to obtain "thick" data seems appropriate.

The Use of Metaphor

The view of historian as detective fiction hero needs to be seen metaphorically to be useful. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that the entire nature of our discourse is predicated on the functioning of metaphor. In particular, the conceptual systems of cultures and religions are metaphorical in nature (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Simply put, there is no area of investigation that is understood apart from metaphor. It is useful metaphors which typically open up new areas of learning to us and these new metaphors can also guide our research. This is how a fictional genre' can be useful to a serious researcher. By being able to refer beyond the typical researcher's posture to the allusions opened up by a metaphor one can get information otherwise unavailable.

The argument thus far: civil rights history is difficult to uncover at the local level through conventional means; qualitative research acknowledges various ways of obtaining information on any given problem; metaphors are structurally necessary for meaning making in language; using detective fiction metaphorically in oral history research opens new possibilities.

Oral History and Detective Fiction in Use

I am researching the school redistricting which was done in Beaver County in the mid 1960's. Beaver County is of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania containing both small industrial (steel mill) towns and large rural sections. During the mid 1960's school districts were mandated to merge and form larger, more efficient districts. In Beaver County the outcome was interesting.

There were only three areas in the county that had African-American populations. As a result of the "School District Reorganization Act of 1961," new districts were formed which had the effect of isolating the African-American children in three districts all in small mill towns. Before redistricting, surrounding townships attended the high schools located in those towns. After redistricting (which was intended to create larger districts for efficiency sake) districts were reconfigured which isolated the African-American children in three newly created districts, and, three additional districts were created for children from the surrounding rural townships.

There were two ironies. First, at a time when efficiency ruled, they avoided creating the large districts which the state had mandated (The state had set as a target number 4000 or more students which none of the newly created districts even approached). Second, while the rest of the nation, particularly the south and urban areas, went through the struggles of school desegregation, Beaver County found a way to bring a new level of segregation to its schools.

What made this obviously perverse was what happened in a fourth district. In this instance the same situation existed. There was an old mill town surrounded by rural townships. What was different was that there was no significant African-American population in this town. In this instance the county school board pressured these districts to merge even though it had configured the others not to merge. This became the only large district in the county which conformed to the state mandate to form larger more efficient district.

Many people in the area contend that this is a clear instance racial discrimination. Minorities especially believe this to be the case. But what evidence is there? In cases such as this, there is little if any documentation. Many say that race was no factor in the redistricting. Oral histories are available but if key figures had acted in a bigoted way they would not be likely to admit it (Thompson, 1988, p.3). This is the time for oral history in the detective fiction genre. The person on the street readily admitted that race was a factor in the formation of the districts and that has historical value (Thompson, 1988, p. 15). But people in key positions denied it leading to ambiguity.

The fourth element of Nelson's (1976) detective genre' is to understand the context characterized by corruption, cheating, duplicity, violence, perversion and even the normal built on suspicion and greed. While this may sound like a cynical view of society, at the time when structures are being changed coercively to segregate, this description seems accurate (Rogers, 1994, p. 32). In one of the districts hearings were held about the redistricting plan and those hearings were broadcast over live radio. "I couldn't believe how ignorant people were. They would scream into the microphone, 'my kids will never go to school with those kind of people.'" said one interviewee (Veon). As the time approached for two of the districts to separate, a full scale race riot broke out in the school on the last day of school necessitating that state police had to be called in to aid local police in restoring order (Potter). The detective genre' adequately portrayed the meanness of the context.

The second element of Nelson's detective genre' contends the detective will overvalue his/her own analysis while underestimating the perversity of the foe. As I listened to the people describe the situation I assumed that I had come across a clash of cultures. That people in the sixties just weren't ready for integration. I told myself this wasn't a conspiracy. But I kept hearing the name George Campbell come up as a key person. I asked one school administrator of the time (from one of the newly formed all white districts) if George Campbell played any role. He said, "absolutely not, he wasn't even an elected official. What would an oral surgeon have to do with the schools?" (Groff). However, I noticed an obscure newspaper reference noting that Dr. David Kurtzman, the State Superintendent of Education, was in the county and had met unofficially with Campbell (News Tribune, 3-4-'68).

In a related interview with a member of the school board of the same district I was given perspective. "How would I describe George Campbell? Well, I guess in today's terms we would call him a white supremacist. He ran the county from the country club." But I protested that I had asked Dr. Groff and he had denied Campbell had any role. "Campbell had Groff wrapped around his finger. Groff did whatever Campbell wanted" (Lieberman). According to Thompson (1988, p. 8) oral history is both creative and co-operative. Both aspects came into play as I pieced together what seemed to be an orchestrated attempt to segregate.

But I was confused. Dr. Groff had seemed very relaxed as we spoke and seemed to honestly believe that the division of the two school districts was based on a dispute over where the new high school was to be located (Groff). Examination of newspaper accounts from 1962-64 showed that there was a dispute about a potential new school (Beaver County Times). Both Nelson and Thompson explained. History must take account of the complexities of a situation (Thompson 1988, p. 20), and, while the intellect still guides our investigation, Nelson's first characteristic of detective fiction is that it is comprised by moral ambiguity (Nelson 1976, p. 163).

One key interview I had was with a current county school administrator who had been part of the county office when these decisions were made. He told me, "there were no politics involved at all in these decisions. We had made certain population projections which turned out to be wrong" (Marziano). What he said next proved that detective fiction genre' was holding true because certainly luck had prevailed (Nelson's third quality of detective fiction). Unable to let it go with such an incredulous statement he continued, "we didn't really have time to worry about those districts, we had enough trouble overseeing the Ambridge merger" (Marziano). I had never thought much about Ambridge or realized it had a troublesome merger. Since it didn't have an African-American community of any size at the time, I hadn't even studied it. As a result of my conversation I thought it merited at least a quick investigation. The result was a surprise. It was the same situation as the other three districts I was studying. There was a small mill town surrounded by several rural communities which had traditionally gone to the same high school. The state, through the county school board, was demanding they merge even though the rural townships objected. But in this case there was no race issue and the county insisted and prevailed. In the other three cases where race was a factor the county acquiesced to community demands to construct alternative districts so they wouldn't have to go to school with "those kind of people." A chance comment meant to justify a position was the piece of luck I needed to complete the picture.

Alice Harris critiques the kind of official history that I encountered as, "pre-censored and prepared for special purposes, history which is devoid of the real lives of the vast number of poor and working people," (Harris 1991, p. 1). The official history I was told by a county official radically diverged from what people on the street believed. Is this a place a survey would help? Probably not. It was the in-depth perspective presented by the average person that seemed more reliable and historically believable (Hoopes 1979, p. 42).

The last piece of the detective genre' that I drew on was the result of what Thompson describes as the result of calling witnesses from the underclass (1988, p.6). If you don't listen to the voices on the street you risk just re-enacting the community myth with your history (1988, p 20). Nelson says detective fiction is never resolved for wealth and power but for justice and righteousness. In typical research we would not be so triumphalistic as to describe the outcome of our research as justice and righteousness. However, in cases where the inequities of civil rights denied are exposed, such a claim seems appropriate.

While the above findings could have unfolded without framing them in a fictional genre', the genre' provides both a style for a narrative and an alternative voice for the historian. A voice which is biased and passionate for justice, lucky and determined in research, and, appreciative of the perspective never heard in formal settings.

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Beyond Rhetoric: The Integrity and Power of Figurative Language

Dawn S. Clark
Elizabeth Johnson
Eastern Michigan University

Mankind, like no other creature, has been singularly blessed with a unique and significantly different way to communicate--that is with words. Words are able to articulate dreams, stir the heart and mind, and offer vision. It is the persuasive power of words whether spoken or written that have long been recorded, researched, and catalogued. But what ignites a thought, a word, a language? Consider the following excerpt:

He stood six feet four inches tall, and wore a silk hat. At first glance he seemed no taller than anyone else. Most thought he was homely. He often seemed sad and gloomy. But when he began to speak, his expressions changed. The dull, listless features dropped like a mask. His changeable features, his tones, gesture, and expressions, seemed to defy description. His eyes began to sparkle, his mouth to smile, the whole countenance was wreathed in animation, and then Lincoln spoke.[1]

This passage sets the stage. The above description is a visual image of Lincoln, one of an awkward fellow, comely and nothing to be desired. As his mind began to summons the words to portray his thoughts, his demeanor changes. The onlookers described him as angular and solemn but as he began to speak he grew in statue. His outer visage became secondary, his inner thoughts primary.

Consider the nature of the spoken word and the mechanics involved. William Sweat, 19th Century Professor of Etymology asserts that the speech of man is influenced by physical laws.[2] When someone speaks, their words are carried on air and quickly dissipate. Words spoken into a microphone and converted to radio or television signals, extends endlessly into space. Hence, utterances delivered fifty years ago are fifty light years from earth and still traveling. A sobering thought that perhaps the well-known children's proverb, "Sticks and Stones" may need to be rewritten. Stick and stones may break our bones, but words go on forever.

In geometry there are laws which state that there must be at least three straight lines to enclose a space. There are laws in chemistry suggesting two hydrogen atoms and one oxygen atom are needed to create one molecule of water. There are also laws governing language. The laws of syntax declare there must be three words to construct a simple sentence. These three words are named by grammarians. There must be a spoken subject, a predicate, and connecting verb to make a simple sentence. When the laws of syntax are legitimately broken, figurative language emerges.[3]

The purpose of this essay is twofold. First, to rediscover the nature and character, knowledge and use of figurative language by examining the works of historians and rhetoricians across several centuries. Second, we desire to encourage all writers to expand their repertoire by emboldening their writing style through application of figures of speech and thereby consider figurative language as a point upon which to test a whole literature.

But upon what point can one judge the merit of composition of speech? Are there any scientific tools or criteria that stands as a template upon which to test an entire literature? According to John Walker Vilant MacBeth,

> When our subject is finished. Whatever decision may be come to, as to the way in which we have done our work, the idea itself with which we started is worthy of a lifetime; very singular that no student of books or language ever suggested it before, to test a whole literature by the light of figurative speech. Nobody will readily believe that, after the most inventive minds have been treating of literature for twenty-two centuries, an entirely new and exceeding comprehensive and searching mode of treatment can possibly remain to be discovered; yet such is the case, remarkable is the fact.[4]

Let us now take pen to paper, or figuratively, take a microscope to writing and narrow our focus to figures of speech. We shall begin by boldly stating that figurative language sets forth the power, beauty, wealth, and wit of language. MacBeth remarks, "Writers generally, even the ablest, are wholly in the dark as to the precise distinction between a trope and metonymy and very few even literary men have so much as ever heard of implication or hypocatastasis."[5]

The springboard for our research began with E.W. Bullinger, early 19th century teacher, historian, and scholar. It was his text alone that peaked our interest in this field of study. Bullinger categorizes 217 separate figures possessing thirty to forty varieties and subdivisions with over 800 illustrations. Many figures listed have duplicate names which bring up the total number to over 500. Bullinger's classifications includes the Latin and Greek nomenclature with accompanying English equivalent. Another remarkable attribute is the extent to which he illuminates the historical, political, and spiritual significance of figures. Clearly, we were overwhelmed by Bullinger's specificity, classification, and the sheer number of these figures.

Questions immediately emerged. Where did all these figures originate? For what purpose do these sheer number of figures exist? How did Bullinger arrive at his classifications and divisions? Were the researchers that he referenced as sophisticated and detailed in their classification? Lastly, was there a level of agreement as to the nature and character of figurative language? Before reviewing the researchers on Bullinger's time line, establishing a clear definition of figures of speech is imperative.

After arduously researching many definitions, Bullinger's was the most decisive and clear. Regarding figures, Bullinger concludes,

> All language is governed by law, but, in order to increase the power of a word, or the force of an expression, these laws are designedly departed from, and words and sentences are thrown into, and used in new forms or figures. So, a figure is a departure from the natural and fixed laws of grammar or syntax; but it is a departure not arising from ignorance or accidence. Figures are not mere mistakes of grammar, on the contrary they are legitimate departures from law for a special purpose. They are permitted variation with a particular object. Therefore, they are limited as to their number, and can be ascertained, named, and described. No one is at liberty to exercise any arbitrary power in their use. All that art can do is to ascertain the laws to which nature has subjected them. There is no room for private opinion, neither can speculation concerning them have any authority. It is not open to anyone to say of this or that word or sentence, 'this is a figure according to his own fancy, or to suit his own purpose. We are dealing with a science whose laws and their working are known.[6]

Figures unequivocally go beyond science. MacBeth argues that figures are far more than what some view as natural and decorative. They are the necessity of argument, truth, and reason. Figures are where the intellect and the emotion are unavoidably mingled to unearth a greater truth. We use such expressions as iron firmness, melting affections, or piercing judgment. These are not factual statements but ties and associations between one object to another. Many figures illuminate by comparison. When Sydney Smith spoke and described his dear friend, Daniel Webster, he said, "He struck me as much like a steam engine in trousers." This simile cannot be factual, but mighty is the comparison. Therefore, they call upon a speaker as well as a listener to think more critically, thus illuminating a greater truth.

A smile can convey a historical criticism on the style of Edward Gibbons, author of *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The eminent Greek scholar, Professor Porson states, "Gibbons style is to uniform; he writes in the same flowery and pompous style on every subject. He is like Christie the auctioneer who says as much in praise of a ribbon as of a Raphael." A 1941 *Harvard Law Review* article uses simile to describe a judge. "The position of a judge has been likened to that of an oyster--anchored in one place, unable to take the initiative, unable to go out after things, restricted to working on and digesting what the fortuitous eddies and currents of litigation may wash his way.[7]

Whether one is traveling in art circles, government, law; or spending hours on a tractor tilling ground for future harvest; whatever journey one is upon, the knowledge and use of figures become apparent. Figures delicately weave fibers of truth through all walks of life and are common in every state of society. Bullinger reminds his readers that, "A figure may not be true, or so true, to the literal meaning of the words; but is more true to their sense, and truer to truth.[8]

Because Bullinger cites many authors and references their works, we felt with great assurance that the path was clear and open to locate several of these resources. Bullinger first references Solomon Glassius (1593-1656). Glassius distinguished scholar and theologian, in 1625, wrote *Philologia Sacra*. His original manuscript in Latin was translated in English in 1855. Upon examination, we found his work and style of writing detailed and thorough. Written in grandiloquent manner, much like Shakespearean rhetoric of the 16th century, Bullinger remarks that his work is by far the fullest account of Biblical figures ever published.

A student of Glassius, Benjamin Keach, is second on Bullinger's reference time line. In 1682 he completed the prized and voluminous classic entitled *Troposchemalogia*, an intensive study of metaphoric language. Keach does not hesitate to avail himself largely to his mentor Glassius. In fact, he acknowledges *Philologia Sacra* as the cornerstone upon which his research was built.

Keach understood the power of language, in particular the use of metaphors. The weight of his research focused on Biblical literature and the wealth of his illustrations truly clarified the compelling parallels of this figure of speech. "While smile gently states that one thing is like or resembles another, metaphor boldly and warmly declares that one thing 'is' the other.[9] While metaphors encompass the bulk of his thesis, Keach includes eight other figures of speech illuminating their nature and character.

Our search for *Troposchemalogia* took us to the University of Michigan Graduate Library. We had success in locating his major works on microfilm, but were unable to read and duplicate due to the deterioration of the facsimile. Remarkably Kregal Publications has reprinted Keach's original volumes including a commentary from Herbert Lockyer, a scholar who acknowledges the importance of figurative language. Lockyer elaborates on the unique beauty and eloquent style of Keach. In acknowledgment of his contributions Lockyer concedes, "I am not ashamed to confess how deeply in debt I am to the most substantial studies of this renowned expositor."[10]

Johann Albrecht Bengel, German philosopher and academic scholar stands without question as one of the most original and creative writers of the 18th century. Bengel is credited with many essays, but his synthesis of ideas had a profound influence over the next two centuries. His major work that permeates academic thought is called the *Gnomon*. The text *Gnomon*, meaning index, was published in 1742 and is a five volume masterwork. In his opening remark, the editor of this remarkable text affirms what could be a very coetaneous comment. He writes, "Ever since the year in which it was first published, A.D. 1742, up to the present time, it has been growing in estimation and has been more and more widely circulated among the scholars of all countries."[11]

We were able to obtain an original copy of the *Gnomon* in its entirety. It is read with much difficulty in that Latin and Greek text appears throughout. Several of his colleagues have been critical as to his usage of technical terms, but all agree that his work is unrivaled. Bengel's editor, Andrew Fausset admits that the text is "Terse, weighty, suggestive, and often as a modern writer observes, condenses more matter into a line, than can be extracted from pages of other writers."[12]

The one-hundred and fifty year span between Glassius, Keach, and Bengel reveals an active involvement in figurative language. Bullinger states that the research on figures following this period of time is scarce. However, he does continue to brief his readers on others who have addressed figures of speech. He mentions Drs.' MacGill and Blair without mentioning their first names nor citing any of their contributions. We have concluded that Bullinger assumes his readers are keenly aware of the status and expertise of these two scholars.

Hugh Blair, Professor of Rhetoric, lectured at the University of Edinburg for twenty-four years. Upon examination we realized that his work is voluminous and easily accessible. In 1829, he published his famous two volume text, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (Polite Literature). His text includes chapters on the techniques of historical composition, the origin and nature of figurative language, and sublimity in writing.

Referred to by many as a "Public Professor", Blair believed that "it was incumbent on him to convey to his pupils all the knowledge that could improve them; to deliver to them what was new, and what might be useful from whatever quarter it came."[13] He believed that writing and discourse are objects entitled to the highest attention. He also understood the strength and value of figurative language is its ability to dress language in a rich tapestry; to ignite and to artfully frame one's thoughts. He succinctly claims that figures must arise naturally from the speaker and cannot be artificially forged.

Stevenson MacGill, in his *Lectures of Rhetoric and Criticism* at Glasgow College, devotes one chapter to the subject of figurative language and describes sixteen figures. Although only attributing one chapter to figures, MacGill's unaffected simplicity characterized his manner and style of writing is a joy to read and embrace.

MacGill initiates the recurrence of a provocative question–the origin, nature, and progress of language. Studying figures of speech will always take you back to the question, "Where did figures originate, and for what purpose?" This topic has engendered great contention. Our position is not to resolve this antiquated question: origin of language; but rather have it known that it is the culminating question to the study of language and one that each of our above authors have visited.

Bullinger cited other significant authors from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Each author illuminated different facets of figurative language. Our attention was called to a gentleman by the name of John Walker Vilant MacBeth. This man is an enigma. Professor of History from 1874-1877 at the University of West Virginia, he wrote, *The Might and Mirth of Literature: A Treatise on Figurative Language.* We found that only several libraries carried his text. A most interesting note is that his book was published simultaneously in London, but the edition had to be sent back to New York due to no demand.

To assemble any biographical information, we contacted various organizations and institutions of higher learning in West Virginia. Archives from West Virginia University Special Collections Department verified that he was both a historian and department chair in history, a post he resigned to assume responsibilities as vice-president of the University. Dates of birth and death or any other information was unobtainable. MacBeth dedicated his text to George Mott, minister of the Presbyterian Church, Flemington, New Jersey. A call to the church historian only confirmed that Mott was the minister of that church during that time. Obtaining data on MacBeth from church archives and the community historical society also proved unsuccessful.

Words fall short in praise and admiration as to the depth and breadth of his scholarship. Ingeniously, he opens his text and concisely communicates the immensity of this discipline. MacBeth begins by stating that many writers are discouraged, critical, and overwhelmed by the study of figurative forms of expression. The first difficulty is in their nomenclature. All of the names of the figures are either in Greek or Latin. This difficulty can be to a great extent cleared away by a simple explanation and by substituting an English equilivent which Bullinger accomplished. The second difficulty lies in the sheer number of figures. Prior to Bullinger, a clearly ordered system of classification of figures was absent. If the Greeks did this work, no record of it seems to have been unearthed or discovered. Bullinger created an ordered system of classification which assists in the critical retrieval of this science. The third difficulty lies in the criticism that abounds from skeptics concerning the use of figurative language. Many perceive figures as frivolous and decorative, mere rhetoric applicable only to poetry. Today, figurative language is ignorantly spoken of as though it made less of a meaning and deprived the words of their power and force. Figures are met with a cry, "Oh, that only figurative--implying that its meaning is weakened or that it has quite a different meaning, or that it has no meaning at all. But the very opposite is the case.

As the course of language moves smoothly along according to the laws which govern it, there is little that attracts our attention. It may be likened to traveling by railway. When the tracks are clear and smooth, we notice nothing. We read or sleep and occasionally peer out the window. But if the train slows down or is interrupted by a sudden stop, we immediately hear the question, "What's wrong? Why are we stopping?" Attention is aroused and interests peaked. Such is the case with our speaking and reading. Figures provide that interruption. They cause our mind to stop and consider what is being said. Discourse takes on a different level of meaning and the instruction of ideas can be conveyed with more vividness and power. It could be said that Venice is a city half land and half water but in Geoffrey Crayon's "Tales of a Traveler", puts it thus: "Venice, that mermaid of a city".

For scholars who desire to explore figurative language, MacBeth highlights six points which he sees as critical elements. When studying figures writers must, (1) seek not to disparage the claims of the Greek and Latin classics, in order to clear the way for the fuller study of English. Much can be learned from their foundation, (2) discover that cadence is an important criterion in composition and is not limited to poetry and prose, (3) utilize three references: the *Bible, Shakespeare*, and *Paradise Lost,* (4) comprehend the simplicity of one-syllable words and construct a list of at least a hundred of such terms, (5) be aroused and attuned to the fact that figures aid in the invention of impressive ways of speech, (6) embrace the suggestion that the study of figures has an emphatic bearing on Biblical scripture.[14]

We believe that MacBeth stands at a pivotal point and his treatise is unequivocally unparalleled to this date. His work systematically unveils the premise that writers who acclaim figurative language as a standard upon which to test any composition will fashion themselves as seekers of the truth, passionate thinkers, and pure artists. MacBeth offers an alternative to academia's objective morality. His literary masterpiece encourages those in all disciplines to experience free and unconstrained subjectivity. To employ a word with a figurative force is as good as to add a new term to the language.

As we read and recorded data from these historical essays, themes immediately emerged. We were amazed at the level of agreement regarding definition, nature and character, and purpose of figures. Our research efforts focused on a period of four hundred years dating back to 1550. Certainly figures can be traced back to the early Greeks and Romans. They carried this science forward but a specialized system of classification seemed to pass away with the decline of learning in the Middle Ages.

The authors that fell within our research time line were in full agreement that figures are a science governed by strict laws. They are not translucent and without substance and form. They are calculated departures from natural and fixed laws of grammar. Just as biology defines and organizes life forms the same is true for figures. Figures are named, numbered, described, and are hierarchical.

An interesting and intriguing commonality was our authors' insistence that figures can only emanate from within and cannot be superimposed or artificially created. How is a writer to interpret this, an intangible characteristic defining this science? The best figures are uttered by those who are thinking least about them. If you make yourself very familiar with them, you are able to put all manner of weapons rhetorical or written into the hand of your passion--just as an accomplished skater moves over the ice inartificially.

Arthur Quinn, University of California at Berkeley scholar, insists that figures of speech are not like chemical engineering, they cannot be learned in the same way as the periodic table. "For figures are struck out, not by whim or at the prompting of rhetoricians, but at the bidding of the soul. Perhaps we have entered on the sublime domain of psychology, or the strength and beauty of the soul. Mark this axiom carefully. All genuine study of language carries you into the study of the mind; and is an affinity with the Deathless, the Immutable, the Divine."[15]

As our provocative study continued, the most significant consequential conclusions began to come forth. A significant question continued to be generated. How does spoken and written communications impact the mind, or for that matter, a society? This has been pondered throughout many ages. The three elements of thought, speech, and the written word are inexorably interdependent and are the keys to a thinking society.

A thought is quick. They fire off in our brain with lightening speed. With or without wisdom man speaks about as quickly as he thinks. But it is the written language that exacts more time. The most highly advanced nations are those who actively teach and value skills of oratory, critical thinking, and composition.

The role of figurative language, whether speaking, reading, or writing is virtually inseparable from the development of a higher order and reasoning ability. The use of figures causes one to stop, think, rethink, and respond in a more calculating and analytical manner. One of the most frequently cited factors of American education is the inability of American students to read and think critically. The National Commission on Excellence in Education alarmingly reported that many seventeen year olds do not possess higher order intellectual skills. *Nation at Risk* report concluded that students today cannot draw inferences or write a persuasive essay. Echoing a theme common to most analysis on the need for critical thinking, they question how any of us can find what we need to know, make sense of the expanding pool of knowledge, or put knowledge to work solving human problems.

In today's tumultuous intellectual environment we need to teach students to manage the working of their own minds. Figurative language moves readers and writers into complex skills such as generating and explaining comparisons (similes and metaphors), exchanging one idea for another associated idea (synecdoche), interrogation and implication (erotesis), and repetition (mesarchia; mododiplossis, mesoteleuton, and polyptoton) which is profoundly used by the human mind to recall, coach, and review.

We as a nation no longer learn the rhythms of public utterance from *Shakespeare* and the *Bible*. Yet, when young Lincoln was sprawled in front of the fireplace reading this passage from *Julius Caesar,* "The abuse of greatness is, when it disjoins the remorse from power". He was unconsciously learning to be a poet. You say, "that was Lincoln, not the common man." But the common man was flocking to the docks to get the latest installment of Dickens's off the ship from England.

To conclude, mankind, like no other creature is in receivership of a very precious tool--language. Men, not having the right word, or not knowing how aright to use the words they have, are piteously at a loss. The commencement of our research began with E.W. Bullinger. We are greatly indebted to this scholarly masterwork written well over one hundred years ago. He dedicated his life to the rebirth and revitalization of the science of figurative language. He did his homework well and reconstructed with clarity and simplicity what perhaps the Ancients knew, but were somehow lost.

To be a great writer, the above authors have taught us to gather facts–facts obtained direct from nature not from books, then similitudes will come at their own sweet will. To be a profound speaker, our field of vision must change. We must be honest, be downright earnest, then you will be great in speaking and writing. Truth is the necessity for every good metaphor in that it must be born of some real glow of soul, not from false fervor artificially wrought up.

We have become convinced that the study of figurative language on sound principles must form one of the most important departments of criticism. They bring us into connections with the grandeur and versatility of language and of mind. Trench in his admirable work on the "Parables" states, "Language is the amber in which a thousand precious thoughts have been safely embedded and preserved."16 How simple, how truthful.

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Communicating Insularity: The Deseret Alphabet of Nineteenth-Century Mormon Education

Patricia A. Lynott
Elmhurst College

The nineteenth-century, visionary reform efforts of Brigham Young were nothing less than grandiose. During his thirty-year tenure as "Kingdom Builder" of the intermountain West, the second president and prophet of the controversial Mormon Church initiated several attempts to revolutionize the community life of his beloved Latter-day Saints. While the faithful say his motives were divinely inspired, cynics claim that Young was driven by a desire to amass personal wealth. Regardless of intent, the fact remains that Brigham Young managed to subjugate a hostile frontier and create a thriving settlement in a land of scarce natural resources. These efforts included almost complete economic independence through the development of home industry and self-sustaining agriculture, "retrenchment" of "frivolous conversation" and dress, and his most infamous reform venture, the widely condemned experiment in nontraditional family arrangements - polygamy.

Another dauntless effort of radical reform attempted by the controversial Mormon leader, though largely unknown, was his attempt to develop and implement a written language system exclusive only to the faithful. This controversial and unparalleled innovation to adopt a separate set of written symbols was known as the Deseret Alphabet. The word "deseret" comes from the *Book of Mormon* (Ether 2:3), and means "honeybee." The honeybee was a symbol of industry for the Mormon pioneers, and "deseret" was the name they christened their new home in the Great Basin region. The Mormon's endeavor at linguistic autonomy was the first of its kind in American history.[1] There were several significant reasons for developing and implementing a separate language. An article in the 19 August 1868 issue of The Deseret News, the foremost source of news for Mormons at that time, claimed that a primary reason for the alphabet was "the weeding out of objectionable literature."[2] Another reason stemmed from the growing diversity among church members as a consequence of successful overseas proselytizing efforts. In 1850, only thirty-nine percent of church members were located in the United States. As the decade progressed, thousands of non-English speaking Mormons from foreign missions began to migrate to the new Mormon kingdom west of the Mississippi.[3] Church officials firmly believed that the new alphabet could help unify the diverse group of Mormon colonists, as well as provide distinct educational benefits. It must also be remembered that the Mormons of Utah were isolated from mainstream American society, both geographically and ideologically. It was an isolation they chose deliberately, and a distinct language would help ensure their insularity.

Of all the features that distinguished the nineteenth-century Mormons of Utah, two features directly influenced both the development and demise of the Deseret Alphabet. The Mormons were unwavering in their faith, and practical in their daily habits of living. The tension between faith and utility proved to be a delicate dilemma that, on occasion, could not be effectively fused into Mormon social or political policy. The religious principles of their nontraditional faith distinguished them as a people, but the colonization of the Great Basin Region required tremendous utility as a means of surviving in the undeveloped wilderness of the intermountain West.

To understand the driving forces that motivated the Mormon's revolutionary attempt at linguistic reform, it is essential to understand both the commitment to their faith, and the exigency to be practical. As such, it is necessary to examine the historical context and religious principles that characterized the early Mormon Church. Mormonism has been an enigma since its inception. It has been characterized as paradoxical in its tendency to represent both American mainstream culture, and counter-culture. In 1957, historian Thomas O'Dea observed that:

> . . . in its origin, Mormonism was to be both typical of the larger American setting in which it existed and at the same time peculiarly itself, with its own special idiosyncratic emphasis and interpretations. Even when most at odds with its fellow Americans, it was to be typically American, and it was always to feel and express this combination and peculiarity.[4]

The history of the Mormon Church is a narrative in Americana. While many historians focus on the "myth of the Trans-Mississippi West, that is, the well-known image that associates Mormons with cowboys and Indians, gold miners, mountain men, and other heroic figures of the great, open, arid West,"[5] the first chapter of the Mormon saga correctly begins in upstate New York during the early nineteenth century. The origins of Mormonism are rooted in the life of its first prophet, Joseph Smith, Jr., born to Joseph and Lucy Mack Smith on 23 December 1805.

Mormonism was first revealed to Joseph Smith in 1823 by an angel who appeared to him in a clearing in the woods in upstate New York. The angel told Smith about the existence of gold plates upon which the true gospel of Jesus Christ had been recorded by an ancient prophet named Mormon. Smith, a "treasure-digger" by occupation, was a young man of questionable character who was charged with fraud on more than one occasion. He claimed that Mormonism was to be a religious restoration of the first church established by Jesus Christ and his twelve apostles. By March of 1830, Smith had translated the mysterious plates and published the Book of Mormon. The Church was officially established 6 April 1830 as the Church of Christ[6] and espoused many radical religious concepts.

Mormons believed that God was knowable, plural, and material. They practiced baptism for the dead, theocentric democracy, and until the transcontinental railroad was completed at Promontory, Utah in 1869, they enjoyed deliberate social and economic isolation. But of all the distinctive features that characterized Mormonism during the nineteenth century, no single practice markedly it more dramatically, nor wreaked more havoc for the fledgling religion than that of polygamy. Plural marriage, also known as "spiritual wifery" was not publicly acknowledged by the Church until 1852, but had been practiced in secret by a small, elite group of Mormon leaders as early as 1841. Polygamy derived from the Mormon belief that no marriages would be performed in the afterlife. Only marriages that had been created on earth would endure in heaven.

> Polygamy, which was based on the practices of the Hebrew patriarchs, would enable the patriarchal leaders of the Mormons to have the largest families, and thereby gain the most status and power, both on earth and in heaven. Using this elaborate family ideology, the Mormons eventually would successfully colonize much of the intermountain West, providing concrete evidence of their loyalty to their community and to God.[7]

Radical religious tenets, and non-traditional family arrangements challenged the cultural composite of American society. It was a challenge met by mounting malice and pervasive conflict. Experiencing the overt hostility of a non-Mormon world, the Mormons struggled to survive as a people and a faith. In June of 1844, Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were imprisoned in Carthage, Illinois on charges of destroying the press of a newspaper that had opposed Smith's leadership in the Church. On June 27, both Smith and his brother were murdered in their cell by an angry mob of non-Mormons.

In the aftermath of the assassinations, Brigham Young was installed as the second prophet and president of the Mormon Church. In 1847, under Young's leadership, 147 weak and weary Mormons embarked on the 1,300 mile pilgrimage to the Great Salt Lake Valley where they would begin to build a new society. Unspeakable persecution had forced them to resettle time and again in Ohio, Missouri and Illinois, losing most of their property, and often losing their lives. The geographic isolation of the intermountain West would provide them with a buffer of space and time to prosper materially, and to firmly establish social and religious practices that would, among other things, inspire church leaders to create a written language exclusive to the faithful.

Despite securing their geographic distance from mainstream society, the Mormons of Utah continued to experience severe persecution from an openly hostile Gentile world. The hostility they suffered is revealed in several scathing invectives that admonished the nontraditional Church. A lecture delivered at Chautauqua, New York in August of 1880 entitled "Utah and the Mormons" was reprinted in The Chatauquan with the name of the lecturer withheld by request. An excerpt from the speech poignantly indicated general mistrust that many Americans had of the Mormons.

> They are an aggressive, a growing people, and utterly alien and foreign to us, to our government and institutions, customs and traditions. They are as much foreign population as if we should take 150,000 of the Russians, with the emperor of Russia at their head, and place them in the centre of this country. They owe no allegiance whatever to the government at Washington, nor to our flag.[8]

A year later, in an article published in the Utah Review by Reverend Theophelus Hilton, Mormonism was depicted in the following terms:

> Mormonism is made up of twenty parts. Take eight parts diabolism, three parts of animalism from the Mohammedan system, one part bigotry from old Judaism, four parts cunning and treachery from

> Jesuitism, two parts Thugism from India, and two parts Arnoldism [from Matthew Arnold], and then shake the mixture over the fires of animal passion and throw in the forms and ceremonies of the Christian religion and you will have the system in its true component elements.[9]

The Mormon's subsequent removal to the shores of the Great Salt Lake was regarded as a necessary means of self-preservation given the many violent encounters with surrounding communities. The early architects of the Deseret Alphabet sought to use the exclusive language as a means of strengthening their community, and ensuring Mormon insularity. Mormonism was a nontraditional religion committed to establishing the Kingdom of God on earth. The faithful believed that linguistic autonomy was a strategic weapon that could provide the Church with a powerful defense mechanism to help protect against external Gentile influences.

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century the most lethal blow to strike down Mormon cultural practices and social policies was the successful passage of several pieces of anti-Mormon legislation, most of which addressed the controversial practice of polygamy. In September of 1890, Church President, Wilford Woodruff declared that the practice of polygamy would no longer be recognized. His declaration, known as the "Polygamy Manifesto," marked the beginning of "an era of concession and compromise leading to Utah statehood in 1896."[10] The Mormon's forced surrender to mainstream society would ultimately include the demise of the Deseret Alphabet.

The influx of Gentiles brought about by the gold rush to California in 1849, and the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869, caused the gradual secularization of the public schools in Utah. One means of staving off non-Mormon interference was the establishment of Mormon Academies in 1875. Between 1875 and 1922, the Church established twenty-two academies. Formal education served as a powerful tool for building the Kingdom of God on earth once the Mormons reached their new home in the Great Salt Lake Valley. For Brigham Young to bring his visionary dream to fruition, his approach to education needed to be consistent with his approach to all social, political, and economic matters - pragmatic. His daughter claimed that Young believed "there should be no broken links between the school door and the shop, farm or kitchen."[11] The Mormons believed that formal education had a very defined role, and their school curriculum was designed to achieve a perfect blend of spiritual principles and secular skills. The nineteenth-century Mormon leaders firmly believed that schools would serve as a primary catalyst for propelling the Deseret Alphabet into the larger Mormon community.

The Deseret Alphabet was regarded as another means of thwarting Gentile influence. In 1853, an editorial was published in the *Deseret News*:

> One thing seems quite certain in regard to language - especially the language of this people; it ought to be adapted to the emergency of these particular times. The focal point where the diverse languages of the people of all nations must be brought to harmonize into one common standard of speech renders the selection of a language for this purpose worthy of devout consideration . . . should we look for the wisdom and power of God to be displayed in forming a simple, easily acquired language, in which barbarians and Christians, bondsmen and freemen, of every grade of intelligence, out of every tribe, caste, language and country, can, in a short time, interchange their sentiments and praise God unitedly in spirit and understanding? If such a language is ever demanded at all, it seems to be required without delay, even now. It is not for a future generation, but for the present. Now the people are gathering, and the varied and general influx of the diverse tribes, nations, kindreds and tongues, is even at our doors. Provisions must be made for this forthcoming crisis and event.[12]

The regents of the University of Deseret (later to become the University of Utah), along with the territorial Superintendent of Education, formally introduced the idea of establishing a separate Mormon alphabet in the early 1850s. They did so, however, on the strong recommendation by Brigham Young, who had privately, yet consistently voiced his interest in the new alphabet, and offered his full support to its implementation in all the territorial schools. (Utah was a "territory" until 1896, when it finally achieved statehood.) The seeds of this idea were actually rooted earlier in Mormon history, however. In 1845, while still in Nauvoo, Illinois, the English convert George D. Watt who had, "developed some skill in phonography" and "became interested in shorthand writing" . . . "serving as the official church reporter for many years"[13] first suggested phonetic reform as a means of eliminating the incongruities of English spelling.

In October of 1853, George Watt, Parley Pratt, and Heber C. Kimball were appointed by the Regents of the University of Deseret to prepare a school book in the new alphabet in which the spelling and pronunciation of the English language would be more uniform, and easier for foreign converts to acquire. Perhaps the one institution that would become most critical to the development and implementation of the new alphabet, was the University of Deseret, the oldest state university west of the Missouri River. This institution, first established in 1850, became the University of Utah in 1894, and served as an umbrella organization supervising all educational efforts throughout the Territory of Utah. In November of 1850, the University opened the "parent school" which was designed to coordinate subject matter and pedagogical methodology in all the common schools of the region, as well as prepare teachers to instruct in those schools. During its first decade, a primary task assigned to the University's Board of Regents was the overseeing of the creation and implementation of the Deseret Alphabet.

While the protective confines of the intermountain West ensured, to some degree, social and religious purity, isolation also created several problems. For education in general, and the Deseret Alphabet specifically, one serious dilemma created by social insulation was the inability to provide an adequate supply of qualified educators who could teach the new language. Radical linguistic reform was often met with resistance - even by faithful educators. Initially, the Deseret Alphabet was considered to be a superior symbol system by Mormon leaders because of its simplicity, and was considered relatively easy to learn. It consisted of thirty-eight letters which represented the number of sounds heard in speaking the English language. There were eleven "vocal" sounds, six long, with corresponding short sounds, four double, and one aspirate, as well as twenty-one "articulate" sounds.[14] Although Church leaders believed it would be relatively simple to teach the alphabet to young children whose minds were more predisposed to new language forms, teachers showed little interest in teaching it. Given that few textbooks were printed in the new symbols, their objections were understandable. Additionally, the actual structure of the characters did not lend themselves to handwriting in cursive.

Although George Watt and his colleagues would be significant catalysts for the creation and adoption of the Deseret Alphabet, it was Brigham Young who provided the spiritual and political leadership to push forward with its development despite many formidable obstacles. In an address he delivered in 1854, Brigham Young commented:

> It is moreover an opportune time to introduce the New Alphabet, in forming which, the regency have performed a difficult and laborious task. I recommend that it be thoroughly and extensively taught in all the schools combining, as it eminently does, a basis of instruction for the attainment of the English language, far surpassing in simplicity and ease any known to exist.[15]

Mormon scholars generally agree that Brigham Young's personal history had a direct impact on his impassioned attitude toward the Deseret Alphabet. Not only did he appreciate its potential for protecting the faithful from objectionable literature saturated by Gentile influence, Young also believed there were many inconsistencies in the English language. He believed that all existing languages had deteriorated from a once perfect language. His fervent religious belief that the Mormons were a chosen people of God who were charged with the overwhelming task of establishing the Kingdom of God on earth, compelled him to establish a universal language that could unite the faithful. Young's personal history also included several difficulties he suffered with respect to his own formal education. He spent no more than eleven days in a formal school setting, a school that by even the standards of his day would be considered "backwoods." Brigham Young also mistrusted intellectuals, and once commented to one of his counselors that he felt "the classics had been used by the learned to keep the unlearned in subjugation and ignorance."[16] He rejected novels. Shortly before his death he told one of his sons, "novel reading appears to me to be very much the same as swallowing poisonous herbs."[17] He urged his children to focus their reading on historical, scientific, and religious works. He urged them to study the new alphabet. It was hardly difficult for Brigham Young to reject the traditional language of an educational system he had mistrusted for most of his life.

Brigham Young believed that first and foremost, education should promote the faith. As mentioned earlier, he also believed that education should lend to the development of practical skills. In 1877, when he provided land for Brigham Young College, he stipulated that in addition to a liberal education, young male students should also focus on trades such as black smithing, carpentry, and masonry. He requested that young female students learn to spin, weave, and sew, as well as develop skills in dairying, poultry rasing, and flower gardening. The schools of nineteenth-century Utah were designed to develop practical, economic competencies, and emphasize learning that was utilitarian to daily life.

The Mormon's effort to create and implement their own language was laudable. In 1859 the Mormons began preparing a dictionary in the new alphabet. By 1868, two primers had been published in the new characters, but Church leaders continued their efforts to secure the publishing of "all of educational books for the schools and the general reading of the people" in the new characters of the Deseret Alphabet.[18] This was a monumental undertaking, not to mention an extremely expensive enterprise. In little more than the two decades that Church leaders actively pursued the widespread implementation of the new alphabet, the Board of Regents at the University of Deseret (with the unyielding support of the Church), had approved more than $20,000 in expenditures for this eventually futile project.[19] By nineteenth-century standards, this was an extremely substantial amount of money. Their efforts to promote the new language were not limited to the schools, however. In 1856, the *Deseret News*, using the locally made type, advertised "Deseret Alphabet (Latest Revisions) printed on cards . . . Price 10 cents per card."[20] Brigham Young instructed that the manuscript history of the church be written in the Deseret Alphabet. He also insisted that his personal journals be recorded in the new system. And after many "trial runs," in 1869, the entire *Book of Mormon* was finally printed in the Deseret Alphabet. Wide circulation of materials printed in the new language met with dismal failure, however. Aside from the formidable task of changing the "mind-set" of the faithful, there was the practical difficulty of actually securing print-type for the oddly shaped characters.

As another means of disseminating the new language, lectures were given in classes specially designed to instruct Mormons on the form and function of the alphabet, and several cultural organizations were utilized to educate the faithful about the new written symbols. The "Deseret Typological Association" was formed, and in 1855, the Association asked George Watt to provide educational instruction to Mormon's who wanted to better understand the practical application of the alphabet. Instruction throughout the common schools and Mormon academies was also used in "establishing the Deseret Alphabet as the accepted pattern of spelling, writing, and reading among the people."[21]

Although the Mormon's effort to adopt the Deseret Alphabet was embraced by a large portion of Church members, it was an effort at social reform that was destined to fail. Because great time and labor had been necessary to colonize the Great Basin region, the pioneers of Utah had been inculcated with a strong sense of utility. As such, educational systems were intentionally designed to be less ornamental than the classical systems in the East, and more practical in their function. To require that a separate language be incorporated into the formal system of education meant that basic school curriculum could not be effectively administered. The overwhelming majority of textbooks addressing standard subjects that were essential to a practical education (reading, science, math, etc.), were printed in standard English. The Deseret Alphabet was simply antithetical to Mormon utilitarianism.

Additionally, as the boundaries of the intermountain West began to diminish with advances in transportation and communication, the expansion of the railroads, and the lure of gold in the fields of California, implementing a language that isolated the Saints from the larger national population would hinder the Mormon's efforts to achieve a prosperous economy. Such efforts at isolation also served to fuel long-standing anti-Mormon sentiment. Gentiles had always resented Mormon practices that segregated them from the mainstream culture. Such practices were met with suspicion and treated with hostility.

By the turn of the century, the Deseret Alphabet was little more than a memory. Its demise can be likened in many ways, to the demise of polygamy. Both efforts attempted to radically reform traditional systems. Both efforts were grounded in religious principles. Polygamy asserted that exaltation in the afterlife was predicated on marriage and progeny. The concept of a uniform language was predicated on the religious belief that a universal language would unite a multi-national faith that bound together the chosen people of God. Both systems, in the ideal, were regarded as having practical value. Over time, however, both systems would prove to fail in that regard.

Despite allegations by critics who charged the practice of polygamy as a effort on the part of Mormons to justify an immoral lifestyle, the historical record would bear out that plural marriage was based on the religious belief that increased progeny enhanced one's ability to know exaltation in the afterlife with their God. It is somewhat ironic (if not mildly amusing), that Brigham Young, while sealed to approximately fifty-five wives, essentially did not like women. In fact he once commented that "probably but a few men in the world care about the private society of women less than I do."[22] When asked by a British journalist what he thought of women in general, Young responded, "They will be more easily saved than men . . . they haven't sense enough to go far wrong."[23] Like most leaders of the Church however, Young truly believed that taking responsibility for a number of wives and producing extensive progeny would ensure a place for him in the afterlife. Additionally, he strongly believed in the form and function of a communal household in which labor and economic costs could be shared by a number of individuals. At a social level, Polygamy was a dismal failure, largely as a consequence of the Gentile belief it was a pagan practice that threatened the American way of life. At a personal level, it was a deep disappointment for Brigham Young. By the end of his life, Young painfully admitted that having multiple wives under one roof produced far more grief than benefits. In 1928, one of Young's daughter's recounted a comment made by her father.

> . . . he told me at the close of his life that he had made a mistake. If he had to it over, he said he would deed each wife with her own home and let her pay her own tithing and have her own belongings around her.[24]

The institution of polygamy could not successfully merge the Mormon's commitment to faith, and their need for systems that were practical. Their failure at linguistic reform suffered a similar inability to reconcile faith and utility. Although its justification in religious principle was religiously grounded in the Mormon's belief that an exclusive language would unite a multi-national faith, the practical reality was that the proposed new language necessarily limited the Mormon's ability to access great stores of information. As such, if the Mormon people held firm to the utilization of a separate language system, they necessarily would remain insulated from all the innovations and information emanating from mainstream society. To this end, the alphabet failed. That it received such tremendous effort and financial support is testament to the Mormon's deep desire for securing an isolated and protected existence, free from the influences of a dominant culture. Despite their valiant efforts to maintain autonomy, the Mormons of Utah would ultimately be conjoined to the larger American society. It was a union that allowed them achieve impressive social and economic prosperity; a prosperity that continues to thrive. It is well worth noting that the Mormon Church is "by far the most numerically successful creed born on American soil and one of the fastest growing anywhere."[25] Current Church assets are in excess of $30 billion. History teaches us that the efforts of religions to co-exist as members of a broader society, while seeking to remain distinct from it, often resulted in spiritual compromise or secular catastrophe. In the tension between faith and utility, it appears obvious that the pragmatic leaders of the Mormon Church, in the final analysis, discriminated in favor of utility.

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Katherine Vickery: Psychology Teacher and Educational Leader

Cynthia Duda
The University of Texas at Austin

I can still hear her coming down the hall, she wore those lace-up Oxfords with a good sturdy heel. She was tall, her bearing was regal and she conducted herself in a very businesslike manner as though she was going to make a difference," reminisced Martha Williams, (1998) Executive Secretary-Treasurer of the Alabama Women's Hall of Fame. "Dr. Vickery was a good role model for women like me, who were struggling to get our education. When those hard times would come, when you would think, 'I might not be able to finish,' she would be very encouraging and help you find the strength to go on."

Katherine Vickery lived her 80 years with a single-minded dedication to education and support of women's rights. She was born May 5, 1898, in Dahlonegh, Georgia, on the eve of the twentieth century. For the remainder of her life, she continued to be ahead of her times. She taught psychology at Alabama College, for 46 years, served on national boards of professional organizations, wrote numerous journal articles and a book, and traveled the world. Such accomplishments were not a part of the lives of most of her peers. In addition to those professional achievements, Dr. Vickery maintained close relationships with many of her former students and often offered the hospitality of her home to visiting alumni.

In 1919, at the age of 22, Vickery completed her master's degree at George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee. This achievement was all the more extraordinary given that most women of the period did not complete high school, nor college. The following year, 1920, American women won the right to vote. Undoubtedly, Vickery's witness of the struggle for and the success of Women's Suffrage helped her to formulate her commitment to furthering women's career options. For example, she used her position as a charter member of the Alabama chapter of the American Association of University Women, to advocate for the rights of professional women. Later, in 1950, as the chairperson of the Education Sub-Committee of the Alabama Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, she was instrumental in organizing a two day conference that focused on "Women in the Home, Women in Business, and Women in the Professions." "The conference was the first of its kind in Alabama, attracted outstanding speakers and professional women from all over the nation and represented a milestone in the history of the Women's Rights Movement in our state and region." (Resume, 1998)

Alabama College employed Vickery in 1022 to teach psychology. Seven years later, she earned her Ph.D. degree from George Peabody College for Teachers. That same Fall, in 1929, the stock market crashed and plunged the United States of America into the worst economic depression of its history. At a time when millions of Americans were without a job, Dr. Vickery 's career at Alabama College was ascending to heights unknown to most women and very few men of the time. She was promoted to Assistant Professor in 1930 and to Professor in 1935. In addition to teaching, she traveled to Mexico, England and France as part of the Comparative Education Society. In 1939, she became the president of the Montevello branch of the AAUW and, in 1942, she began her 22 year tenure on the Executive Council of Kappa Delta Pi, international honor society in education.

1947 was an important year for Dr. Vickery. Alabama College awarded her an honorary doctorate, and appointed her to head the Psychology Department. The AAUW also recommended her for the presidency of Alabama College.

For many women, their 50's and 60's are times to begin taking life at a slower pace or to look forward to their retirement. For Dr. Vickery, those years became even busier than before. She was at the peak of her career and professional development. During this twenty year period, she participated in a variety of unique experiences. While continuing her duties as a professor and department chair, she found time to make two tours with the Comparative Education Society, one to Northern Europe and one to Russia. The Cold War was intense when Dr. Vickery went to Russia in 1958 to study the Russian education system. After her trip, she wrote an article, "Contrasts and Trends in Russian Education" (1959) and contributed to a book edited by George Z. Bereday and Gerald Reed, The Changing Soviet School (1960).

Dr. Vickery continued her close affiliation with Kappa Delta Pi. She served as its national president from 1953-1958, as well as continuing her position on the Executive Council for another 6 years following her tenure as president. As well as her Kappa Delta Pi responsibilities, she served as President of the Alabama Psychological Association and served on an AAUW National Committee on Standards and Recognitions of Colleges and Universities.

In the 1960s Dr. Vickery assumed a prominent role in the Alabama mental health community. She served as a Board member of the Alabama Mental Health Association. She was an American Psychological Association Fellow, in addition to being an American Association for the Advancement of Science Fellow. She received two awards for her work. One cited her for outstanding service to the Alabama Association for Mental Health; the other recognized her distinguished service to the Alabama Psychological Association.

Throughout her career, Vickery devoted a great deal of her time and attention to the AAUW. She served on the AAUW Board of Directors from 1963 until 1967. Dr. Vickery did not hesitate to hold this organization to high expectations. For example, in November,1963, the national AAUW distributed a press release in support of the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights by the United Nations General Assembly. The release included the statement, "Human rights know no national boundaries. . . .This is true whether one considers Buddhists in South Vietnam, Jews in Nazi Germany, missionaries in the Congo, or *Negroes in Birmingham."* (italics added). Dr. Vickery was incensed by the "Negroes in Birmingham," phrase. She fired off a telegram to protest "uncalled for wording of Schmerts release on Human Rights Day. Why all reference to nations except in United States where Negroes are persecuted only in Birmingham. It shouldn't be publicized here only if newspapers would accept it as it only breeds more hatred. Should AAUW join in making Birmingham the nation's scape-goat. Statement should be retracted." (Vickery and Griffith, 1963)

Amazingly, in retrospect, seven days after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, while most of the nation was in the deepest mourning, Dr. Vickery called the AAUW to task for what she believed to be a slight for Alabama. Nevertheless, and perhaps as amazingly, Pauline Tompkins, General Director of the AAUW, apologized to Dr. Vickery (Tomplins, 1963).

In 1969, the year after Dr. Vickery retired, the name of the college was changed to the University of Montevello. True to the pattern of her working days, when Dr. Vickery retired, she continued to engage in important work. Significantly, she wrote a 518 page, titled, A History of Mental Health in Alabama (Vickery, 1972). On November 9, 1972, she was honored at a reception given by the Alabama Mental Health Association in Montgomery, Alabama. She was 74 years old.

Dr. Vickery lived 6 more years and died in August, 1978. Funeral services were held at St. Andrew's Episcopal Church. She was buried in the Montevello Cemetery, not far from the university that she had served so many years. On October 17, 1985, she was posthumously inducted into the Alabama Women's Hall of Fame. At the induction ceremony, she was eulogized as being one of the "great ladies of this century in Alabama history. She is already enshrined in the memories and lives she touched." (J. Vickery, 1985)

The 20th century witnessed many changes in the status of women and Dr. Katherine Vickery was in the forefront of many of those changes. As an educator, counselor, organizer, writer and advocate for women, her example and her work built a foundation on which women who followed might stand. As Martha Williams said of Dr. Vickery, "She was a triumph!"

Thomas Cooke McCracken: Man of Pragmatism, Professionalism, and Propriety

Charlotte J. Anderson
The University of Texas at Austin

Thomas Cooke McCracken was born on January 5th, 1876 near Bellefontaine, Ohio, and began his teaching career at the young age of eighteen. He taught in rural Ohio schools, including those in his home town, between 1894 and 1901, and attended Monmouth College in Illinois from which he graduated in 1904 with his Bachelor's degree.[1] As an undergraduate, he was an assistant in the Mathematics Department and member of the Eccritean Society. Later as Head of the Preparatory Department of Monmouth College, he taught Latin.[2] For three years, he was principal of Monmouth High School, and in 1909, he began work on his masters degree at Harvard University, graduating in 1911 and continuing with intermittent doctoral study.[3] He received his Ph. D. in 1918 with his dissertation entitled, "The State Board of Education."[4] While at Harvard, he served as a South End House Fellow and was also awarded as an Austin Scholar at Radcliff.[5]

Between 1913-1914, McCracken accepted the position of Assistant Professor of Education at the University of Utah for one year, then left to become Dean of the Graduate School at Colorado State Teachers' College, fondly called "Greeley", now the University of North Colorado.[6] He served there eight years, teaching various courses in the education department and aiding the process of beginning graduate programs. Graduate work was offered for the first time in the summer of 1913, and the school conferred sixteen master's degrees in 1917 during his tenure as Dean of the Graduate School.[7]

Progressing in his career, McCracken returned to Ohio in 1922 to become Dean of the College of Education at Ohio University in Athens, and in 1936, he became that University's Provost. While in Ohio, he taught courses in Research, School Administration, Current Educational Thought, and Vocational Guidance.[8]

Altogether, McCracken spent forty-five years in the teaching profession, thirty-two of which he served as college dean. He did a great many services in Ohio, including seven years as a member of the General Advisory Committee of the Ohio Department of Education (1927-34), and serving as president of the Ohio Association of Presidents and Deans (1938).[9] Also in Ohio he was president of the Ohio College Association (1926-27),[10] and the Ohio State Teacher Association's Teacher-Training Section (1925-26).[11] He began the Bureau of Appointments, The Extension Division, and the Service Bureau at Ohio University. A series of lectures entitled The McCracken Lectures were arranged under sponsorship of that University.[12] In other areas, he served as visiting professor at Washington University for two summer sessions,[13] five years on the Committee on Standards of the American Association of Teachers Colleges (1930-35), and two years as a member of the Board of Control for Child Welfare in Colorado.[14] For eight years he was a member of the National Committee on Education for the Camp Fire Girls movement,[15] and was a member of the Harvard chapter of Phi Delta Kappa[16] as well as President of the Harvard Graduate School of Education Alumni.[17] In more personal circles, Dean McCracken was a charter member of his local Rotary Club and served as its president in 1929, later being elected to its honorary membership. He was a long time member of Athens' First Presbyterian Church and president of its board of trustees in 1923.[18]

Regarding McCracken's writings, he wrote several articles and practical books on education. As Professor of Education at Colorado Teachers College, he wrote an article in support of the community co-op plan which offered college students the opportunity to earn course credit by serving in various areas of leadership in their town.[19] Students could participate by teaching Sunday School, leading boys' and girls' clubs, and aiding other community services that involved teaching. The plan was quite successful and helped the college and community benefit from one another.[20]

McCracken authored two very practical books concerning vocational exploration and training for children, one entitled Handbook of Opportunities for Vocational Training in Boston and a second called Occupational Information in the Elementary School. Both books served to provide youth and parents with a list of vocations from which adolescents could choose. His goal was to help youth constructively contribute to society, and avoid the waste of resources that occurs when job selection is errant. In Handbook of Opportunities, he gave information about various types of employment, from needle arts to wood guilding, and listed professional schools, their courses, and admission procedures. Also described in this book are commercial and industrial schools, schools for training in "household arts", and opportunities for the physically handicapped.[21]

In Occupational Information in the Elementary School, Thomas McCracken and Helen Lamb sought to provide elementary school teachers with information about various lines of work available for their students. They selected stories, readings, and songs related to different types of employment.[22] McCracken believed that occupational guidance should begin in kindergarten, and that curriculum in the lower grades should develop foundations for basing decisions regarding work.[23] McCracken wrote, "The youth can make wise selection of a life work only when he knows and understands the world of (employment) in which he must find his place when he is ready to leave school and join the ranks of wage-earners."[24] McCracken's desire for appropriate work selection by children reveals real compassion and concern for America's youth, desiring that no talent be wasted. The goal of guiding students into appropriate work fields was one McCracken felt that the school could so greatly help accomplish, along with the help of the "live, earnest, competent teacher,".[25]

Through these publications, one finds that quality teaching and provision of practical, useful tools for teachers were principle goals of this man's leadership. Such verve for emphasizing quality may have been the key element behind his long involvement with Kappa Delta Pi. This Society was first to locate on a teacher's college campus, and T. C. McCracken was its chief organizer.[26] Serving from 1924-1948, McCracken was Kappa Delta Pi's fourth national president.

Through his long incumbency, McCracken was able to contribute to education by steering the Society through the dark times of the 1930's Depression and the second World War, heartening many in the teaching field as he inspired not only Society members, but others in the teaching profession. Constant encouragement was a hallmark of his Presidency and of great importance through the Depression-- his knack for thriftiness and keen business sense, ideal for steering Kappa Delta Pi through this time.[27] During World War II, McCracken continued to inspire teachers, writing, "It will be a heavy task to maintain high professional standards in teaching when the government and general public do not consider their maintenance as an emergency in these war years...(But) we must stem the tide which seems to surge against professionalization and adequate preparation of teachers."[28] In bold support, McCracken spurred on the chapters of Kappa Delta Pi as they entered the college year of 1943 which promised many difficulties. He admonished that "..Kappa Delta Pi should (aid) every effort to create in society an eagerness to support education,"[29] and he praised chapters' efforts to stoke student interest at a time when many noble causes vied for attention. He empathized with the daily problems educators faced such as "lack of transportation facilities, a limited gasoline supply, and cars too aged to stand ...traveling to meetings."[30] He felt later that despite the hardships, the activities of the chapters had moved forward in "a very satisfactory manner,"[31] and that they "(had come) through the emergency years with few, if any, chapter casualties."[32] This survival was largely due to McCracken's constant encouragement and relentless pursuit of his vision for education.

While President, Kappa Delta Pi established its annual Lecture Series which became available to others as it was printed, and the Kappa Delta Pi publications The Kadelpian Review and The Educational Forum were also made available to aid those in the teaching field.[33] McCracken hilighted the scholarly and research nature of Kappa Delta Pi but stressed even more the need for the professionalization of teaching. Bringing about such professionalization became McCracken's key pursuit, working through his leadership of Kappa Delta Pi to urge all in the teaching field towards this goal. McCracken wrote, "It is the purpose of the Society to encourage high professional, intellectual, and personal standards in teaching and to recognize outstanding contributions to education."[34] He felt he could not stress strongly enough that the ideals set forth in Kappa Delta Pi helped foster the highest standards for education, writing: "(These ideals) are bulwarks against attitudes so frequently expressed by the non-professional general public...(and) are needed in education if we are to educate citizens with enough stamina to preserve the earlier sturdy American way of life."[35] McCracken wrote numerous articles stressing the responsibility of Kadelpians to strive for teacher education beyond the high school diploma and two years of college. In 1926, with over fifty percent of United States teachers having less than two years of training beyond high school, and many teaching with only a high school diploma, he claimed that "it (was) almost impossible to have a real profession."[36] In later years, he stated that he believed the main purpose of Kappa Delta Pi, though unmentioned in its Constitution, should be to "work for the greater professionalization of teaching."[37]

"Let us agree," he wrote, "that one of the greatest influences of Kappa Delta Pi will be to widen the horizons of teachers and broaden their human understanding of peoples and their different cultures with the expected result of better educated teachers. We will contribute to a higher quality of citizen leadership when higher ideals for teacher preparation bring about better teaching."[38] He believed that Kappa Delta Pi members should use their knowledge, sense of duty, and power to bring about professionalism,[39] knowing that educators alone could elevate the career of teaching.[40]

Thomas McCracken longed for members of the Society to foster not only the aforementioned intellectual and professional standards, but personal ones as well.[41] Dean McCracken saw no congruency between teaching professionalism and personal slovenliness, writing to the Society, "(those) whose lives are consecrated to teaching should as far as possible eliminate that which is offensive, and encourage that which is refined. It matters little whether this is in action, dress, thought, or speech. For the coarse act, refinement should be substituted; for the unbecoming dress, that which is neat and becoming; for careless thinking, straight, clean, vigorous thinking; and instead of thoughtless, unchaste speech, utterance of that which no teacher of youth should be ashamed. Courtesy should be an unfailing characteristic of every Kadelpian and of every chapter. I submit to you the proposition that all (Society) activities should encourage in human living that which is beautiful and refined," and indeed the Society's President was exemplary of such conduct.[42]

Upon his retirement from Ohio University in 1946, McCracken became Dean Emeritus. In 1963, the University's College of Education building was renamed McCracken Hall in his honor, and in 1964, his widow and daughter, Alice, presented an oil portrait of Dr. McCracken to the University. He died at the age of 85 in Athens, Ohio on March 9th, 1961 after an illness of several months, and is buried in the West Union Street Cemetery.[43]

Dr. McCracken was a man who was pragmatic in teaching, zealous in pursuit of educational professionalism, and ethical in conduct, all three standing as qualities greatly needed today. He contributed to education through his professional teaching career and personal demeanor, but through his presidency of Kappa Delta Pi, he stood most strongly as a leader. As the Society's President, he wrote countless letters and visited many chapters, always regretting his inability to visit more.[44] He grew the number of chapters from twenty-six to 154, thus increasing the opportunities for more to strive for professionalism.[45] Kappa Delta Pi and the field of education are indebted to him for his notable service to the cause of teacher preparation, and American youth are in indebted to him for his compassion, concern, and continual investment in their welfare.[46] As he parted in one of his articles, "It is the hope of your Executive President...to accomplish many things for Kappa Delta Pi and the profession of teaching,", we see that he well accomplished his goal.[47] He possessed rare talent for surviving storms, continued zeal in encouraging efforts, and a great heart for fostering friendships, thus greatly advancing the profession of teaching and the educational cause, and standing as an inspiration for us as a man of pragmatism, professionalism, and propriety.[48]

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From the "Yellow Peril" to the "Model Minority": Asian American Stereotypes from the 19th Century to Today

John D. Palmer
University of Iowa

Since the late 19th Century, Asian-Americans have struggled in their attempts to settle into a strange new world. Coming to the U.S. in search of a better life than their native countries could offer, the majority of Asian immigrants worked the undesirable positions as gold miners, railroad laborers, factory workers, laundry cleaners, and as seasonal laborers in the canneries (Takaki 1989, 1993). As the Asian population increased throughout the U.S., Whites became apprehensive about losing their jobs and "their" country to this "non-assimilative" race (Takaki 1993; McClatchy 1997; Wollenberg 1995; Wong 1998).

Early discrimination against Asian-Americans was originated due to the fear of the Yellow Peril. Thereby, the U.S. government began passing laws that restricted Asian immigration: the 1882 Chinese Exclusionary Act and the 1924 Asiatic Exclusion Act were aimed at the reducing the number of Asians in America (Hirschman and Wong 1988; Takaki 1989). Other laws were passed to forbid citizenship and land ownership to non-White immigrants. These early laws established a general apprehension towards Asian-Americans, which eventually led to the internment of over Japanese-Americans during the U.S. involvement in World War II (Hosokawa 1997).

After the 1965 Immigration Act, an amendment that lifted the ban on Asian immigration, the Asian-American population soared from 890,00 in 1960 to 7.3 million in 1990 (Bureau of the Census, 1980, 1990; Pang 1995). This new wave of Asian immigrants was highly touted by the popular media and leading politicians as the model minority, primarily due their perceived economic and educational achievements.[1]

This paper will attempt to provide a brief evolution of Asian-American stereotypes from the 19th Century to the present date and how little has changed for Asian-Americans since the early 19th Century. The first part will provide a historical account of Asians in America and the early discrimination they encountered. The second part will introduce the problems associated with the image of the model minority and attempt to demystify this stereotype through the existing literature. The third part will reveal evidence of how this stereotype has negatively affected Asian-Americans through lack of government and community support. The conclusion will make a connection between the stereotypes of the 19th Century with those of today. Furthermore, I will offer suggestions to educators to assist them in educating one of the fastest growing populations in the U.S.

History of Asian-Americans

In the 1840s, in search of a better life, the majority of Chinese immigrated to the U.S. as a form of cheap and unskilled labor. They were responsible for laying large portions of the railroads, expanding the agricultural industries in California and the Deep South (during the Reconstruction years), thus, contributing to the settlement of the United States (Takaki 1989, 1993; Yee 1992).

Stereotypes of the Asian immigrant at this time were contradictory in a number of ways. For the most part, Chinese laborers were considered coolies; "unfree laborers who had been kidnapped or pressed into service by coercion and shipped to a foreign country" (Takaki 1993, p. 193). However, the majority of Chinese laborers in the U.S. came upon their own free will and paid their own travel expenses (Takaki 1993). Furthermore, Asians were considered to be diligent and frugal laborers that could be used as a model for others minorities, such as Blacks and Irish (Takaki 1993). However, this stereotype antagonized White laborers. They believed that the Asian laborer accepted minimal pay without resistance, intentionally broke-up their labor strikes, which consequently led to the loss of their jobs. The White laborers animosity was based on the fact that Chinese laborers made up nearly 90 percent of the Central Pacific Railroad work force in 1867, nearly half of San Francisco's four key industries in the 1870s, and 86 percent of agricultural labor in Sacramento County, California, in 1880.

Due to this seemingly take over of labor, Chinese-Americans were conceptualized as a non-White race that could possibly gain both political and economic control of California and the western states. White leaders such as former President Rutherford B. Hayes (1877-1881) warned "Americans about the 'Chinese Problem" (Takaki 1993, p. 206). These fears lead the U.S. government to prohibit Chinese immigrants from entering this sacred land in 1882 and denied citizenship to those already residing in the U.S.

Japanese immigrants began replenishing the need for cheap labor from 1890-1924 (Daniels 1988; Takaki 1989). Their journey to the new world was a different experience than that of the Chinese. Under severe restrictions from the Japanese government, the Japanese population in the U.S. grew slowly in the beginning; from 148 in 1880 to about 2,000 in 1890 (Wollenberg 1995). However, following their victory in the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese government allowed more of her citizens to migrate to the U.S. Accordingly, from 1890 to 1910, the Japanese American population grew to more than 72,000 (Wollenberg 1995).[2] The Japanese, nonetheless, faced wide spread discrimination in the U.S. and Hawaii. Based on the fear of the Yellow Peril, the xenophobic attitude which feared an Asian take over of the western part of the U.S., the U.S. government slowly moved towards the complete barring of Japanese immigrants and restriction on their rights to own land.

In the 1908 Gentlemen's Agreement, Japanese laborers were prohibited to immigrate; however, Japanese women were allowed to enter the U.S. as family members (Takaki 1993). The rise in the number of picture brides to the U.S. at this time contrasted the Chinese experience. Chinese men, who for the most part left their wives and families in China, dreamed of one day returning to their home with riches from the West. Therefore, the Chinese population remained stagnate while the Japanese population continued to grow mostly due to the rapidly rising Nisei (second generation Japanese) population. Accordingly, the Japanese came to Hawaii and the U.S. in the hopes of building a permanent residence.

The increase of Japanese population affirms to the belief that the Japanese were in the U.S. to stay. In California alone, the Japanese population surged from 41,000 to over 71,000 between 1910 and 1920, in spite of the laws restricting their immigrations. It is also interesting to note that of the 71,000 Japanese residents in California in 1920, nearly half were below the age of seventeen (Wollenberg 1995). The Nisei represented a strong growth in economic and education gain as they were considered citizens of the U.S. yet were refused the same rights as that of Whites.

Feasiblely the most effected by discrimination in the U.S. were the second and third Asian-American generations. Having only seen the U.S., these children called the U.S. their home, yet rarely were allowed to reap the riches of America. In spite of their success in school and in institutes of higher education, Japanese-American and the few Chinese-American second generation were denied, for the most part, jobs in the White man's world. Therefore, they were restricted to the Japanese-town and China-towns as bookkeeper, small shop owners, and provided services to the first generation that had limited English speaking abilities (Takaki 1993). These children were educated in the public schools on the "founding" of the U.S. and the belief in democracy and the rights to the pursuit of happiness. However, they recognized that by being non-white, their position in the U.S., as second class citizens, was never likely to improve.

Further discrimination against Asians, especially towards the Japanese, California passed the 1913 Land Ownership Law and the 1920 Alien Land Law in an attempt to restrict the expansion of property ownership among Japanese immigrants. However the Nisei, as U.S. citizens, were able to purchase land for themselves, their parents, and any other first generation Japanese who desired land ownership. Therefore, the fear of the take over of California and other west in combination with a quandary in diplomatic relations between the U.S and Japan following World War I,[3] led to the Asiatic Exclusion Act of 1924, which restricted further immigration from Japan (Hirschman and Wong 1988; Takaki 1989).

The stereotypes of Japanese laborers were much the same as the Chinese who preceded them. Look upon as a form of cheap labor and portrayed as acquiescent and subservient, white owners held little fear of uprising and strikes among the workers. However, when the Japanese did show signs of resistance to the unfair labor conditions, the white owners began importing other Asian laborers from the Philippines and Korea to break up the workers camaraderie. This method of "divide and control" pitted the laborers against one another based on their ethnic heritage, thus the laborers' efforts and animosity were directed towards each other rather than towards the suppressor (Takaki 1993).

Throughout their history in the U.S., Asian-Americans have encountered severe discrimination and acts of violence from the White population (Daniels 1988; Takaki 1989). Restricted from further immigration and denied the right to citizenship, Asian-Americans became an isolated group in the U.S. Some returned to their homeland, while others persevered in spite of their subordinate position in the U.S. society.

Probably the most recognized act of discrimination against Asian-Americans in history was President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Executive Order 9066, which detained nearly 110,000 Japanese-Americans in remote internment camps after the declaration of war on Japan, due to fear of espionage tactics and distrust of loyalty to America. Therefore, the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 validated the fear of the Yellow Peril among the majority of U.S. citizens. The U.S. government deemed it necessary to imprison nearly all Japanese-Americans, albeit nearly two-thirds were U.S. citizens. The suspicion was partially based upon the notion that the Japanese government considered all of her people Japanese citizens no matter where they were born or resided (McClatchy 1997). Nevertheless, young Japanese-American men volunteered their military services and lost their lives in Europe to prove their loyalty to the U.S., while their families suffered in the remote camps (Bell 1997; Takaki 1989; Yee 1992).[4] In spite of their loyal service and the highly recognized and honored 442nd, their parents were still denied citizenship, the rights of free people, and equality in the U.S.

Discrimination against the Japanese during World War II exemplified the racist attitudes towards all immigrants from Asia. The Japanese were able to improve their position in the U.S. through hard work and determination to assimilate into the American way of life (Kanzaki 1995). However, the Japanese attack on a U.S. naval harbor, provided the U.S. government enough of a reason to desolate the progress of the Japanese-American by stealing millions of dollars worth of property and convicting them on charges of espionage and fifth-columnism without due process (cite). The next section will examine the post 1965 immigration surge from Asia and how the stereotypes of the past took a slightly altered appearance from those of the past, yet, discrimination continued to plague the Asian-American experience.[5]

Post 1965 Immigration

The racism encountered by the early Asian settlers was no less serious than that encountered by other oppressed groups in the U.S. before the turn of the 20th Century up to the present day. The banning of immigration and the internment camps during World War II clearly elucidated Americans discriminatory disposition against Asian-Americans. However, as the Civil Rights Movement began to establish the need for equality in the U.S., the 1965 Immigration Act was passed. This edict eventually allowed for a massive increase in the Asian-American population, which has grown from 890,000 in 1960 to approximately 7,300,000 in 1990 (Bureau of the Census 1980 and 1990), making it the fastest growing population in the U.S.

The first immigrants, after the 1965 Immigration Act, from China, Korea, Japan, and the Philippines migrated to the U.S. mainly with middle class values and educated backgrounds (Bernstein 1988; Daniels 1988; Takaki 1989). This wave of educated immigrants also included Indo-Chinese refugees fleeing war torn Vietnam in search of freedom from persecutions in their home countries and a better life for their children. The majority of these refugees were involved with the U.S. military, the upper levels of the socio-economic class, and the "Westernized elite" (Thompson 1986).

However, following this wave of immigration from Asia, a second group of Asian refugees from war-torn countries, the isolated countryside, and urban ghettos found refuge in the U.S. With little or no education and very few economic resources these émigrés are experiencing a much more difficult time in the U.S. than those that preceded them (Suzuki 1989; Thompson 1986; Walker-Moffat 1995). Thompson (1986) notes that it was these refugees fleeing Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia who came to the U.S. with few resources and limited exposure to the Western world who lack a strong social and economic foundation. For these reasons, this wave notably endures more hardships in finding economic and educational success in the U.S.; far from achieving the level that many believe all Asian-Americans are reaching. Often overlooked for social support services, due to the reports that praise the achievements of Asian immigrants, is a great disservice to the later who came with practically nothing.[6] As a result, it is imperative to realize the diversity of Asian-Americans in order to lend assistance to the groups that are in need.[7]

Success or Failure – Discrimination against Asian-Americans

In 1980s and 1990s reports portrayed and praised the Asian-American success story. However, the majority of these reports glossed over the truth behind the high income rates and college percentages and failed to mention the struggle of those Asian-Americans who were not succeeding. This section will attempt to demystify the model minority stereotype by revealing information often overlooked by the general public and popular media.

Asian-Americans migrate to the U.S. in search of an improved life find themselves and their families are only qualified for menial labor in the service sector far below the levels of their abilities. As middle class, white-collar workers in their home country, some first generation Asian-Americans discover that it is nearly impossible to gain employment that is suitable to their educated backgrounds and training. (Page 1989; Takaki 1989; Woo 1989).[8] Others who seek self-employment work from early morning until late at night hoping to save enough money to move their families into better housing conditions and provide a better education for their children. Many of these small private businesses do not have enough capital to hire outside employees, and as a result, their children are forced to work long hours for little or no pay (Louie 1996). In addition, 1.5 generation and U.S. born Asian-Americans are encountering discrimination in the work force, the "glass ceiling," as there are few management and upper-level positions made available to them (Constable 1995; Suzuki 1989; Woo 1989).

Furthermore, reports show that Asian-American family median income was higher than the national median and Whites. However, the reports failed to include the Bureau of the Census data in 1990 that also exposes the other side of the story. Both Korean-Americans and Chinese-Americans are shown to have higher family median incomes than Whites, yet, these groups' poverty rates are higher than the 10% national average; 13.7% and 14%, respectively. Similarly, the poverty rates for Southeast Asian groups are well above the national average with Hmong, Cambodians, and Laotians at 63.6%, 42.6%, and 34.7%, respectively (Bureau of the Census, 1990).

One explanation for the discrepancy between these findings may be attributed to family composition. The Bureau of the Census (1990) found that the percentage of Asian-American families with three or more workers contributing to the median income exceeded that of the total U.S. population. Thereby, in an Asian-American family three or more workers contributed to the household income while in the typical U.S. household only one or two family members contributed. Furthermore, Asian-Americans primarily live in larger cities where the cost of living is higher than in the smaller communities., thus their higher income is misleading.

Reports also praised the high academic achievement of Asian-Americans, giving the impression that all Asian students were on a higher level than the rest of the U.S. (Bell 1997; Butterfield 1986 and 1997; Graubard 1988; Kasindorf et al. 1982; Page 1989; Ramirez 1986). The media heralded Asian-Americans in such headlines as: "Success Story: Outwiting the Whites" (*Newsweek* June 21, 1971; "Why Asians Are Going to the Head of the Class" (*The New York Times* August 3, 1986); "America's Super Minority" (*Fortune* November 24, 1986); and "Those Asian-American Whiz Kids" (Cover of *Time Magazine* August 31, 1987). Several scholars sought to determine the reasons behind the success of the Asian-American student. Butterfield (1986) reported the findings of Dr. T. Berry Brazelton of Harvard University "suggests that Chinese and Japanese babies are more alert and sensitive at birth, making them faster learners" (A2). In addition, Butterfield (1986) found that Harold W. Stevenson of the University of Michigan, Sanford M. Dornbusch of Stanford University, Julian Stanley of The Johns Hopkins University and Thomas Sowell of the Hoover Institution at Stanford hold that family values and hard work ethics contribute to the success of Asian-Americans. Yao (1985) believes that Asian-American parents tend "to maintain more control over their children than Anglo parents [and] play a major role in their children's education and career choice" and that children who are "high achievers could not have reached the academic excellence without parental push and assistance" (pp. 203-204, 206).

However, while some Asian-American students are high achievers, as a whole they are not. For example, high school-drop out rates for Asian-Americans are increasing, while the national levels are decreasing (U.S. Educational Report). In San Diego, California and St. Paul, Minnesota, Southeast Asian drop out rates are as high as 60% (Sengupta 1997). Furthermore, while Asian-American college graduate levels are higher than the 20% national average, Southeast Asians are far below the national average e.g., Hmong 3%, Laotians 6% and Cambodians 6% (Bureau of the Census 1990).

From these reports, it is apparent that all sub-groups within the Asian-American category are not reaching the same levels of those depicted as the succeeding minority. The new immigrants coming from backgrounds of little or no education and limited financial security are finding it very difficult to succeed in the U.S. From these statistics researchers are now disputing the overall belief that Asian-Americans are succeeding in spite of racial discrimination. Furthermore, as will be discussed in the next section, the model minority stereotype has been a impediment for some Asian-Americans.

Harmful Effects of the "Model Minority" Stereotype

Although some Americans tend to believe that Asian-Americans do not encounter discrimination, due in part to their perceived success, Asian-Americans' needs are given little consideration by government officials, school administrators, and the general public. Furthermore, tension between Asian-Americans and other oppressed groups came as a result of the media and leading officials' praise of their success and the promotion of the idea that failure is the fault of the individual not because of institutional and cultural racism in the U.S. This section will elucidate on particular struggles Asian-American encounter with other oppressed groups, the government, and the education system.

In theory, those in leadership and policy-making positions would rather see the minority and oppressed echelons of society pitted against one another than to have them join forces to challenge the existing order. For example, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, Asian-Americans were used as strike breakers against one another and against Irish union workers (Takaki 1989). In my opinion, the philosophy of "divide and rule" continues to be the hidden agenda of some of the leaders in politics, economics and education.

The development of the model minority stereotype has caused problems both within and outside the Asian-American community. Concerning the latter, this myth has been used by policy-makers as an example for other oppressed groups that they too are able to overcome their hardships and succeed in the U.S. (Kamen 1992), thus, proclaiming that meritocracy exists for all in the U.S. Therefore, constant praise of the Asian-American success story began causing friction and rivalry between Asian-Americans and other oppressed groups in the U.S. Testimonies to this were: 1) the boycotting of Korean markets in New York City and Los Angeles between 1985 and 1990 by African-Americans; 2) the destruction of Koreatown during the Los Angeles Riot in 1992, resulting in over $400 million in damages; and 3) other acts of violence between the Asian-Americans and other ethnic minority groups (Dugger 1992; Mydans 1993).

Furthermore, Asian-Americans encountered racial violence from the White working class who felt that the new immigrants and their native countries were the cause of their loss of jobs and decline in wages. The most prominent case occurred in 1982, when Vincent Chin, a Chinese-American, was brutally murdered by two Whites in Detroit, Michigan, with baseball bats after losing their jobs at the automobile factory. The convicted murders received no jail time and fined less than $4000 "because the court acknowledged that Japanese auto imports had indeed caused great stress" and the two on trial had no prior records (Saigo 1989, p. 8). Similar cases of racial violence are levitated by a variety of recent attitudes towards Asian-Americans: 1) a feeling in U.S. society that Japan's economic power is surpassing America's position on the world's economic level (Lee 1990); 2) post Vietnam War hate; 3) jealousy over the Asian-American economic and educational success; 4) the fear of the "Asian invasion," the rapid Asian-American population increase. (Lovely 1993; McBee et al. 1984; Toy 1996).

In addition to intra-minority problems and hate crimes, Asian-Americans who do not achieve in schools and society receive less support from community social services due to the existing stereotype of overall academic and economic success (Bernstein 1988; Lee 1990; Thompson 1986; Yao 1987). In the areas where Southeast Asians and rural Chinese immigrants are migrating to, there are few social workers and qualified educators to handle the vast differences in culture and language within the Asian groups (Chin 1997; Suzuki 1989; Walker-Moffat 1995). The initial reaction to the mass migration of different Asian groups throughout the U.S. has been positive, yet as time passes the enthusiasm wanes and the children are given less support. In most instances, bilingual education is not offered due to the vast differences in the languages spoken by Asian groups and the lack of qualified individuals working inside the school (Walker-Moffat 1995). This may be one of the reasons why some Asian-American groups are showing higher drop out and severely lower college graduation rates.

Furthermore, stereotyped as the high achiever and the need to fulfill the pressure of upholding the family honor, Asian-American students are displaying great signs of psychological stress in their schools with little or no assistance from their teachers and counselors. Some students are unable to handle the pressure of receiving grades below an A because they along with their parents have bought into believing in the model minority stereotype and as a result is one of the contributing factors to an increase in Asian-American teenage suicides (Kamen 1992).

Others who are unable to achieve due to lack of English speaking abilities or learning disabilities are ignored by teachers who automatically assume that their Asian students' silence equals understanding (Bernstein 1988; Griffin 1986; Howard 1988; Hubler 1988; Kamen 1992; Lee 1990; Yee 1992). In addition, teacher expectations of Asian-American students add to the dilemma of those who are failing at school.

Lee (1994) found that there is a rising group of Asian-American students in high schools who intentionally decide not to fit into the stereotypical mold and tend to break away from those who they consider nerds, fresh off the boats (fobs), and overachievers. Therefore, academic achievement is not a part of their self-identity. Consequently, the majority of these students fail in school. Furthermore, she found that their teachers marked Asian-American students who act in the same manner as the average U.S. student as trouble makers since they do not fit into the stereotype of the quiet and respectful student.

Assimilation

Dhooper (1991) believes that since Asians are neither White nor Black, they are treated as "aliens" and made to feel as though they are foreigners even if their family line dates back to the 1800s. The media continues to portray Asians and Asian-Americans as a people with a strange and exotic culture that rivals and contrasts that of the U.S. dominant group. Therefore, Asian-American youth encounter additional pressure to feel accepted in the U.S. and as a result some surrender their ethnic identities, as they are unable to identify with the stereotypical Asian. This not only causes some to lose interest in school but also causes some to distance themselves from the culture of their parents. It has been found that some Asian-American children adapt so quickly to the American system and language that they do not have a strong understanding of the language of their parents (Thompson 1986). This has lead some to view their parents as "second class citizens," due to their parents' lack of understanding English and more importantly American culture. Therefore, in some instances, the child's role in the family becomes one of manager of the daily life encounters that can only be solved by an English speaker and one who understands the American way of life i.e., dealing with bankers, loan officers, insurance companies, and teachers. In addition, when social problems arise for these children, they are unable to express their true concern to their parents because of barriers in communicating in two languages, where the child is not completely proficient in his/her ethnic tongue and the parents do not fully understand English (Thompson 1986). Thompson believes that "Americanization means a waning of parental authority, which in turn is linked to slipping education performance" (p. 46).

Assimilation into White middle class culture strips the majority of Asian-Americans of their ethnic identity. Nearly everything around them influences some to believe that being of Asian descent is strange and exotic and therefore do not take pride in their ethnic heritages. Consequently, Asian-American children are unable to identify with these stereotypical portrayals and thus identify more with the dominant culture. However, as Chin (1971) writes,

> …many Orientals who in their quest for acceptance have rejected their Oriental identity and heritage. It is indeed a heavy price to pay for admission to a group that one must reject one's own background since this is a form of self-hatred. … Even if an Oriental should go to the extreme of changing his name from Wong to Wright, and have surgery performed to make his eyes more oval … there will always be some Caucasian who will remind him that 'all Orientals look alike' (p. 183).

Furthermore, Barbara Schneider, professor of education at Northwestern University, discovered that those Asian-Americans who were more assimilated into the American mainstream tended to lose interest in school leading her to conclude that the high curve set by Asians will eventually level off. Furthermore, Dornbusch believes that "the more English that was spoken in the students' [Asian-American] homes, the less well they tended to do in school. 'To put it bluntly, America may be a melting pot with low standards'" (Butterfield 1986, A3).

Higher education institutions and the Asian-American challenge

The longer a family line has been in the U.S., the more of an understanding of the role of "second class citizen" is realized. It has been the later Asian-American generations that have come to the forefront to challenge the discrimination that have hindered their progress of gaining full privilege and rights of citizenship. One example of Asian-American resistance to discrimination occurred during the 1980s.

In the late-1980s, the elite universities began reporting disproportionately high percentages of enrollment compared to the overall Asian-American population, which accounted for 2.9% of the total U.S. population (Bureau of the Census 1990). For example, in 1986 Harvard's freshman class was 11% Asian-Americans and overall enrollment was 8%, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) freshman class was 21% and overall enrollment was 19% (Butterfield 1986). Similarly, in 1989-1990 Asian-Americans represented 27% of University of California-Berkeley's student body (Wang 1995; Yee 1992)[9]. Therefore, when these institutes began cutting back on the number of Asian-American admitted, they were accused of placing quotas on the number of accepted students (Biemiller 1986; Hsia and Hiirano-Nakanishi 1989; Molotsky 1988; Nakanishi 1989; Wei 1993). Asian-American student and community leaders challenged these universities freshmen acceptance criteria, which changed their policy to include extracurricular activities rather than on high school G.P.A., SAT math and verbal scores and academic tests (Biemiller 1986; Nakanishi 1989). In rebuttal, administrators stated that they were attempting to build a diverse campus and that the majority of Asian-American applicants were in the fields of pre-med. studies, engineering, and the natural and physical sciences (Escueta and O'Brien 1991; Nakanishi 1989). Therefore, they argued that if Asian-Americans were diversified along other studies, their acceptance rates would be higher (Nakanishi 1989). Although Asian-Americans lost the overall battle against illegal quotas on entering freshmen, their voices were finally heard and at least a small proportion of the general public came to realize the force of their actions (Hsia and Hiirano-Nakanishi 1989; Nakanishi 1989).

The popular media is one of the main reinforcing factors behind the stereotypes that depict Asian-Americans as non-English speaking foreigners with exotic cultures, yet due to their perseverance, hard work, and natural intelligence they have been able to claim economic and educational success in the U.S. Thus, the model minority stereotype has spread throughout the U.S. as a proclamation for the belief in meritocracy. As a consequence, a 1991 poll conducted by the Wall Street Journal and NBC News found that the majority of voting citizens believe that Asian-Americans do not suffer from discrimination but rather receive too many special advantages (Dugger 1992; Polner 1993). However, often overlooked are the truths behind the so called "success story."

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights found that the majority of native born Asian-American men were earning considerably less than similarly qualified White men (Suzuki 1989). Furthermore, the percentage of Asian-American children living in poverty are higher than Whites, hate crimes against Asian-Americans are increasing, and school drop out rates, juvenile delinquency and gang related activities continue to rise (Lee 1990).

The media and leading politicians overlooked these facts to display a story of one minority group overcoming their difficulties, and therefore some reached the conclusion that discrimination in the U.S. does not exist. However, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights also found inequities in the public schools in which Asian-Americans suffer considerably.

The educational system has not been eager to meet the diverse needs of Asian-American students. Bilingual education programs are among the most pressing of educational needs for Asian-American students. However, Yao (1987) believes that many schools offer no bilingual education programs and that English as a Second Language (ESL) program do not adequately meet the needs of the students. Thomas and Collier (1997) address the need for more bilingual education in our schools to assist non-English speaking students to develop their English abilities as well as receiving education in all other areas. However, current ESL and bilingual programs do not provide the necessary groundwork the new immigrants from Asia need.

In addition, qualified school counselors need to be recruited to assist students who are having trouble adjusting to the western world from their isolated societies (Lee 1996; Walker-Moffat 1995). These counselors must also assist teachers and principals in understanding the differences between the Asian groups and their cultures. Therefore, principals need to assist teachers in building a multicultural education program to inform students and the community of the vast differences of Asian cultures and display positive accounts of Asian-Americans outside of the academic realm.

A constant theme throughout this paper is the sanctioning to understand the diversity of Asian-Americans. This group needs to be divided into at least four separate groups. I suggest that these four groups should be categorized along geographical lines; 1) Far East Asia; 2) South Asia (Asian Indian); 3) Southeast Asia and 4) Pacific Islanders.[10]

The last suggestion for change deals with the recruitment of leaders in education and politics to spearhead the changes above. More Asian-American teachers, counselors and administrators are needed in the elementary, middle school, secondary and higher education to promote a stronger image of Asian-Americans among the students. Furthermore, Asian-Americans need to have their voices heard in local, state and national legislatures to promote equality for the new and rapidly rising immigrant group in the U.S.

Young Asian-Americans are finally taking a stand to fight back against the stereotypes that have haunted Asians since their arrival in the 1800s. This paper attempted to dispute only one of the stereotypes that continues to hinder the growth of Asian-American individuals. By placing all groups under one category, those Asians who come to the U.S. with little resources need government and community support services to assisted in the adjustment period. However, depicted by the popular media and leading politicians as money hungry and overachievers, little support has been offered to assist the immigrants from across the Pacific.

Conclusion

Throughout history Asian-Americans have struggled in their fight to gain equality in the U.S. However, little has changed since the first immigrants from China came to the west as gold miners in the 1840s. The connections I will make from the past to the present are encompassed in the stereotypes that were disclosed throughout this historiography.

The first stereotype of the Asian immigrant was one of being a coolie, an uneducated laborer, and/or a worker that will except the lower wages because a U.S. salary was much higher in proportion their native countries could offer them. This compares to the present day Asian immigrant working in the factories, in the service sectors, and in the undesirable vocations since they are unable to obtain other employment.

In the past, Asians were looked upon as heathens, strange and exotic, and as a non-assimilative race. This stigmatism has lasted throughout the century. Today, Asian-Americans are still looked upon as a foreigner with strange cultural values and the inability to speak English. This could possibly be attributed to the low numbers of Asian-Americans represented throughout the U.S. Since there has been little exposure of their culture to the general public, these stereotypes remain stagnant. However, with the Asian-American sudden population surge, it is possible that these typical representations many eventually cease to exist.

Previously, Americans feared the eventual take over of the western states when Asian-Americans began dominating the workforce in the late 1800s through the early 1900s; the fear of the Yellow Peril. This hysteria continues to exist in the present era. As the Japanese began to threaten and compete with the economic welfare of the U.S., the media summoned Americans to "Buy American" to counterattack this threat. Furthermore, the current term for the rapid rise of Asians in America is the "Asian Invasion."

In last, the Asian laborer was termed diligent, respectful, hardworking, non-assertive, and a model for other minorities to follow. Today, Asian-Americans, for the most part, are viewed in this perspective. The model minority stereotype of the present attest that ineffectual changes have taken place since the turn of the 20th Century. Thus, the depiction of Asian culture has remained, for the most part, static in the minds of the majority of Americans.

I argue throughout this paper for the modifications of viewing Asian-Americans as not only diverse but also possess a constantly changing culture in the U.S. The existing stereotypes need to be reexamined in the schools, by government officials and policy makers, and by the popular media, which as a result will enable Asian-Americans to be liberated from the stigmas behind each and every stereotype that leads to further discrimination in the world.

References

[1] I recognize that there are other stereotypes that demean the existence of Asians in America; such as Asian women are represented as passive, exotic, mysterious, male pleasers, evil and Asian men as martial arts experts, foolish, and evil. However, I will not address these issues in this paper since the focus will be on discrimination in labor and education.

[2] During the negotiations for the Portsmouth Treaty, which brought a close to the Russo-Japanese War, then Secretary of War William Howard Taft signed a secret treaty with the Japanese government which allowed the Japanese to colonize Korea in return for their promise to recognize U.S. control over the Philippines. This negotiation must be considered when thinking of Japanese immigration to the U.S. Both former Presidents Theodore Roosevelt (1901-1909) and Taft (1909-1913) "interfered with political processes in California to prevent the legislature from passing anti-Japanese bills which would upset the diplomatic balance" (Wollenberg 1995, 21). See Carter Eckert et al. 1990. *Korea old and new: A history.* Seoul: Ilchokak, Publishers for further information on the Taft-Katsura 1905 agreement.

[3] Following World War I, U.S. President Woodrow Wilson (1913-1921) formed the League of Nations. However, Japan refused to join the League and continued her colonial rule in Korea and expanded into Manchuria in 1931 and into China in 1937. See Chong-Sik Lee. 1967. *Counterinsurgency in Manchuria: The Japanese experience, 1931-1940.* California: California Rand Corp.: League of Nations. 1933. *Official Journal: Records of the special session of the assembly.* Vols. II, III, IV. Geneva; League of Nations; and A. Whitney Griswold. 1962. *The Far Eastern policy of the United States.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

[4] In 1988, President Ronald Reagan would finally offer the U.S. apologies for their atrocious and racist acts and remit $20,000 to each relocated survivor (Yee 1992).

[5] Filipinos and Koreans also need to be included in this conversation. See Takaki, Ronald. *Strangers from a different shore: A history of Asian Americans*. 1st ed. Boston: Little Brown.

[6] A few of the second wave immigrants from poor social foundation have found success in spite of their hardships before arriving in the U.S.

[7] In world population percentages, Asians make up 60% of the population with 30 plus nationalities (Suzuki 1989).

[8] This may be attributed to their lack of English speaking abilities and a general attitude that Asian higher educational systems are below the academic standards of western institutions. In addition, this ethnocentric attitude could be one of the reasons Asian parents want their children to have a western education.

[9] These impressive numbers lead some to comment that the initials UCLA and MIT actually stands for "United Caucasians Lost Among Asians" and "Made in Taiwan," respectively (Yee 1992). For further data on the Asian-American students in higher education see Section IV of Don T. Nakanishi and Tina Yamano Nishida (eds.) (1995). *The Asian American educational experience: A sourcebook for teachers and students*. New York: Routledge.

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Investigating Elements of Segregation in a Rural Community School with no Records

Archie Wortham and H. Michele Soria
The University of Texas at Austin

Though *Brown I* mandated the desegregation of schools, Brown II's "with all deliberate speed" prolonged the actual implementation of desegregation.[1] After the Warren's court unanimous decision in *Brown I,* the separate but equal policy was not easily unsanctioned, and still remained strong in many areas, particularly rural schools in spite of the Brown decision.[2] Whites and Blacks since the decision have had to deal with these issues collectively and individually as many held similar views of what was right,[3] or how to correct wrong interpretations of the new federal mandate.[4]

This article looks at issues that surface through a class project that was designed to not only review the history of Hopewell School, a rural segregated school in Texas, but also to assist others doing similar historical research. The last part of this article focuses on the issue of desegregation, and brief discussion on the recent move toward resegregation.

In validating many of the interpretations of the present, reflection on the past may be appropriate. Issues such as maltreatment of ethnic groups and discriminatory treatment of minority are issues historians of education examine.[5] It was the concern with the past that led five graduate students enrolled in a graduate seminar called *From Desegregation to Resegregation* to look at a segregated Black school in Round Rock, Texas. Three of the researchers were white (2 females and 1 male), and two were Black (1 female, and 1 male). The particular school was chosen after the professor who directed the class had read about the Hopewell school, and contacted one of its students. Historical research requires becoming "aware of your own values, beliefs and interest concerning the topic that you are investigating."[6] Hopewell had been 'forced to close its doors.' Why had it been forced to close its doors? Looking for the answer to that question made the researchers more aware of their own values, beliefs and interest. Reflecting on the past became the challenge for the five graduate students to conduct their final project in a graduate seminar as they discovered what actually happened at a local school that had been closed for 32 years. The school was the Hopewell School, located in a small rural farming community about 20 miles north of the state capital. It closed its doors in 1966, following the city's' decision to integrate all public schools.[7]

The School: A brief History.

Hopewell was a segregated school for Blacks that opened in 1922. Its closure in 1966 came about when segregationists finally realized they had to comply with the Brown decision or lose federal funding.[8] But the school's history dates as far back as 1874.

Good Hope Missionary Baptist Church, established in 1874, was the first Black church in Round Rock. It is speculated that from this segregated congregation came a need for a school for Black children.[9] In 1909 the Colored School District Trustees of Round Rock bought 1.1 acres of land from Black farmer Mitchell Mays to build a Black school on the 1.1 acres. For reasons not known the school was not built at that time.[10] In 1913 a Black school, which was held in a church at the time, perhaps the Good Hope Baptist Church,[11] came under the jurisdiction of the Round Rock school district. In 1921 the Black school applied for funds "to build a new school" [12] to the Julius Rosenwald Foundation. This fund had been established in 1917 to fund worthy causes throughout the country, and hundreds of Black schools across the country were constructed through matching grants from this foundation.[13] In 1922 Hopewell officially opened with only grades one through nine. At its opening there were approximately 50 students enrolled. The school term was six months long, running from October to April.[14] This increased the school term by one month from the previous year. Prior to 1922, the school term for Black students had been only five months long.[15] In 1926 Hopewell opened a vocational training program for both youngsters and adults. A separate building was erected on campus for this purpose. The participants of this program entered competitions in which they could exhibit their skills.[16] DiGesualdo and Thompson[17] report that the school term was extended from six to seven months with the establishment of this program.

The school survived the depression. During the 1932-33 school year teachers of the district were asked to teach for one to two weeks without pay due to the financial difficulties brought on by the Depression.[18] In 1936 an additional 2.4 acres of land was purchased for Hopewell.[19] In 1937, the school year was extended to eight months long and stayed as such at least until 1949.[20]

During the 1940s several significant things happened. The school term had already been extended to eight months. Sometime during the 1940s, monitoring of Hopewell's educational quality began.. At some point during the 1940s, as enrollment at Hopewell continued to grow a decision was made to hire only degreed teachers.[21] Also around this time, Hopewell began admitting students who lived in the rural area North of Austin, not just Round Rock.

The increase in enrollment at Hopewell caused by students from rural areas north of Austin attending under the separate but equal system of education, necessitated additional transportation beyond students being transported by their parents or walking to school. By 1954, Hopewell had obtained a school bus to transport the students to and from school.[22]

Brown I and II were gradually inching their way west, and in 1963 the Round Rock district adopted the Freedom of Choice policy, which allowed students to attend any school in the district.[23] There seems to be some dispute about the year that this policy was adopted. DiGesualdo and Thompson[24] report that it was not adopted until 1965, and that it was a response to the 1964 Civil Rights legislation. Albeit, expansion continued at Hopewell as 1964 saw an annex being added to Hopewell.[25] This four-room building became the site of the high school classes. Barracks that contained a cafeteria and band hall, as well as some classrooms, were connected to this annex. According to his own recollections, Anthony Mays,[26] the first Black student to take advantage of the Freedom of Choice policy, left Hopewell and enrolled at the previously all-white Round Rock High School in the fall of 1964. This calls into question DiGesualdo and Thompson's,[27] claim that the policy was not adopted until 1965. However, several sources report that Mays did not begin attending Round Rock High School until 1965.[28]

Rather than attempt to maintain a separate but equal school, Round Rock High School was integrated and Hopewell finally closed at the end of the 1965-66 school year. The annex became Southside Elementary school--a school for all third graders in the district, "establishing a unilateral system. This arrangement was used only for the 1966-67 school year as the students eventually were transferred to the newly enlarged Central Elementary School." [29] All the other students from Hopewell were transferred to Round Rock High School.[30]

The Project: Strategy & Syllabus:

An important part of capturing the history of the school relied on the actual strategy the researchers would use. Many of the parameters were identified in the course syllabus, but the actual plan, and implementation of that plan, and how the final project would look was still novel, and still unclear.

Shortly after the research into Hopewell began, it became apparent that records were not well kept for the school. Uncovering history of this school where little was documented presented a paradigmatic problem for current and future research. The researchers relied on a strategy borrowed from the Organizational Effectiveness School, Fort Ord, California, called APIE, (Assessment, Planning, Implementation and Evaluation).[31]

In *assessing*, the researchers' tasks, the researchers wrestled with conceptualizing what the final project would look like,[32] as well as what resources were available to conduct the research. This deliberate assessment aided them in determining the project's outcome. Once the outcome was determined, the how to orchestrate such a project became clearer. The class syllabus provided gave specific guidance on how long the paper (the outcome) should be. In class, the professor proposed suggestions on how to collect data. Each researcher had to conduct at least one oral interview. Additionally, the syllabus required that each researcher presents the oral history in class of the person they interviewed, and also each researcher accepted a specific role on the team. These roles on the research team included: *Research Director:* responsible for reviewing research methodology; *Editor:* responsible for proper format in finished written paper; *Interview coordinator*: responsible for submission of Human Subjects Release forms; and *School board archivist:* responsible for collecting data from School Board Minutes.

Planning centered on how the research would be conducted, and how to organize the final paper. The researchers realized they needed to look at school records and school district archives, as well as conduct oral interviews of former students and teachers. As the students planned, they realized that not all the sources to be used could be entirely determined in advance.[33] The five ethnographers methods of 'constructing reality' [34] concerning the history of this school *emerged* as the researchers used a hermeneutic approach. The research team's approach resembled Elaine Atkins's approach[35] where the researchers examined and interpreted each part of the project as it related to the class. The *implementation* and *evaluation* portions of the design were interwoven. There was concern about consistency of information, so a list of standardized questions were developed and shared. As interviews were conducted, and available resources examined, researchers periodically met to assess what was remained to be done.

These group sessions were used to further evaluate the project, discuss the validity of the information collected, and strategized how best to proceed to complete the project.

The actual research project called *Hopewell: A School Without a History,* became a paper divided into three major parts and an appendix. The *first* part, the methodology, discussed how the project originated and why this particular school was chosen. The methodology part also examined how the research was conducted. The *second* major part of the paper consisted of two major sections: autobiographies and life histories. The *autobiographies* focused on the background of the researchers who performed the interviews. The *life histories* centered on the experiences of the former Hopewell students and teachers and evolved from interviews the researchers conducted. The *third* part of the *Hopewell* of the paper synthesized historical information and reflected on lessons learned, recommendations for future research. The last part of the paper, the appendix, included pictures, lists of contacts as well as the letter used to establish the contacts, and actual questions used during interviews.

Each researcher was cautioned by the professor, and reminded by each other to go into each interview with an open mind. Since the basic purpose of this research was to construct and record the history of the school. Though the research project was supposed to record Hopewell's history, the reason for Hopewell's closure was also part of its history.

In developing the model for the project, the researchers felt strongly that the belief, values, and even the ethnicity of interviewer could have an effect on how some details might be viewed. During a group strategy session, it was therefore agreed a brief autobiography of each of the researchers become an essential part of the project. The autobiographies were done to give the reader a more accurate picture of who conducted the interview, and how the interviewer's history might effect their 'construct' of 'reality'.[36] The team of researchers discussed the feasibility, and possible 'comfort zone' of the Hopewell students being interviewed by white students. But for the parameters of the class, in a different situation, the two Black students might have assumed the entire role as interviewers.

The 'Lost' Hopewells:

In giving a brief overview of the Hopewell project, it is hoped that the paradigm discussed might be used and adapted in other areas throughout the country by local communities researching the history of their schools. This is particularly important where the school's history has not previously been well documented. The experience gained during the research efforts included in this article provides parameters that can serve as a guide for researchers to design and implement their own plan.

Hopewell's doors were closed in 1966 as a result of the implementation of the *Brown I & II* decisions, along with many other Black schools. Although segregated schools were declared illegal in 1954, 12 years passed before this policy was widely implemented in Central Texas. One of the researchers recalled that the school he had attended also closed in 1965, in Tennessee, probably due to the same belated rush toward integration.

Education was important in many rural communities. Education for many in the rural areas began at church. Many rural segregated Black schools like Hopewell started in the church. These schools survived the depression even though the funding for these schools was limited because of the value placed on education. The education of their children was the driving force to many rural communities. Many members of the rural Black community felt that the only way to get ahead and compete with the 'white man' was to get an education,[37] so the Black schools, in many cases, were seen as the backbone of the Black rural community.

There are not many school histories written about small cotton-farming communities in rural Texas, or elsewhere. But because these schools' histories are wrapped up in the communities, their histories can be reconstructed and documented. Speculation about the commonalties might be true of other rural communities, specifically Black segregated schools throughout the United States. Recovering and documenting these views adds a new look at educational history from before, during, and after *Brown*.

Mistakes, Assumptions, Lessons Learned:

The researchers made several assumptions that proved incorrect during the project. First, they assumed school records of enrollment, teachers' daily reports, and so forth would be available. Second they assumed that former students and teachers at Hopewell would all consent to be interviewed. Neither of these proved to be the case.

Of the records that were available, most were sanitized or generic accounts about the school. The accounts generally covered things like the actual purchase of land, and the construction of the school building,[38] but actual records that documented various curriculum changes in school board minutes and local newspapers, or feelings about the school closing were very difficult to find or substantiate.

Because one of Hopewell's former students wanted this history to be documented, the researchers felt other students and teachers would also be as interested. This was not the case. Several former students declined outright to be interviewed. Additionally, it was also assumed that those who agreed to be interviewed would be willing to conduct "on the record" interviews, and be totally candid. Again, this was not the case. As one researcher reported, on several occasions, one of the interviewees asked that the audiotape be turned off. Even though it would have provided a fuller picture concerning the issue of segregation, the richness of "off the record" information could not be included. This gives rise to the idea that some information used in the final report was incomplete and may have been selectively interpreted as Burstyn discussed.

The interviews were conducted over a three-month period. Synthesizing the data and writing up the report was also done during this time. Inconsistencies surfaced as the data was synthesized among the group and the project's work further evaluated. "Internal criticism involves evaluating the accuracy and worth of the statements" collected.[39] The researchers discussed these inconsistencies to determine their accuracy. These inconsistencies were only noted in the project's appendices, as a lesson learned, not the specificity of the inconsistency. The research group decided had there been more time, the researchers would have either called and scheduled subsequent interviews, ideally a group interview, at which time the internal criticism of the information researched and collected could be improved and clarified.

Listed here are other issues and possible resolutions the researchers felt needed to be addressed: A. Collective interviews would resolve many of the issues concerning the vagueness or inconsistency of some of the information. These interviews would have to be coordinated several weeks in advance, at a mutually convenient place, and the interviewers need to have a clear understanding of the information requiring clarification. B. Reliance principally on interviews for detailed documentation created many inconsistencies that were unresolved. The researchers felt that a more detailed search within the local school archives, or developing ties with the local media might aid in resolving this dilemma. C. The choice of former students to be interviewed hampered some of the data corroboration. Seeking funding to use monetary incentive to interviews, or finding someone within the community who would encourage the surviving members to be interviewed might resolve this dilemma.

The researchers realized that the complete history of Hopewell will never be recorded because too much has been lost. There are no school records. Many of the people connected to the school have either died or wish not to be interviewed. Still, this project began a process of uncovering existing information, which can also be done in other communities. Though factual inconsistencies and gaps are still present, the project provides an outline of Hopewell's history where none was known before. The fact interviewees primarily recounted positive portrayals of the past, including segregation, may reinforce the 'comfort zone' issue mentioned earlier. At least being aware of this offers it for consideration in planning other research.

Segregation Revisited:

As we look at present situations like resegregation,[40] looking at the past and issues of segregation through the eyes of those who experienced it validates perspectives about present conditions, trends, practices and educational issues.[41] Resegregation is on the rise. Orfield's demographic studies of school enrollment[42] demonstrate that segregation is increasing. Wells and Crane argue that there has been a gradual undoing of desegregation and an increased concentration of urban minority students in high poverty schools.[43] Within-school integration is an issue Willis discusses as minority students are tracked and grouped based on performances on standardized test within individual schools and classrooms.[44] Lindseth calls this achievement gap legalized segregation.[45] This recent research sheds a dismal view of the progress since Brown v. Board of Education. This article attempts to shed light on aspects of what in many cases still has yet to be documented concerning the impact of the Brown decision in rural communities.

In doing historical research, one becomes aware of one's own values, beliefs, and interests concerning the topic being investigated because one sees certain aspects of past events and not others.[46] This awareness precludes exaggerated and biased reports.[47] The Hopewell project provides a base on which to focus questions about past events. By focusing on them, answers to questions previously unconsidered can be revealed.[48]

Though it's been more than fifty years since the Brown vs. the Board of Education decision, segregation is still an important issue for researchers. In *Deepening Segregation in American Public Schools,* Orfield and colleagues[49] report that a generation of progress is coming undone as segregation trends are changing not only in southern and border states, but also across the nation. The 5-4 Supreme Court ruling in the Missouri *v. Jenkins* case essentially gave the "courts license to return school districts to local control" to affect whatever remedies they felt needed to resolve discriminatory practices.[50] Orfield contends that decisions such as *Jenkins* will increase trends toward racial and economic segregation of Latino and African American students.[51]

White, in "*Brown* Revisited," talked about how traditional histories largely ignored the back room, southern planning session to forestall desegregation.[52] It is through projects that examine schools like Hopewell that researchers can more fully understand the realities of the events that occurred during the aftermath of the Brown I and II decisions, and reveal a more vivid picture of this process.

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Teaching History in Texas Schools During World War I

O. L. Davis, Jr.
The University of Texas at Austin

For Walter Prescott Webb, a history teacher at Main High School in San Antonio, the central issue for Texas history teachers was not whether they would attend in their teaching to the raging Great War in Europe. Rather, he observed, they had to decide how much attention they would devote to the war (Webb 1918, 8). Simply, according to Webb, a future president of the American Historical Association, "The war has indirectly influenced the content of every history course, and also the method . . . Every course is mined with comparisons, rich with analogies, or filled with contrasts" (9).

As a matter of fact, Texas schoolteachers and students had responded rapidly to the United States' entry into Europe's Great War in April, 1917 (e.g., Davis and Long 1997). They, like their counterparts across the nation, recognized that home front support was critical to the national mobilization underway. Fewer than two months remained in the school year and their initial wartime school activities were little more than symbolic.

By the time the 1917-18 school year commenced, however, schools in Texas and across the nation routinely began to encourage wartime activities and to incorporate war emphases into regular instruction. Many of these activities, to be sure, were symbolic or practically patriotic. For example, teachers and students in small rural schools as well as in city schools participated in Liberty Loan drives, Red Cross work, war relief fund drives, and patriotic assemblies and parades (e.g., Davis 1995a; Davis 1995b). Of the curricular modifications, none probably were as prominent as were those in history instruction. These changes apparently continued until after the November, 1918, Armistice.

Wartime symbolic and practical patriotic activities in schools, perhaps not surprisingly, retain their prominence in official memory. Simply, they have received historical attention. The impact of the war on the regular school curriculum, however, remains obscured. Even for history instruction, most renderings report rhetorical advocacies and impressionistic estimates to the neglect of actual school practice (e. g., Mehaffy 1987; Shermis 1989). This portrayal, on the other hand, adds specificity to the record with its focus on the wartime teaching of history in Texas schools.

Special Materials about the War For Use in History Courses

In order that American teachers effectively teach about the nation's involvement in the war, several federal agencies and individual scholars readied articles, books, and pamphlets for early use in the 1917-18 school year. The federal government's emergency Committee on Public Information sponsored and distributed the bulk of these special materials. Known informally as the Creel Committee for its activist chairman, George Creel, its publication program included an array of pamphlets, books, and bulletins, most of them available to the public free of charge and many used in American schools. The U. S. Bureau of Education issued only one special text-type material for school use. Its Lessons in Community and National Life (1917), commonly used in elementary grades, sometimes fit into some Texas high school courses (Kean 1918). It also published a series of leaflets, the first of which highlighted opportunities to teach about the war by history teachers. In addition, it promoted the study of the war in its twice monthly published National School Service that was mailed to all schools in the nation (Davis 1996). Wartime issues of the nationally distributed The History Teachers Magazine also featured teaching about the war. Its value to Texas teachers, however, remains unknown.

On the other hand, Texas history teachers did receive copies of The Texas History Teachers' Bulletin. Published three times each year by the University of Texas department of history, issues of the wartime Bulletin not only advocated teaching about the war; it also featured reports of local school teaching practices. For example, in its first issue following U. S. entry into the war, editor Milton R. Gutsch (1917b) called teachers' attention to a number of available sources for classroom use in teaching about the war. That same issue, however, highlighted routine aspects of at least two popularly offered history courses in the state. One focused on source readings in medieval history (Gutsch 1917a) and the other emphasized source readings in Texas history (Barker 1917).

A year into the war, The Texas History Teachers' Bulletin devoted an entire issue to the publication of UT Professor Frederic Duncalf's "A War Textbook for Texas Schools" (1918). Duncalf wrote in its Preface:

> A heavy responsibility rests upon all history teachers in our present crisis, for their instruction will have great influence upon the opinions of their pupils. Amid the bitterness and hatred that war

> develops, it becomes increasingly necessary for as many people as possible to keep clearly in mind the main issues of this conflict. Disloyalty and intrigue are abroad, and Americans should one and all so understand our part in this war that no doubt or faintheartedness can turn us aside from what we have undertaken to do. (84)

He also suggested to Texas teachers that they use historian Samuel B. Harding's Topical Outline of the War (1917) as well as the War Cyclopedia (Paxson, Corwin, and Harding, 1917), both Creel Committee publications, and other published sources in their instruction.

Availability of special war-related materials, however, did not guarantee their use by teachers. American teachers, likely many more than evidence attests, actually used these materials in their teaching. On the other hand, Texas teachers used these special materials less than advocacy admits. Texas high school teachers in Austin, Dallas, and Port Arthur, all among the large school systems of the state, included some attention to these special materials in their courses. Information about their use in smaller, including rural schools remains sketchy at best.

Teaching History and Teaching About the War: Reports From Texas Classroom Teachers

Wartime history teaching in Texas emphasized the standard fare of pre-war syllabi. Corsicana High School teacher Laura M. Moore (1918) was more emphatic, "The regular history work is not neglected for war history" (30). Study of war topics in history courses, indeed, increased the amount of work required of the students, according to teacher Mary Crutchfield of Sherman High School (1918, 22). In this attention to the practical, teachers developed both opportunities and rationalizations for the incorporation of war topics into their regular courses, from ancient history to civics. These war topics entered ordinary coursework through two channels: as contemporary examples of parallels and contrasts and as attention to current history.

Evidence of these wartime teaching practices in Texas schools comes from reports of teachers that were published in The Texas History Teachers' Bulletin. On April 8, 1918, Editor Gutsch, in a letter to a number of the state's high school history teachers, asked for reports about the teaching of history in wartime Texas. He requested specific information about how history teachers were teaching about the war in their regular courses. From the responses, Gutsch (1918) estimated that Texas history teachers were alloting almost one-sixth of their instructional time in history to study about the causes, events, and objectives of the war. He also selected accounts of eight teachers across the state to publish in the Bulletin's November 1918 issue. Paradoxically, this issue likely was not distributed until after the November Armistice and, thus, its implicit purpose to encourage other Texas teachers to use some of the reported classroom practices likely was in vain. These reports, nevertheless, constitute the best extant accounts of wartime history teaching.

Some revision of history courses began as early as the Great War commenced in 1914, according to Sherman High School's Crutchfield (1918, 22). With American entry into the war, she reported that the demands for changes continued. San Antonio teacher Webb appropriately noted that he taught about the war both directly and indirectly (1918, 8). He and other Texas teachers led class discussions about current events. In this teaching, they departed, of course, from their textbooks, and a few (e.g., Crutchfield (1918) in Sherman), used daily newspapers in their classes. Most teachers reported that students used class sets of magazines, specifically The Literary Digest, The Outlook, Collier's Weekly, as well as single copies of magazines such as The American Review of Reviews, for their preparation for discussions and individual reports (e.g., Whittaker 1918). Typicaly, as Webb (1918) noted, these current events lessons occurred about one day each week. At Galveston's Ball High School, the history department secured on additional class period in the weekly timetable for current history (Hill 1918, 32).

Teachers and students also maintained bulletin boards and war maps. Daily or as appropriate, they posted newly published accounts and photographs. They also marked shifting battlefronts on the classroom map, as best they could, with pins or lines.

On occasion, teachers organized and presented special lectures about the war. These lectures apparently were uncommon because of the teachers' insistence that their classes encounter the standard course outline and materials.

The Texas teachers' reports of their indirect reference to the war should neither be minimized nor exaggerated. They wrote about their year's work in the closing weeks of the 1917-1918 academic year. Consequently, they wrote only some of what they remembered doing. The also may have written about their own thoughts which they did not incorporate into their teaching. Their reports nevertheless, reflect these teachers' mindful associations to and interpretations of the war in their standard history courses.

For example, Beaumont teacher Ora B. Riggs(1918)noted the parallels of the feebleness of hellenism "to the lethargy of some of the modern nations" (14), the American unpreparedness of 1812 and 1917 (15), and "the Confederate cruiser warfare and the submarine campaign" (15-16). Sherman's Crutchfield (1918) stressed the contemporary alignment of countries with that of the Napoleonic Wars (24). Webb (1918) of San Antonio mentioned the analogies of Germany and Sparta and of England and the Athenian empire and of the French Revolution to the Russian revolution (7).

All the Texas teachers commented upon the war's influence on their students' increased knowledge of place geography. For example, Port Arthur teacher Anne Hughes Kean (1918) assigned one class to make maps that showed the territorial changes of Prussia, Russia, and Poland over time. Sherman's Crutchfield (1918) remarked about her students' increased awarenecss of the importance of the Black Sea to Russia as well as the number and locations of wheat fields and industrial outputs. In Ballinger High School, teacher Kathryn Barnett (1918) insisted that her students locate cities and nations, particularly in Europe, and sites in the war zone. Laura M. Moore (1918) of Corsicana High School also recognized the extent to which her students had learned about and continued to be interested in locations, populations, resources, and forms of government (28).

Particularly significant were teachers' estimates of students' increased learning and interest in history. For example, Webb reported comments of his San Antonio students about what they had learned from their study of the war. These remarks included "I did not know there was such a place as Belgium," "I did not know the European countries were so small. I never thought Germany was smaller than Texas," "I did not know the nationalities of Europe were so distinct, but thought French and German blended, and Germans and Russians, etc.," "I was under the impression that the Italians were common, a sort of dago nation, but they are our allies now," "I did not know England was so dependent on her fleet," and "The United States must feed the allies as well as herself" (Webb 1918). He also noted that history enrollment in San Antonio's two high schools almost doubled for the 1917-1918 academic year (Webb 1918, 7). Galveston's Hill commented, "There was a time when "Belgium," "Poland," "Roumania," "aristocracy," democracy," may have been meaningless, but that time has passed" (1918, 32). All the teachers commented that the war itself and teachers' classroom responses to it had impacted the state's history courses for the better.

Plans for a Longer War and the Sudden Armistice

At least some of these teachers expected the war to last longer than it did. Teacher Kean (1918, 21) of Port Arthur admitted, "With the year's experience as a guide, the Port Arthur High School is taking on a permanent organization for the handling of all this government material. The history department will feel less responsibility for the whole of it, and will consequently be able to do its allotted share of the work more systematically and efficiently". In all likelihood, she and her colleagues abandoned these plans after the Armistice. As well, the post-war teachers probably ignored Riker's (1918) excellent bibliography that accompanied the teachers' reports. Teacher Webb, after writing his enthusiastic report, resigned his teaching position and gave away most of his books after a bitter dispute with San Antonio's superintendent of schools (Webb, 1969; Furman 1976). The war was over and teachers in Texas and across the nation reemphasized their interrupted course of study.

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Character Education Reforms of the 1920s and 1930s: What Happened in Schools

Pat Nickell and Sherry L. Field
The University of Georgia

Character education in the United States has always been a mainstay of children's schooling. Widely debated in purpose, definition, and in implementation over the years, it has seen upswings and downturns of popularity and media attention. Public schools have long been charged with educating young pupils to be good citizens. Researchers have studied the effectiveness of character education programs, most notably in the 1920's and 1930's by Hartshorne and May (1930) and in contemporary times by Lickona (1991), Leming (1997), Kirschenbaum (1992), Field (1996) and Wynne (1997). Many parents, policy makers, and politicians are calling for a commitment to the character education goals of the past. An introspective survey of the reported successes and failings of past programs designed to cultivate the formation of good, moral character in children may inform the debate today. Perhaps the character education reform movement of the 1920's and 1930's, one unprecedented in American educational history, best parallels such contemporary calls to action.

According to the New York state study, authored by J. Cayce Morrison in 1931, much was being done across the nation in the name of character education, as evidenced by one school district as it developed its own character education plan. "...[we] analyzed the provisions for character education in the syllabuses or statutes of 41 states and of 57 cities of the United States, together with an account of several organized, privately financed efforts toward character education and a considerable correspondence with prominent leaders interested in character education or child guidance" (21).

This study is a descriptive analysis of three state (Pennsylvania, Iowa, and New York) and three city (Washington, D.C., Denver, and Birmingham) character education reports. It provides details about those reported definitions of and rationales for character education in public schools during the 1920's and 1930's, what schools' reported purposes of implementation were, who participated, and how teachers were prepared.

Origins and Purposes of Reports

Each of the six plans was written for the purpose of describing, prescribing, or reporting the progress of character education programs for public schools. Of the three state programs, the Iowa Plan was the most broad in purpose. Following the 1916 Morality Codes Competition, for which a $5000 prize was awarded to William J. Hutchins in 1917 for his contribution of ten "laws of right living", a second competition took place. In this latter competition, the same anonymous donor offered a $20,000 prize – the largest ever offered in an educational competition in the U.S. The award was to go to a state collaborative "research" effort that resulted in a plan for the best methods for teaching character. The Iowa Plan, completed in 1922, was the winner and was distributed nationwide. Thus, this plan was not one designed solely for Iowa, but rather for use across the country. It was written by a collaborative composed of two succeeding state superintendents, two university Presidents (the State University of Iowa and Upper Iowa University), an attorney, six professors at various Iowa institutions, and two local district superintendents. It addressed character education at all grade levels.

> Foundations for Character Education, the Pennsylvania plan, while indicating that character education was required by law, was not a mandate in itself. Rather, it was a treatise on the rationale for character education and how it could effectively be delivered. Based on a collection of articles by Miss Helen Purcell, State Director of Elementary and Kindergarten Education, the compilation was eventually published by the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction in 1931. While primarily focusing on the early grades, a few examples from upper grades are present as well.

The New York State document, Character Building in New York Public Schools (1931), was termed, "An analysis of practices reported by teachers and supervisory officers for the school year, 1928-29." In fact, in the report, one may read voices from all over the state of New York as they described various initiatives to incorporate character education into school life. It appears that no state mandate for character education existed when this report was filed. However, it does indicate that state supervision of rural districts had character education as its first priority for a time. Further, it implied that there was a socially accepted expectation that schools would attend to character building: "To teach all that is generally accepted [in terms of character], to refer children back to the home and the church for further information as to debatable questions, and to build happy contacts with home and church based upon mutual trust and good will – this is the opportunity of the school." Related state requirements were made clear in the following: "In

New York [the responsibility to provide instruction in citizenship] is expressed in the state syllabus" (1931, 6).

Among the three local school district initiatives, that from Washington, D.C. , a Preliminary Report on Character Education was also published in 1931. It implied no current or future mandate, but was written to serve as character education guidelines for recommendation to the Board of Education. There was no evidence whether the Board subsequently passed or rejected the plan, but its inclusion in the archives at Columbia Teacher's College would imply that it held at least a degree of significance.

The Birmingham program was presented by Charles A. Brown, Associate Superintendent of the Birmingham Public Schools, and appeared in the Proceedings of the Sixty-seventh Annual Meeting of the National Education Association (1929). NEA's conference was held in Atlanta in the summer of 1929. The character education report described the program in Birmingham that had been in place for six years and was deemed effective enough to continue in future years.

The Denver monograph, Character Education in the Public Schools, was printed in 1929. It described an initial, "tentative" report of what public schools were doing in response to a district policy "to organize and direct a broad and varied program, curricular and extracurricular, the natural consequence of which is the learning of social as opposed to antisocial behavior." An unnamed "committee" compiled this report.

Rationales for Character Education

As one might assume, each report began with a rationale for character education. These illuminated common educational concerns of the time period relating to the young and their needs. They also provided a glimpse into how schools viewed their roles with regard to these issues and the degree to which they held themselves responsible for training the young in character and civic responsibility. In each case, the documents revealed a pervasive attitude that schools bore, in fact, heavy responsibility in this domain, with a number mentioning the failure of homes to effectively teach desirable character traits and values. The award-winning Iowa Plan charged that schools were neglecting character education in favor of academics. The Washington, D.C., report indicated that this was "an important educational problem" and that it was the schools' job to avoid a "laissez-faire" attitude toward character building. Blaming the home for neglect in this area, the Pennsylvania report maintained that the purpose of character education is to form "the Ideal American Personality" in young children. The Birmingham assistant superintendent claimed the existence of a "universal argument that ethical character is one of the most desirable results to be obtained [from education]."

Perhaps the Denver superintendent, A.L. Threlkeld, provided the greatest caution in terms of the schools' role and ability to deeply affect the nation's character. "…We are safe in saying that no institution comes ahead of the home in its immediate influence upon character. While much of the program of socialized activities basic to character once given in the home is now, under changed social conditions, necessarily delegated to schools and other institutions, no surer sign of weakness on the part of any home…can be observed than [the] tendency…to place too much of its own responsibility upon other institutions" (1929, 6-7).

Overall, it seems quite clear that each reporting institution recognized and was intent upon addressing a renewed interest among society at large in character education. There were hints that longer school days and proportionally more children in attendance gave rise to concerns that since the state held more control over children's lives, schools must assume greater responsibility for what had formerly been left to the home. In none of these reports were there charges that young people suddenly were behaving unusually irresponsibly or in any way posing a threat to the social fabric; rather, there appeared to be at the root of these efforts merely a heightened sense of duty.

Teacher Training

The Iowa Plan, Character Education Methods, addressed teacher training most directly. Of course, it should be remembered that this plan was intended for a national audience.

> "It must be acknowledged that the effort spent among institutions for the preparation of teachers, in inculcating skills and in clarifying the thought about the mechanics of culture is quite out of proportion to the ingenuity exercised in matters bearing directly and indirectly upon the humanizing and moralizing of boys and girls…Character training hardly appears in the schedule of courses. Let none defend this situation on the ground that everything in the curriculum when rightly taught is food for moral education…It is to be hoped that training-schools for teachers will give first place to

courses in character education" (42).

While the Washington, D.C. report briefly concurred with this need, no other document speaks to the need for pre-service training. Rather, they implied that teachers should acquire the skills, techniques, and dispositions needed for character education by working among themselves and those in leadership roles within the school milieu.

The Denver monograph acknowledged the enormous influence of the teacher in character building and described the ideal traits for this task:

> " Like that of the parents, [the teacher's] influence is exerted in three ways: by the words he uses in precept and in explanations, by the example he sets, and by the things children do under his direction. He must not only be thoroughly conversant with the subjects he teaches but he must be a master of child psychology and of approved teaching method. He must be a companion on the adventure of learning, the guide because of longer experience with life. To be a leader without imposing tasks, to be an inspiration to immature minds, to keep ideals intact, to be ever on the alert for moral values but to be always unobtrusive, to set an impeccable example of behavior, to prepare varied situations in which to stage the learning process, to keep each child working joyfully at the height of his best efforts, to measure progress, to be a progressive student of pedagogy, to keep abreast of the times in politics, history, and science, and still to have time for repose and contact with rare minds past and present, these and similar duties make teaching the most exacting of professions" (1929, 27).

The New York report provided insights into various districts' efforts to develop their character education programs. In most, teachers contributed to the district report by sharing their personal efforts in the classroom to engage students in character-centered learning. Each document indicated a great respect for teachers and their ability to assume the duty of character training effectively through self-improvement and a desire to do what was best for children and society.

Examining Traits of Good Character in Six Locales, 1923-1931

One of the more illuminating components of our examination of these early documents was the analysis of specific "character traits" that each recommended for incorporation into character training. Our first question was whether the lists of character traits appeared to follow those outlined in Hutchins' award-winning Children's Morality Code which offers ten general traits of desirable character for teaching in schools. These included self-control, good health, kindness, sportsmanship, self-reliance, duty, reliability, truth, good workmanship, and teamwork.

Considering the Iowa plan first, since it followed on the heels of the Hutchins award and was honored by the same agency, we found surprising variance from the earlier code. While the report focused on methods for teaching character education and did not purportedly attempt to address what morals should be taught, nonetheless, in an attempt to show potential relationships to the ongoing curriculum, it suggested nine "moral objectives." These include Health and Happiness, Initiative, Life in the Group, Reverence, Leisure Time, Civic Relations, Economic Relations, Vocation, and Family Relations. In a section that suggested ways to measure character for the purpose of reporting to parents, yet other lists appear, varying by grade level. In this section, the report recommended that students beginning in the primary grades complete a self-measurement scale on these traits. The upper elementary scale offered a prompt and six behavior descriptions from which to choose. For example, at grades 5-8, the trait called "Work at School," provided descriptions ranging from "Lazy, gets out of work when possible" to "Finds work whether assigned or not". For the category "Eating," response options ranged from "Careless, eats too much and too often" to "Eats only good food, never too much rich food or sweets." For the category "Truthfulness," options ranged from "Tells lies, can't be depended on at all" to "Tells the truth even when it hurts."

At the primary level, a list of 21 questions had children check off various behaviors daily. Figure 1 is an attempt to align these questions with the Hutchins categories. While not always well-matched, it is interesting to note that "self-control" was implied by at least 11 questions, "good health" appeared in at least 7, while teamwork and sportsmanship were only implied once each and truth and good workmanship did not appear at all. Of course, it could be said that the entire test requires truth in order to achieve its aims, but no item specifically asked students to self-examine their honesty. It should be noted that "thrift" was included as an additional category that appeared regularly in other documents, but which did not appear among those offered by Hutchins.

(Insert Figure 1 about here)

The analysis of the Iowa Plan followed by a perusal of the others indicate that the Hutchins model appeared to have had little, if any, influence. No reference to his Children's Morality Code appeared in any save the Iowa Plan, and there it only received attention in the foreword as having been an earlier awardee. None of the character trait lists in other documents used Hutchins' order or specific language. While there were many traits that appeared in two or more documents, no patterns in language or order were apparent.

A second question yielded more results. Could a pattern be discerned among the character traits used for guiding school instruction in the 1920s and 30s that would 1) be useful to today's educators seeking to distinguish characteristics of the current movement from its earlier counterpart, and 2) that might, therefore, inform current efforts for better results?

In analyzing the character traits advocated in these earlier documents, an informative pattern did emerge. This pattern had to do with the nature and purpose of the various traits listed. Upon first reading, one of the more curious aspects of these lists is the obvious importance placed upon social efficacy. Today, most of us do not think of washing our hands or having a savings account as a matter of character. But these were found among these lists as well as many others that seem beyond the realm of character as we think of it today.

Further analysis and comparison of the character traits grounding the six documents indicates three major categories: Personal, social, and civic character. To begin to understand these categories, one might ask, "Who should most benefit from someone exhibiting this trait? To whom was it directed? Was it for the good of the individual and his/her family, or for the good of one's immediate social group (e.g. classmates), or was it for the good of the community, nation, or world?"

For purposes here, we define "Personal character" as the choices, decisions, and behaviors that are grounded in personal values, religious beliefs, or moral constructs such as those underlying the current Pro-Life vs. Pro-Choice debates. Personal character also, by our definition, has self- and family interests and expectations at heart. The individual and his/her immediate family would be the beneficiaries of these traits.

"Social character," on the other hand, involves those values, ideals, and behaviors that place individuals in good stead with peers and others with whom they come in contact. Making certain one's clothes are clean before going to school would indicate social character. Schoolmates, teachers, friends, and others beyond the family would benefit most from these traits.

"Civic character" is comprised of values and actions that serve the common good, even at the expense of self-protection, personal desires, or social pressures. Choosing to serve in the Peace Corps instead of accepting a job that promises to be lucrative and an important career move may well indicate strong civic character.

Looking again at the Iowa document, we see these categories, and how they sometimes overlap, emerge. (See Fig. 2)

The Pennsylvania document listed "qualities of the ideal American personality," which the author explains as having been gathered from "the advice of many people." These were grouped into two parts: "Characteristics that civilized peoples, in general, accept as eminently desirable" which included honesty, self-respect, fairness, truthfulness, courtesy, kindliness, reliability, charity, thrift, courage, self-control, persistence, giving credit where credit is due, sense of duty, strong family feelings, self-protecting recreational assets, and being a faithful worker. The "Characteristics specifically essential to the highly effective American citizen," included those of being conscious of one's responsibility as a member of a universal governing class, appreciative of the attainments and possibilities of the nation, a defender of the right, considerate of the greatest good in political judgements, insistent that law and order operate, solicitous of knowledge of current problems affecting the nation and the world, an active seeker of the truth, forward looking, able to meet new conditions and needs logically and intelligently, capable of successful teamwork, and intensely interested in constructive and protective health measures.

The New York study involved the examination of all reports sent to the committee by different districts statewide to identify character traits most often listed as goals. While the original lists were long and often quite tedious, we found the compilation created by the authors of the twenty traits most often listed to be most helpful. This list included responsibility, initiative, cooperation, courtesy, honesty, sportsmanship, school spirit, healthfulness, leadership, fair play, neatness, loyalty, patriotism, punctuality, appreciation, unselfishness, morality, respect for authority, self-control, and service to society.

Short of recommending a list of character goals, authors of the Denver Public Schools, in examining current practice in district schools, listed those traits mentioned on report cards at grades 1 and 2, and at grades 3-6. These appear in Figure 3.

(Place Fig. 3 about here)

The committee that authored the District of Columbia report took on the arduous task of outlining in great detail the traits and related behaviors that should serve as "outcomes" of character education if effectively applied. These were further broken down into outcomes for elementary schools and secondary schools. Each trait was followed by a listing of how schools and teachers could best set the stage for achievement of that outcome, as well as detailed descriptions of how children would demonstrate embodiment of the trait. For example, following the trait "ambition and enthusiasm for work," schools were admonished, among other things, to offer plenty of worthwhile materials and activities, teachers were to model ambition and enthusiasm for *their* work, and children would demonstrate possessing the trait by being "satisfied only with [their] best." For purposes here, only the character traits were included but these were divided by school level as shown in the report.

District of Columbia Outcomes in character education for *elementary grades*: Are our boys and girls growing in ambition and enthusiasm in their work; learning to cooperate with each other in a courteous, reliable, and self-controlled way; developing ideals of honesty, fairness, and justice; are these ideals becoming a part of their conduct; growing in judgment and foresight? Are they acquiring habits of self-criticism; acquiring habits of good workmanship; acquiring wholesome attitudes toward health and cleanliness; growing in initiative and leadership; growing in attitudes and habits of kindness; acquiring habits of thrift; learning wholesome ways of using leisure time; growing in respect and reverence?"

District of Columbia Outcomes in character education for *secondary grades*: Is our school program meeting the intellectual needs of our boys and girls; are our boys and girls getting some understanding of the major fields of occupations and professions, together with an appreciation of their opportunities and requirements; are our boys and girls intelligent and responsive to the requirements of health; are our pupils growing in understanding of the principles upon which our Nation is founded – freedom, equality, implications of democracy, meaning of patriotism? Are these principles vital in the life of our school; is the school preparing its pupils to use leisure time worthily; are our boys and girls forming satisfactory standards of social relationships – toward their own contemporaries, both of their own and of the opposite sex? Toward the "elders" of their environment – parents, teachers, civic leaders, etc.? Toward the handicapped of society? (Social virtues mentioned include sociability, courtesy, sympathy, kindliness, appreciation, and tolerance); are our pupils acquiring ethical habits of conduct – playing fair, owning up, being honest in work, learning to respect the rights and property of others? Are they learning to regulate conduct in terms of consequences to themselves and to others? Are the more thoughtful and mature learning to regulate their conduct in terms of accepted principles; are out boys and girls acquiring a sense of personal debt to others for their part in building up a civilization for us – debt to the institutions of family, school, church, community, Government, past civilizations, etc.? Do the more mature feel an obligation to improve and to pass on this civilization; are our children becoming sensitive and responsive to the needs of others – need for friendly companionship on the part of new pupils; need for friendliness and toleration of the part of those who are "different" in dress, in speech, in nationality, in temperament, etc.; need for helpfulness on the part of those who are strange or have fallen behind in their work; do our boys and girls show proper reverence for ideals of beauty, chivalry, patriotism, and religion? Do they show respect for fineness of character and conduct both in themselves and in others? Are they becoming sensitive to nice (sic) distinctions between right and wrong? (1931, 21).

The Birmingham presentation provided a list of seven vehicles for teaching character which also served as goals of instruction. Sub-characteristics were provided for only one, but the general categories are illuminating – "Development of Character Through Health," "…Sportsmanship," "…Work," "…Love of the Beautiful," "…Thrift," "…Courtesy," and "…the Study and Love of Nature." One category, "Development of Character through Sportsmanship" was amplified and noted the objectives for a good sportsman:

> 1) Is Courteous: On the field he does not jeer at errors; he does not cheer at opponents' penalty; he treats them as guests, not as enemies. In life he is respectful to elders and superiors in authority; he treats the other fellow as he would be treated.

2) Is Modest: On the field he works for the good of the team rather than for individual honor; he will even sacrifice his own prestige for his team; he is gracious as a winner. In school he does not become conceited over his success, neither does he feel himself superior to his classmates. In life he does not "blow" about what he is going to do; he does not boast about what he has done.
3) Is Generous: On the field he applauds a good play of his opponents; he gives the other fellow the benefit of the doubt. In school he does not "knock" other schools or individuals; he appreciates another's merit. In life he does not ridicule the man who is "down," but encourages him; he is not afraid to think for himself and to voice his opinions straight-forwardly and clearly.
4) Is Game: On the field he plays hard to win; he fights though he may already be defeated; he accepts adverse decisions; he is a good loser. In school he does his work, he keeps on working in the face of almost certain failure. He has "the vim to think straight, the pluck to act straight." In life he does his part, however hard it may be; he accepts reverses with a smile and tries again.
5) Is Obedient: On the field he observes the rules of the game. In school he observes all the regulations. In life he respects the civic laws and the demands of the community
6) Is Fair: On the field he competes in a clean, hard-fought but friendly way; he helps an injured opponent; he has no alibis. At school he does not waste his time nor that of the faculty; he does not copy his classmate's work; he does not receive aid from any source on examinations. In life he tries to see both sides of a question; he uses no underhanded methods; he is not influenced by money; he is not partial in administering justice (Brown 1929, 629-630).

Concluding Remarks

Any of the character education reports analyzed in this study might seem imminently peculiar to a particular district or state; that is, taken individually, the stance portrayed about character education might indicate autonomous decision-making about and implementation of curriculum and instruction on the topic. Taken as a whole, however, the reports provide overwhelming evidence, corroborated by teachers, principals, and administrators that character education was an important, much-discussed goal of public school systems across the nation in the 1920's and 1930's. Each report seems to have a common core purpose and an underlying theoretical perspective. No matter how we might disagree with those purposes today, their preeminence in schooling of the times is certain. Additional research regarding the success or outcomes of these and other character education programs during the Progressive Era is needed to gain a more complete understanding of what happened in schools during this time.

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NOTE: The Authors would like to like Dr. David Ment and his colleagues at the Special Collections Library, Teachers College, Columbia, without whose help this research would have been impossible.

Figure 1: A Character Test for Primary Children (Iowa Plan) Aligned with W.J. Hutchins' Character Trait Categories (14)

Questions asked of primary children	Hutchins' Character Category
Did you sleep 10 hours or more last night?	Good health
Did you take ten or more long, deep breaths yesterday?	Good health
Did you wash your hands before each meal yesterday?	Good health
Did you wash your teeth yesterday?	Good health
Did you spend 30 minutes or more in the open air yesterday?	Good health
Did you put away your wraps when you came home from school yesterday?	Self-control; Duty
Did you arrange your clothes last night so that they would be easy to find and put on this morning?	Self-control; Duty
Did you take a bath yesterday?	Good health
Did you go straight home from school yesterday?	Reliability; Self-control
Did you try to keep from soiling or tearing your clothes yesterday?	Self-control; Duty
Did you step aside to let anyone pass you yesterday, on the sidewalks, in the halls, or at doors?	Kindness
Do you have a savings account or bank?	Self-control; Self-reliance (Thrift*)
Did you earn and save anything yesterday?	Self-reliance; Self-control (Thrift*)
Did you do anything that you ought not to have done?	(open)
Did you share anything (apple, candy, nuts, cake, etc.) with brothers, sisters, or playmates yesterday?	Kindness; Duty
Did you cry yesterday?	Self-control
Did you complain when asked to do anything yesterday?	Reliability; Self-control
Did you quit playing or pout yesterday when you could not have your own way?	Self-control; Teamwork; Sportsmanship
Did you quarrel with anyone yesterday?	Kindness; Self-control
Did you go away from home yesterday without telling anyone where you went?	Reliability
Did you bite your finger nails or put pencil (sic) in your mouth yesterday?	Good health; Self-control

*** Thrift is not one of Hutchins' categories**

Figure 2: A Character Test for Primary Children (Iowa Plan) by 3-Way Purpose

Questions asked of primary children	Purpose Category*
Did you sleep 10 hours or more last night?	P
Did you take ten or more long, deep breaths yesterday?	P
Did you wash your hands before each meal yesterday?	P/S
Did you wash your teeth yesterday?	P/S
Did you spend 30 minutes or more in the open air yesterday?	P
Did you put away your wraps when you came home from school yesterday?	S

Did you arrange your clothes last night so that they would be easy to find and put on this morning?	P
Did you take a bath yesterday?	P/S
Did you go straight home from school yesterday?	P
Did you try to keep from soiling or tearing your clothes yesterday?	P
Did you step aside to let anyone pass you yesterday, on the sidewalks, in the halls, or at doors?	S
Do you have a savings account or bank?	P
Did you earn and save anything yesterday?	P
Did you do anything that you ought not to have done?	(OPEN)
Did you share anything (apple, candy, nuts, cake, etc.) with brothers, sisters, or playmates yesterday?	S
Did you cry yesterday?	P
Did you complain when asked to do anything yesterday?	S
Did you quit playing or pout yesterday when you could not have your own way?	S
Did you quarrel with anyone yesterday?	S
Did you go away from home yesterday without telling anyone where you went?	P
Did you bite your finger nails or put pencil (sic) in your mouth yesterday?	P

***P = Personal; S = Social; C = Civic**

Figure 3: Character Traits Appearing on Elementary Report Cards, Denver Public Schools, 1929 (19)

Grades 1-2

1. Is cleanly in person and dress
2. Observes health rules
3. Sits, stands, and walks correctly
4. Uses time to good advantage
5. Keeps books and property in good condition
6. Is trustworthy
7. Perseveres in spite of difficulties
8. Works well in a group
9. Is courteous
10. Concentrates upon the task in hand

Grades 3-6

1. Health
    a. Is cleanly in person and dress
    b. Observes health rules
    c. Sits, stands, and walks correctly
2. Thrift
    a. Uses time to good advantage
    b. Keeps books and property in good condition
    c. Is careful in the use of materials
3. Reliability
    a. Is trustworthy
    b. Completes tasks at the appointed time
    c. Is at the right place at the right time equipped for work
    d. Secures consent before using the property of others
    e. Perseveres in spite of difficulty
    f. Exercises leadership in things worth while
4. Social attitudes
    a. Takes pride in his group and in the school, and tries to foster the right spirit
    b. Works well in a group
    c. Gives and takes criticism in a courteous manner
    d. Is respectful and courteous to his associates
    c. Is tolerant of opinions and actions of others
5. Clear thinking
    a. Discriminates between essentials and nonessentials
    b. Keeps to the point
    c. Concentrates upon the task in hand
    d. Is open-minded, revising opinions in the light of facts
    e. Takes the initiative in presenting new ideas

Limelight or Edge of a Precipice: An Exemplary School's Multiple Purposes

Elaine Clift Gore
Connecticut College

A 1993 political cartoon depicted the entrance to Houston, Texas's High School for the Performing and Visual Arts with the American flag flying bravely amidst dark storm clouds. The label "SCHOOL CLOSINGS" was superimposed on the clouds in white letters (School Closings 1993, 2). This cartoon represented neither the first nor the last time the community would worry about the school's continuance (Denney & Nipper 1997; Hurst 1987, 1). Founded in 1971, the school was the first of its type in the southwestern United States. As the Houston Independent School District's high school with the highest academic standardized test scores and largest number of national artistic honors, how could continuance of this exemplary school ever be seriously called into question?

The "limelight" enjoyed by the school informally known as HSPVA was recognized both nationally, in large numbers of honorable mentions, finalists, and Presidential Scholars in the prestigious Arts Recognition and Talent Search, and locally, in the media attention and applause which greeted outstanding HSPVA academic and artistic performances (Cox 1990, 1; Magnet schools 1985, 2; Moore, D. 1997; Morgan 1997; NFAA 1988; NFAA 1998). Despite the presence of the school in this limelight, an undercurrent of tension persisted over what some people called a "private school" funded by public dollars (Garver 1997). This tension suggested that the school teetered on the edge of a precipice. Document and oral history research of HSPVA's twenty-five year history, from 1971 through 1997, uncovered lingering questions about the multiple purposes conceived for HSPVA in its early years, and their individual effects on HISD policy decisions. In their multiplicity and individual maturation lay the potential for discontinuance of the school.

Dropout Prevention for the Artistically Talented

Founding director Ruth Denney's original purpose for HSPVA was dropout prevention for the artistically talented, a purpose which was verbally reaffirmed by the succeeding three principals (Adams, A. 1997, 1, 4; Cox & Daniel 1983, 5; Stanton, 1991, F1, F7). Their reaffirmation appeared to be hollow, however, in light of "the catch" revealed in this excerpt from a 1991 interview with the school's third principal, Annette Watson:

We find that some students who were marginal or at risk in the past come into an environment [at HSPVA] that builds their self-esteem. We've seen some real turnarounds as a result (Stanton 1991, F1).

The catch came in these words:

> Students have to be organized and able to budget their time, prioritize and be self-disciplined (Stanton 1991, F1).

Such an ideal seems problematic certainly, or maybe just unrealistic. Marginal or at-risk students likely have not learned the time-management and self-discipline skills Watson described as necessary to survive at HSPVA. Additionally, potential dropouts, even if they had a favorable artistic audition, improbably could qualify for the highly competitive school which HSPVA had become. On-grade-level academic status was a criterion for admission for twenty of the school's twenty-five years, including those lead by Watson (Karpicke 1997; Merrill 1997; Moore, D. 1997). The purpose of dropout prevention may have remained an ideal, but, as the school matured and became more popular, the ideal became less reachable and reaffirmation of the purpose became an empty slogan. Dropout prevention, however, had never been the official HISD purpose of the school.

Natural Racial Desegregation

HISD General Superintendents Garver and Reagan, as well as the Boards of Education during their tenures from 1971 through 1986, hoped HSPVA would become a naturally racially desegregated (Garver 1997) or integrated (Reagan 1997) school because of its educational focus on performing and visual arts. Both superintendents believed that this goal was met when HSPVA enrolled a tri-ethnic student body (Garver 1997; Reagan 1997). However, some Black members of the HISD community questioned whether or not the school had true desegregation value (Anderson 1997). Its reputation from the 1980s through 1997 as HISD's only majority-White high school helped fuel the controversy (Markley 1992, 1E). HISD official insistence on more aggressive minority recruitment from 1986 through 1995 (Merrill 1997; Moore, D. 1997) eventually increased minority enrollment in the school's student body. The White student percentage, however, never fell below 51.5 percent, although the district's White high school population dwindled to 12.3 percent (Fall 1994 & 1996). Other aspects of HSPVA's history may have affected this outcome, but their significance remains unanalyzed. These aspects include the school's history of a color-blind philosophy, all White principals, and a predominantly White faculty. The question of whether HSPVA's ethnic diversity should have been or should be reflective of HISD's ethnic diversity has never been publicly addressed by HISD officials (Blank, Levine & Steel 1996, 167).

The school's fourth principal, Herbert Karpicke, instituted a mentoring program in 1997 which focused not on minority under representation in his student body, but on schools which rarely sent graduates to HSPVA. He hoped to prepare talented students for audition at the school who would look forward to attending (Karpicke 1997). This sidestepping of the natural racial desegregation goal is characteristic of the HSPVA community which liked to believe the school's primary purpose was artistic meritocracy. The larger educational issue of meritocracy versus equity remains problematic within Houston as well as in the educational, scholarly, and political communities of the United States (Blank 1989, 15; Doyle & Levine 1983, 11; Klauke 1988, 2-3; Tannebaum 1995, 485).

Artistic Meritocracy

HSPVA's meritocracy was rooted for the entire twenty-five years in the artistic standards of the school's pre-professional arts preparation. Those standards were evident in rigorous auditions and graduates who immediately obtained lucrative post-secondary jobs and arts scholarships. For example, in May 1985, 22 graduating art majors topped all previous HSPVA records by becoming the "million-dollar class," after art teachers worked to promote their talented students and bring them to the attention of scholarship providers (Feigelson 1985, 11; HSPVA's Million 1985, 3). On the other hand, it is impossible to ignore the fact that no HSPVA graduates have become artistic "household names." Evidence suggests that only 40 percent of graduates continue as adults to pursue their arts area professionally (Thomas 1997, 1D). HSPVA jazz studies director Bob Morgan offered one possible explanation for why more graduates from his program have not pursued jazz full-time:

> It's a very hard career to pursue these days. I think that only a very few should have any business actually pursuing it, so I actually tell my students that. Basically, I try to talk to the upper level kids, juniors and seniors, at least once a year, and basically try to talk them out of doing this for a living. I know officially our school is career preparatory, and the way I figure it, if I can talk a kid out of doing it, he shouldn't be doing it....If they just can't imagine doing anything else, then, okay, they may have a chance (Morgan 1997).

Talking students out of making a living with their art may also have occurred in other arts areas (Schulman 1985, 5SO).

HSPVA's clear intention across its history was to develop each student as a whole person, not just as an artist. If the faculty and administration had emphasized solely career preparation in the arts, and if their goal had been preparing national standouts in every arts area, question exists as to whether they would have been able to recruit 600 students at all times to fill the student body.

Academic Excellence

Student academic excellence was consistently the goal of HSPVA's academic faculty members. Originally intended to provide strong fallback possibilities for students who chose not to pursue the arts professionally as adults, many of HSPVA's arts faculty supported this purpose throughout the school's history (Morgan 1997). Strong academic achievement was evident in the high standardized test scores of the student body, often the highest in the district (Cox 1990, 1; Denney & Nipper 1997; Gray, T. 1991, 9; Magnet schools 1985, 2; Richards 1993; Sanchez 1994; TEA 1997; Top-notch 1995).

Academic strength likely was an attribute of admitted applicants rather than skill fostered by HSPVA academic teaching, although most interviewed participants failed to acknowledge this possibility (Barrow 1987, 294). This understanding of causality seems particularly probable during second principal Norma Lowder's tenure, when admission required both high academic standards and artistic talent demonstrated in an audition. Whether the net effect of her emphasis on strong student academic backgrounds was positive for both students and HSPVA, or negative, destroying the school's original mission and eliminating the very students who needed the school's help, remains a matter of opinion. Unresolved conflict over this issue was evident in most of the oral history interviews conducted with adult members of the HSPVA and HISD communities. The power elite of Houston, however, revealed no such conflict.

Promoting Houston's Greatness

For Houston's White arts community and wealth/power elite, HSPVA's purpose was to promote the city's greatness. Civic leaders long had understood that great cities must have excellent arts organizations (Carleton 1985, 8; Houston/Harris 1993, 3, 4; Lanier 1992). To that end, they were happy to support financially HSPVA's visibility, through activities such as international Sister Cities' tours (Morgan 1997), and to intervene with HISD officials when they believed necessary, as they did in 1980 when they convinced Superintendent Reagan to build the school's new physical plant in the city's arts corridor (McLanahan 1997).

All four principals worked to strengthen the school's connection with the Houston power elite in order to foster support and to fund HSPVA's continuance within HISD (Anspon 1992, 16; Moore, D. 1997; Morgan 1997; School and community 1985; Watson 1997). In actuality, each new HISD Board of Education trustee, HISD general superintendent, City of Houston mayor, and Greater Houston Partnership member personally determined how important it was for HSPVA to represent HISD, Houston, and the Houston area to the world. They did so with their public recognition or lack of recognition of the school as exemplary (Cunningham 1987, 8C; Five 1987, 1; 150 1986, 18). One nagging question remains today. If HSPVA became a majority non-White school, would it continue to enjoy the support of Houston's White power elite?

The Confusion of Multiple Purposes

From its beginning in 1971, HSPVA has stood both in the limelight and on the edge of a precipice. In part, this awkward situation seems to have persisted because stakeholders have never agreed on a unified mission for the school. Also, policy makers and administrators never seriously considered HSPVA's ability to meet simultaneously all its avowed purposes of dropout prevention, desegregation, professional artist preparation, academic excellence, and exemplary representation of HISD, Houston, and the greater Houston area. The risks of never making a decision, or of shifting purposes over time, may continue to mean that HSPVA never is fully illuminated by the limelight.

On the other hand, the multiplicity of purposes conceived for the school may, in reality, have been responsible for its continuance and exemplary status both within the local and national educational communities. With HISD's 1997 adoption of a magnet admissions policy which ignores race and ethnicity (HISD Board 1997, November 20), HSPVA is now free to flourish as the artistic meritocracy its participants wish it to be. The school community's 25-year espousement of a color-blind philosophy outlasted the political need for racial desegregation. As the purpose of natural racial desegregation expired, artistic meritocracy gained the necessary prominence to perpetuate the school's exemplary status. The same adjustment of purpose may have occurred in the 1980s when academic excellence replaced both natural racial desegregation and artistic meritocracy as most significant. Although at some points the impression was one of political peril for HSPVA, the school's continuance was assured.

Perhaps most neglected from the start has been the issue of which of the multiple purposes best serves the HSPVA students. Although continuity and dedication of faculty members sustained the academic and arts programs for a quarter century, no guarantees exist for the future. A unified mission based on student needs might help ensure the school's continuance, excellence, legitimacy as an HISD high school, and exemplary status within the performing and visual arts magnet high school genre.

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Akron Perkins Normal School: An Institutional History, 1898-1931

Melinda J. Kline
Brunswick City Schools
Brunswick, Ohio

The preparation of elementary school teachers in the mid and late nineteenth century were increasingly trained by city normal training schools (Herbst 1989, 4). The city school board of Akron, Ohio reflected this trend and established their own normal training school in 1898. This paper will document the pre-service training of teachers within the city training school, the progression of the city normal school from its own teacher preparation program to university affiliation, the establishment of a teachers college, and the merging of the teacher college with Akron University.

The Akron schools attempted to train their own teachers before the establishment of their normal school. One type of training was the Speciman School or Spectator School held each Saturday morning throughout the school year. A teacher was selected to work with students in an observation class. Instruction lasted approximately one and half-hours then students were dismissed. The ensuing discussion revolved around classroom methodology and pedagogy. Attendance by teachers was mandatory, but the sessions were open and attended by board members and interested members of the public (Hatton 1955, 28). Samuel Findley, superintendent of Akron schools 1868-1882, established a normal school for teacher training. Spicer School, an elementary school in Akron, was converted to a normal school where young lady high school graduates were given small salaries to teach for one year under the supervision of experienced teachers (Hatton 1955).

Despite these efforts to better train Akron teachers, city school officials were not satisfied with the quality of their teachers. Findley previously recommended to the school board the requirement of prospective teachers to have had one year in the study of pedagogy, review of the common branches with special reference to teaching them, and to have observation and practice training experience. During the 1881/1882 school year Findley recommended the establishment of a Saturday Normal School which would utilize the more experienced teachers to attain the desired ends for qualified and effective teachers (Thirty-fourth Annual Report Akron Board of Education 1882, 50).

In June 1896 the Akron board of education received a report from the Normal Training committee which outlined the establishment of a city normal school. The report was adopted, its recommendations integrated into the Akron schools, and Akron had its normal school (Minutes of the Akron School Board 1896, 158-160).

Admission into the normal school was open to any resident graduate of the high school over eighteen years of age and under the age of twenty-one. This individual was to have a teacher's certificate from the Akron City Board of Examiners. If they failed to secure such a certificate, depending upon satisfactory reasons for this failure, were admitted into the normal school if they passed an entrance examination held by the superintendent and principal of the normal school (Ibid.).

Residents of Akron who were graduates of the high school or had successfully completed the entrance examination, which covered coursework taught in the elementary schools, were admitted free into the normal school. The admission of non-residents was dependent upon their being of like age and possessing the same satisfactory qualifications as the residents of Akron. The tuition charge at the normal school was the same amount charged for attendance at one of Akron's high schools. After admittance, upon consent of the superintendent, the normal school student could pursue the course of instruction in more time than required. Pupils chosen as teachers in the Akron public schools were selected on the basis of their excellent work in the normal school (Ibid.).

By 1919 admission requirements had changed substantially. The rules now stipulated that all applicants must be acceptable to the principal of the normal school in scholarship, personality, health, and musical ability. Applicants could be requested to withdraw at any time. Members of the senior class were expected to give assistance in teaching when called upon by the superintendent-without pay- in addition to their regular substitute teaching for which they were paid. Applicants were expected to teach two years in the Akron city schools if appointed to such a position (Minutes of the Akron Board of Education 1897, 184; 1919, 213).

Diplomas were awarded upon satisfactory completion of work in the two departments of the normal school. Students were to average seventy-five percent between the two departments and not receive marks below seventy percent in either department. This diploma, issued by the city Board of Examiners, served as a certificate to teach in the Akron public schools as determined by the Board of Education (Minutes of the Akron Board of Education 1896, 158-160).

The normal school course was two years in length and consisted of a theory department and practice department. The students' first year of training was in the theory department where they received instruction in the elementary branches, general culture studies, nature work, form study, drawing, history, literature, methods, and psychology. Second year students were in the practice department. There students prepared lessons and taught under the direction of the critic teacher and principal (Manual of the Board of Education 1900, 43).

By 1905 the Normal School course had been modified to cover four lines of work. These were educational psychology, history of education, general methods of teaching, theories of school management, and methods classes for primary, intermediate, and grammar school (Ibid.). A course of study was added which allowed college graduates to enter the second year of the normal school, complete their work, and graduate in one year (Rules and Regulations of the Board of Education 1900, 43-44).

By December of 1915 the Municipal University of Akron and the Akron school board formulated an agreement approved by the State School Commissioners for a combined course in normal training between the University and Perkins Normal School. This partnership was needed by the University to comply with new state mandates passed in 1914 by the legislature that required increased preparation in the area of professional education and supervised practice teaching for state certification. Two training courses were devised a four–year and five- year combination course. The four-year combination course enabled the graduates to teach as elementary teachers in the Akron city schools but not as high school teachers, however, they were entitled to a provisional state high school certificate which gave them the legal right to teach in any high school in the state of Ohio. Students attended the University for three years, completed the required work (103 semester hours) and entered Perkins Normal School to complete the practice training course. Students then received the Bachelor of Science in Education (Minutes of the Akron Board of Education 1915, 171-172).

The five–year combination course was offered to those who desired to be high school teachers in the Akron school system. The course candidate completed four years (128 semester hours) at the University, pursued a major in the subject he/she wished to teach, received their bachelor's degree, and spent a fifth year at Perkins Normal School in observation and practice teaching (Ibid.). In 1921 Perkins Normal School was merged into the Municipal University of Akron becoming a part of the University known as the Teachers College (Buchtelite 1921).

The work of the Teachers College was organized for the preparation and training of teachers for the Akron public school system, the professional improvement of teachers already engaged in the public school system, and the study of educational problems. Sessions of the Teachers College were held during the day, evening, and through the summer. The administration of the Teachers College was under the management of the President of the University and Superintendent of Schools (Trustee Minutes of the Municipal University of Akron 1923).

The teaching staff was college faculty who taught pre-service and public schoolteachers the various professional programs of the Teachers College. The Akron school board paid the salaries of all teachers of the College and the salaries of teachers in the summer session. The university furnished all required classroom and office space, equipment, light, heat, stenographic service printing, and bore the cost of instruction on purely collegiate, non-professional subjects (Ibid.).

Admission into the Teachers College was determined by examination, high school certificate, honorable dismissal from other colleges of universities, or if over twenty-one years of age as special students not in candidacy for a degree. Unconditional admittance was granted to students with fifteen units of high school work (University of Akron 1922, 121-122).

Summer session programs were initiated June 1922. Offered were professional coursework and opportunities for practice teaching (Report of Sarah Stimmel University of Akron 1921/1922, 6-7). The observation and training experience of prospective teachers generally took place in the last year or two of the student's pre-service program. Schools were designated for observation and training work through out the system.

The training experience of the cadet teacher was completed in the public schools in regular schoolrooms under the supervision of critic teachers. Each elementary critic teacher supervised four student teachers. Each high school critic teacher supervised but one student teacher (The University of Akron 1922, 121-122).

Initially the Teachers College offered six courses for training teachers. These were three and four year preparation programs in kindergarten-primary education and elementary. Upon completion of their work students received either a state teachers certificate for completion of the three year program or a bachelor of education degree for work completed in the four year program (Municipal University of Akron 1922, 122-126).

In 1923 there were eight preparatory programs for teachers, by 1924 this had grown to thirteen courses of study. Courses leading to a master's degree were established during the 1923-1924 school year. In 1926 new courses were offered to teachers on commercial and vocational education. In the 1928-1929 school year the course work again expanded to include industrial education (Municipal University of Akron 1923, 129-140; 1924, 120-127; 1926, 118-128; University of Akron 1928/1929, 139).

By the 1927/1928 school year the coursework for high school teachers was slightly modified. Students were still required to complete five years of study, but now students had the option of completing their bachelor's work in either the Teacher's College or the College of Liberal Arts. If a bachelor's degree in secondary education was obtained through the Teachers College a fifth year of study was spent in the Teachers College completing coursework for a master's degree. If the student received a bachelor's degree from the College of Liberal Arts a fifth year of study in the Teachers College was required, and upon successful completion of this coursework received the bachelor of education degree (University of Akron 1927/1928, 130-140).

In order to gain a broader perspective of the Teachers College, three former students of the College were asked to recall their training at the College and their professional experience thereafter. Mrs. Margaret Brewster, a 1925 graduate of the Teachers College and a former kindergarten teacher had the distinction of serving as an observation teacher. Brewster recalled that students attended her class in pairs or small groups to observe her classroom techniques and participate in classroom activities under her supervision. Sadly enough when Brewster was pressed to offer her opinions on her work as an observation teacher, she stated she did not know why she was selected or why she was in the observation school. Brewster's teaching career spanned a few years ending when she married and had children. A second alumnus of the college was enrolled in the graduate program in art education. This teacher remembered she had not received any training in pedagogy or educational methods until she completed student teaching experience and observation work required by the College.

The third alumnus interviewed was Mrs. Helen Coup, a 1928 graduate of the Teachers College and a thirty-five year veteran of the Akron public schools. Coup's comments reflected the observations of the other College alumni, that the most important aspect of her training experience was the time spent in observation work and student teaching. Another observation by Coup was too much time was spent on academic matter and not enough time given to methods work. Interestingly enough educators still debate this issue of the why of knowledge over the how.

By June 1929 the Akron school board was considering a decision to withdraw their support from the Teachers College (Minutes Akron Board of Education 1929, 113-114; Minutes Trustees University of Akron 1929). The reasons for this were varied, but the economic depression of the 1930's was one factor. Other reasons considered by school board members were that with five state supported teacher-training institutions along with the normal school at Kent there was an adequate supply of teachers being prepared in Ohio and no need for the Akron Teachers College. Furthermore, the chief function of the school system was to prepare students at the elementary and secondary levels not at the level of teacher preparation. In January 1931 the Akron school board voted to officially terminate their financial support of the Teachers College by June 1,1931 (Akron Board of Education 1931, 28; Akron Beacon Journal 1931).

The pre-service training of nineteenth-century schoolteachers in Akron, Ohio progressed from teachers being awarded a diploma to receiving a university degree. Akron teachers first earned diplomas through the city normal school then progressed to attendance at the university Teachers College earning a bachelor's or master's degree in elementary or secondary education. These changes initiated by state mandates in teacher certification laws, led to the creation of teacher preparatory programs administered by the city board of education and their university affiliate. Eventually the dual administration of the teachers college by the city school board and the university was dissolved, with the university assuming control over the teacher preparation program.

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"Teaching Democracy: Intercultural Education, Midwestern Teachers, and Race Relations"

Katrina M. Sanders
University of Iowa

The racial tensions of the first half of the twentieth century were not confined to the deep South. The onset of World War II ignited smoldering frictions and antagonism that reverberated throughout the United States as African Americans and European Americans who migrated to northern and industrial cities in hopes of securing war-related employment, improved housing, and equal education, found themselves competing for resources. As social institutions were called upon to respond to the eruptions, this paper focuses on intercultural education, the school's response to calming those racial and ethnic tensions. Specifically, the approaches teachers in Carbondale, Illinois; Cleveland, Ohio; and Detroit, Michigan utilized in their classrooms to promote racial tolerance and democracy will be reviewed.[1]

Intercultural Education

> There is no doubt at all that the schools of America can make a great contribution in this direction [improved race relations]. School is often the place where such discrimination, including persecution and physical attack directed against children belonging to a minority group, will do its most lasting damage. It may breed arrogance and superciliousness, and brutal disregard for others, among children who belong to the dominant group, and it may reed lifelong bitterness and blind resentment among the children in the minority group.[2]

Intercultural education developed in response to the mass immigration of some 13 million southern and eastern Europeans into the United States during the early 1900s. Americans feared that this group of new comers, believed to be intellectually inferior to immigrants who arrived from mostly northern and western European countries prior to the 1880s, would weaken American society.[3] Ethnic group leaders who sought positive group relations and supported the notion of cultural integration first used the term "intercultural education" to reflect "the study of the history and cultural contributions of ethnic groups to American society." They viewed intercultural education as a way to promote positive group images and assimilation while "raising minority self-esteem, building attitudes of mutual appreciation among groups and promoting inter-group harmony, and stimulating a 'renaissance' of American culture."[4]

Although The Service Bureau for Intercultural Education was established in 1933 as a clearinghouse for workshops and information on intergroup relations, it wasn't until the 1940s that intercultural education received significant attention as communities around the country sought to calm the violent racial eruptions of the decade.[5] In the 1943 work *Intercultural Education in American Schools*, published by the Bureau, William E. Vickery and Stewart G. Cole noted that the objectives of intercultural education were "the breaking down of the barriers tending to disrupt our national unity and the establishment of firm bases for mutual understanding and cooperation of the various racial and nationality groups present in our population."[6]

Intercultural education activities could be broadly classified as either "contributions" or "American Dilemma" approaches. "Contribution" activities highlighted popular individuals within a group and group contributions in certain areas. Although most intercultural activities fell into this category, reliance on these techniques had the potential of perpetuating false ideas about a group or maintaining associations that the groups wanted severed. The "American Dilemma" approaches considered that students were mature enough to study the contradictions in America's democratic philosophy and actual practices as long as the presented material didn't undermine respect for law and order.[7] We shift now to the intercultural education approaches Midwestern teachers utilized in their classrooms to break down racial barriers and promote racial tolerance

Carbondale, Illinois

In 1946 several teachers from the Midwest met in Nashville, Tennessee to attend Charles S. Johnson's Fisk University Race Relations Institute. The Institute, which began in 1944, was a non-profit social science workshop that brought together social scientists, educators, labor and industry leaders, ministers, civil rights leaders, and lay persons interested in achieving racial tolerance. Among the teachers, who served as members on an intercultural education panel at the Institute, was Carbondale, Illinois educator Amanda Murdock. Since Illinois experienced several violent riots during the twentieth century – the Springfield race riot of 1908, the East St. Louis riot of 1917, and the Chicago Riot of 1919 – many teachers like Murdock took an interest in promoting positive race relations. Murdock shared with Institute participants that she found her students at the Attucks School, an all African American school, "knew little about their own race." Taking this as an opportunity to educate not only her African American students, but also European Americans in the area, Murdock introduced a unit on the study of African Americans. After writing letters to different sections of the country for materials, Murdock's students received "nearly 500 pieces of invaluable material"which they placed on exhibit with material obtained from the Council Against Intolerance in America (New York). The exhibit was open to the public for 3 nights a week for 2 weeks. The city's daily newspaper lent support to the effort by running articles on "some phase of the Negro."[8]

Although Murdock conceded that she had no way of measuring how much her students learned, she felt interest was aroused in the community and school as numerous visitors, European American and African American, perused the exhibit. Comments on the endeavor were "very favorable", and the school's library "continued to add material on the Negro to their information book." Murdock also noted that after the students' exhibit, the demand for material on African Americans at the public library prompted the librarian to purchase several books which focused on African Americans. The Southern Illinois Normal University also invited Murdock to lecture on African Americans in music and art which in turn prompted invitations to African American artists to the campus the following year.[9]

Cleveland Public Schools

Like Illinois, Ohio had also experience racial tensions during the first half of the twentieth century as mob violence erupted in Springfield, Ohio in 1906. To facilitate positive race relations, Cleveland public schools utilized a comprehensive intercultural approach. Feeling that teaching an isolated semester on any one minority group was essentially "'Jim Crowism' in the curriculum", Cleveland's schools integrated the study of African Americans into their already existing curriculum. Allen Y. King shares that Cleveland did this because

> [i]t [was] an indication of subconscious race prejudice to treat the Negro "problem: as separate and distinct from other minority problems. Such separation may be considered "Jim-Crowism" in the curriculum. Each minority problem may have complications peculiar to its specific case but all these problems are related and tend to form parts of a more general pattern. The study of great Negro leaders or of the Negroes as a group is best done in its natural setting in regular courses and units dealing with the life of our nation and community.[10]

Cleveland's concern with incorporating information on African American with its existing curriculum reflected a larger debate among those proponents of intercultural education who wanted efforts to be systematic and consistent instead of brief attempts like studying a certain book.[11] Thus, Cleveland teachers utilized direct and indirect approaches. Direct approaches included utilizing biographies "related to the Negro" like those of "Abraham Lincoln, William Lloyd Garrison, Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, Crispus Attucks, Paul Lawrence Dunbar, Paul Roberson" in fifth , sixth, eighth, and eleventh grade American history. Teachers' discretion and the availability of "satisfactory supplementary reading materials" determined the amount of attention given.[12]

Although a few schools organized special units on "Negro history" in their American history courses, most "made conscious efforts to distribute attention to Negro history throughout the American history courses." For example, in covering the topics of slavery and the Civil War, eighth and eleventh grade American history students explored the "evils of slavery, the problems of reconstruction after the Civil War, the progress and difficulties of the Negro since the days of slavery, the too frequent appeals to prejudice in political life, and to such organizations as the Ku Klux Klan." Again, King notes that

> Considerable emphasis is placed upon the progress which the Negroes as individuals and as a group have made in improving their own conditions and upon the progress–gradual, even though too slow– which the United States has made in extending economic, cultural, and political opportunity and rights to Negroes. This emphasis upon progress is given so the Negro pupils may gain a reasonable sense of pride in the achievements of their won group; that they may enjoy a sense of psychological security; that all pupils may gain an appreciation of the achievements of their fellow Americans; and that all

may be challenged by the hope that further needed progress is possible in spite of obstacles."[13]

Besides concentrating on individual groups, in 1941 Cleveland's curriculum also began focusing on the concept of democracy. Students in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades were introduced to the idea that democracy and liberty were concepts that required "that we exercise these liberties in such a way as not to deny equal opportunities to others and that it is un-American to promote racial or religious prejudice." For example, in American history courses, equal opportunity for all citizens were stressed when students studied the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights.[14]

One of Cleveland's indirect intercultural education approaches was encouraging students from different racial and national backgrounds to work together on projects so that they could "forget" their minor differences and come to recognize "individual merit". Proponents of the activity hoped that students would recognize that "in all groups there are some who are crude, discourteous, dishonest, careless, shiftless, or lacking in ability" and that "both the desirable and undesirable qualities are individual traits rather than group characteristics."[15]

Through its efforts the Cleveland Public Schools found the following things about intercultural education:

> 1) ...it is an area in which excessive zeal, especially if misdirected, may be more detrimental than indifference.
>
> 2) care must be exercised in teaching about different groups that superficial differences do not receive undue emphasis; that misconceptions about special endowments of various racial or national groups are not reenforced or induced. Since people of various groups are more alike than different, the similarities must be stressed constantly.[16]

Detroit Public Schools

Detroit experienced one of the most violent racial eruptions during the first half of the twentieth century. The third and largest riot to occur during the war years, Detroit's June 1943 riot left 34 people dead.[17] Hulda Fine, another intercultural education panelist at the 1946 Fisk University Race Relations Institute, shared examples of Detroit's public schools efforts to address racial tensions. In order to establish a framework of intercultural education, proponents drew up an intercultural code and submitted it to the Detroit Board of Education, which passed it. According to the code, Detroit schools were responsible for rendering services to all students "without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin."An administrative committee was also appointed to act in an advisory capacity to the Superintendent of Education. The committee stressed 1) teacher education and 2) individual school committees on intercultural education. The individual committees were formed on a voluntary manner. 180 out of 220 schools formed such committees. Of the 180, though, many of the committees were in name only, while others which were active were asked to submit reports of their activities. Wayne University, a local college, was also active in promoting racial tolerance as it offered 2 elective courses in intercultural education --one in its School of Social Work, and the other in its College of Education.[18]

Collins J. Reynolds shares that one of Detroit's project involved a interschool program between a predominately European American Jefferson School and a predominately African American The Garfield School. Although the schools were located on opposite sides of the town the students shared similar economic conditions. Most of their parents migrated to Detroit from the south because of war-related opportunities, but found themselves competing for the resources.[19] These similarities aside, the students had little opportunity to share experiences and participate in integrated activities. Intercultural committee members from both schools suggested activities for the students. One activity was an essay contest, "One World", based on a selected reading list. Winners were selected from both schools. Another activity involved field trips to institutions within each groups community. The intercultural education experiences between Garfield and Jefferson provided opportunities to 1) combat stereotypes; 2) "demonstrate the possibilities of cooperation; 3) "learn techniques of cooperation and for the development of new ones"; and 4) possibly lay the "foundation for growing intergroup friendship."[20]

Summary

This paper offered a brief look at some of the intercultural activities utilized by teachers to promote racial tolerance and democracy in three Midwestern cities. Although not an exhaustive review or analysis, this paper shows that some school districts and teachers were taking active measures to build positive race relations during the 1940s.

As the intercultural education movement gained momentum during the late 1940s and early 1950s, more approaches appeared involving reading activities, oral teaching, writing activities, and "non-verbal" techniques. As we continue to deal with differing racial and ethnic groups in the United States and issues of racial intolerance, these intercultural activities and techniques utilized during the World War II era warrant further research to see if there were any measurable differences in student attitudes after being presented with information.

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Educating Alexander: Lessons in History and Cosmopolitanism

Stacy J. Stoyanoff
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

After the battle of Chaeronea (August 338 BCE), Philip II of Macedon (382-336 BCE) had established hegemony over the various Greek cities.[1] With the support of the Hellenic League, Philip planned a crusade to the East--a crusade against Persia. However, in the summer of 336 BCE, Philip was assassinated while attending his daughter's wedding. His son, Alexander III (356-323 BCE), succeeded him to the Macedonian throne and executed his father's plans.[2] As a result, Alexander invaded Asia Minor and conquered Persia. He then went on to conquer Egypt, Phoenicia, Mesopotamia, central and eastern Iran, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, and the Indus Valley. On his return home, Alexander mysteriously fell ill and died in Babylon (323 BCE). The "Great" son of Philip II had truly conquered much of the *oikoumene* or "the known inhabited world". Through his marriage of Greek culture with the indigenous cultures of Asia Minor and the Levant, Alexander basically instituted a wide spread Hellenization process.[3] The resulting cosmopolitan culture--referred to as Hellenistic--acted as a common link between diverse peoples with differing customs. It also laid the foundation for what we know consider to be Western culture.[4]

Thanks to historians such as Plutarch (late 1st century CE), and Arrian (2nd century CE),[5] we know quite a bit about Alexander's life, his accomplishments, and even his education. Philip employed several tutors early on to educate his son, Alexander, and each served to teach him about a particular sphere of *arete* or "excellence" (sometimes translated as virtue). This pursuit of *arete* is characteristic of the Homeric tradition and becomes the basis for Athenian *paideia* or education.[6] In the *Iliad*, Achilles' tutor, Phoenix, reflected back to Achilles' youth:

> "...a mere child, knowing naught as yet of evil war, neither of gatherings wherein men wax pre-eminent. For this cause sent he [Peleus] me to instruct thee in all these things, to be both a speaker of words and a doer of deeds."[7]

This passage clearly identifies the two basic ideals associated with the Homeric hero--to be both orator and warrior--serving his king both in the court and on the battlefield. These ideals were the essence of *arete*, and eventually became the nucleus for traditional Athenian *paideia* or "education". As a one might expect, Philip surely wanted his son, Alexander, to become the embodiment of the Homeric hero--to be like Achilles. Consequently, Alexander's first tutor was the stern disciplinarian, Leonidas, who trained him physically and taught him the arts of warfare; while his second tutor was Lysimachus of Acarnania, who taught him music, along with reading and writing.[8] Both Leonidas and Lysimachus fulfilled the basic tenets of traditional Athenian *paideia*. In his *Republic*, Plato described this earlier form of Athenian education as being *gymnastikè* for the body and *mousikè* for the soul.[9] As a result, *gymnastikè* was basically any physical training of the body, while *mousikè* referred to the endeavors personified by the divine Muses (music, dance, poetry, and literature). Alexander's early education was obviously modeled after this traditional Athenian *paideia*.[10]

In 343/2 BCE, Philip invited Aristotle of Stagira (384-322 BCE) to the capitol of Pella, so that he could tutor his thirteen-year old son Alexander. Along with his formal education under Aristotle, Alexander seems to have had an informal relationship with the Greek rhetorician, Isocrates (436-338 BCE), while also showing an interest in Cynic philosophy and the teaching of Diogenes of Sinope (c. 400- c. 325 BCE). Peter Green, the renowned historian of Alexander the Great, has remarked: "History tells us something of Alexander's teachers, but remains almost silent as to what they taught him."[11] It is from this statement that I begin my inquiry. By examining the teachings of Aristotle, Isocrates, and Diogenes, this paper will attempt to reconstruct some of the possible educational tenets taught to Alexander by comparing his actions and policies to some of the lessons--both formal and informal--that he may have learned from his teachers.

Aristotle

One of the more famous examples of the student-teacher relationship in all of history is that of Alexander the Great and Aristotle. To foster this relationship, Philip even set up an educational retreat for both teacher and student in the secluded Precinct of the Nymphs at Mieza.[12] Several other young princes accompanied Alexander on his retreat. They included Hephaestion (his close friend), Cassander (son of Antipater), Ptolemy (son of Lagus), and Marsyas of Pella. In fact, it was Marsyas who supposedly wrote the now-lost work, *The Education of Alexander*.[13] At Mieza, Aristotle not only continued Alexander's *paideia*, but he specifically gave Alexander an education in science, philosophy, and politics. Throughout his conquests, Alexander is said to have corresponded with his teacher on a variety of issues--particularly the sciences. Alexander even developed a scientific corps, led by his historian Callisthenes (nephew of Aristotle).[14] This scientific corps of zoologists, botanists, and surveyors must have provided Aristotle with much of the necessary information to compose treatises such as *Historia Animalium* and many of his other scientific works.[15]

There is an epistolary tradition associated with Alexander. In the fictional romances associated with his conquests, Alexander is depicted to have written many letters to his adversaries (e.g. Darius and Porus) and to his family and friends (e.g. Olympias and Aristotle).[16] However, the letters serve more as a narrative than historical documents. When he set out on his crusade, Alexander was simply leading the Greeks against the Persians. However, it seems that somewhere along the way he became enamoured with the idea of uniting the *oikoumene*.[17] In a somewhat controversial letter, Alexander's teacher, Aristotle may have even instructed him with the very philosophy to accomplish his task. This letter has been preserved in ancient Arabic, and here is a translated potion of that letter:

> "I [Aristotle] know that if mankind in general is destined to reach true felicity within the duration of this world, there will come about that concord and order which I shall describe. Happy is he who sees the resplendence of that day when men will agree to constitute one rule and one kingdom. They will cease from wars and strife, and devote themselves to that which promotes their welfare and the welfare of their cities and countries. They will all enjoy safety and quiet, dividing their day into parts, part for rest and welfare of the body, part for education and attention to the noble pursuit, philosophy—studying what has been achieved and seeking what has not yet has been attained. I would love to remain alive and see that age--if not all, at least part of it."[18]

Aristotle did see most of the *oikoumene* united, but he never saw his pupil again. If the letter is authentic, then it makes a truly amazing connection between teacher and student. This letter could be a direct representation of an Aristotelian lesson being learned by Alexander. When did the Macedonian plan to conquer Persia evolve into conquering the *oikoumene*? Did Alexander receive encouragement such as this to unite the *oikoumene*? Regardless, Alexander did briefly establish the single polity described above. Although, it would be great if the development of Alexander's ecumenical side could be credited to his teacher.

In addition, Aristotle's syllabus surely included lessons about governance and just rule; and many of these lessons must have made their way into his own *Politics*. To support the above letter's authenticity, there is also a passage in the *Politics* that relates a similar sentiment of achieving a single polity:

> "The nations inhabiting the cold places and those of Europe are full of spirit but somewhat deficient in intelligence and skill, so that they continue comparatively free, but lacking in political organization and capacity to rule their neighbors. The peoples of Asia on the other hand are intelligent and skilful in temperament, but lack spirit, so that they are in continuous subjection and slavery. But the Greek race participates in both characters, just as it occupies the middle position geographically, for it is both spirited and intelligent; hence it continues to be free and to have very good political institutions, and to be capable of ruling all mankind if it attains constitutional unity."[19]

This elitist justification for Greek rule over the *oikoumene* may give some explanation as to why the Macedonians chose to import Greek culture into their own. Since Philip understood the value of Hellenic culture and wanted to make it his own, it is not hard to imagine why he chose Aristotle to be his son's tutor.

Plutarch supports the unification theory put forth by Aristotle in his own description of Alexander's cosmopolitan intentions for the *oikoumene*:

> "But, as he [Alexander] believed that he came as a heaven sent governor to all, and as a mediator for the whole world, those whom he could not persuade to unite with him, he conquered by force of arms, and he brought together into one body all men everywhere, uniting and mixing in one great loving-cup, as it were, men's lives, their characters, their marriages, their very habits of life. He bade them all to consider as their fatherland the whole inhabited earth (*oikoumene*), as their stronghold and protection his camp, as akin to them all good men, and as foreigners only the wicked; they should not distinguish between Grecian and foreigner by Grecian cloak and targe, or scimitar and jacket; but the distinguishing mark should be seen in virtue, and that of the foreigner in inequity..."[20]

This passage basically outlines Alexander's ecumenical reasons for Hellenization, but it also clearly establishes virtue as the defining quality of being Greek. Eventually, Alexander himself would become the "mediator for the whole world".

With respect to virtue, Aristotle surely taught his pupil that virtue was the most desirable quality to have, whether it is applied to a ruler or to those being ruled. In fact, Aristotle spends a good deal of time in his *Politics* explaining the importance of virtue. Aristotle described virtue in the following manner:

> "...it was proved that the virtue of a man and that of a citizen in the best state must of necessity be the same, it is evident that a man becomes good in the same way and by the same means as one might establish an aristocratically or monarchically governed state, so that it will be almost the same education and habits that make a man good and that make him capable as a citizen or a king."[21]

This lesson from the *Politics* truly encapsulates Alexander's successful conquest and Hellenization of the *oikoumene*. The last clause is the most important; because it states that people must have similar education and habits to be either good citizens or good rulers.[22] This passage reinforces the belief that Greek *paideia* was in fact the primary mechanism for the Hellenization process. As a result, *paideia* is also the medium for the establishment of a cosmopolitan society throughout the Mediterranean. Plutarch described the conquests of Alexander in the following terms:

> "Those who were vanquished by Alexander are happier than those who escaped his hand; for these had no one to put an end to the wretchedness of their existence, while the victor compelled those others to lead a happy life."[23]

Throughout history, Alexander has been identified as a civilizing force for the "uncivilized" regions of the world. This idealistic and one-sided sentiment is not far removed from the aspirations of the British colonialists or even the twentieth century American psyche.

Isocrates

However, Alexander's education was not limited to the teachings of Aristotle. In fact, one argument in this paper is that Alexander was also influenced by the teachings of Isocrates. Like Aristotle, Isocrates also corresponded with Alexander about his education. This is best exemplified in his letter to a young Alexander on the study of rhetoric. Isocrates praised Alexander's choice of rhetoric:

> "...you choose rather the training which rhetoric gives, which is of use in the practical affairs of everyday life and aids when we deliberate concerning public affairs. By means of this study, you will come to know how at the present time to form reasonably sound opinions about the future, how not ineptly to instruct your subject peoples what each should do, how to form correct judgements about the right and the just and their opposites and, besides, to reward and chastise each class it deserves. You act wisely, therefore, in devoting yourself to these studies; for you give hope to your father and to all the world that if, as you grow older, you hold fast to this course, you will surpass your fellow-men in wisdom as your father has surpassed all mankind."[24]

From this letter, Isocrates clearly identified rhetorical study as the means of acquiring wisdom. Thereby, for Isocrates and Alexander, it is through rhetoric that the tenets of philosophy and just rule can be learned and practiced in everyday life.[25] This pragmatic lesson was truly invaluable for the young conqueror and also for the development of modern education. Throughout Western history, rhetoric has always remained the queen of the liberal arts.

Interestingly enough, Isocrates was the one who had also encouraged Philip and later Alexander to wage war against the Persians and bring peace to all.[26] In addition, Isocrates clearly established that *paideia* was the cultural link between differing peoples:

> "And so far has our city [Athens] has distanced the rest of mankind in thought and in speech that her pupils have become the teachers of the rest of the world; and she has brought it about that the name 'Hellenes' suggests no longer a race but an intelligence, and that the title 'Hellenes' is applied rather to those who share our culture (*paideia*) than to those who share a common blood."[27]

This basic humanism was one of Isocrates most significant contribution to Greek society and to Alexander himself. He believed that the Athenian culture defined the school of Hellas. In fact, wherever the Greeks settled, one of the first things that they did was to set up their *gymnasiums* and schools.[28] During the period after Alexander's death, even the Greek language changed to help facilitate language learning in traditionally non-Greek regions of the *oikoumene*.

This new form of Greek was called *koine* or "common" Greek. It is the Isocratean view of *paideia* that finds its way into the Hellenistic world through Alexander's conquests. This Hellenistic notion of *paideia* established the educational foundations for the Roman Empire and eventually the Western world. Because of his universal notion of *paideia*, the best ancient model we have for modern educators is not Plato or even Socrates, but rather Isocrates himself.

Cynics

Also, the notion of Alexander being an unofficial follower of Cynic cosmopolitanism can be alluded to from the historical evidence. In fact, it was the Cynics who first developed the notion of cosmopolitanism.[29] Because the Cynics rejected all social conventions, they received the nickname *kúon* or "dog" which is the root of *kunikoi* or the Cynics. Antisthenes of Athens (445-360 BCE) was probably the founder of the cynic sect; but it was his disciple, Diogenes of Sinope (c. 400-325 BCE), who in fact coined the term. When asked from what city he was from, Diogenes responded, "I am a *cosmopolites*, a citizen of the world."[30] As a cynic, Diogenes was really rebelling against the notion of belonging to an elitist Greek *polis* or city/state. However, Diogenes' notion of cosmopolitanism was received without the characteristically cynical overtone by his Hellenistic followers.

Crates (365-285 BCE), a disciple of Diogenes, put forth a more proactive definition of cosmopolitanism in one of his tragedies:

> "Not one tower hath my country nor one roof,
> But wide as the whole earth its citadel
> And home prepared for us to dwell therein."[31]

The cynic view of cosmopolitanism seems simple in that it views people as being individual citizens of the world order. Like Diogenes before him, Crates spent his life wandering around in poverty preaching his gospel and converting people to Cynicism. John L. Moles characterized cynic cosmopolitanism in his conclusion:

> "The Cynic proclaims his allegiance to the cosmos. He can live a virtuous live anywhere: the whole earth serves as his home. He maintains a positive attitude toward the natural world and toward the animal world. He is himself godlike. He recognizes his actual kinship with other sages and his potential kinship with human beings in general, whom he sees to convert. He is a mediator between men and gods, and this mediation is an important part of his pedagogic activity."[32]

This summation of cynic cosmopolitanism reveals that the Cynics were more than the literal *cosmopolites*. There was a religious component of the Cynic being "a mediator between men and gods". The notion of human unity was prevalent throughout the early Greek intellectual history; but it was the Cynic who went beyond the borders of the Greek *polis* and viewed the world as his/her metaphysical stomping ground. This sounds a lot like Alexander.

Before Alexander set off to conquer and unite the *oikoumene*, many statesmen and philosophers visited Alexander--all except Diogenes. Alexander sought out Diogenes and found him sunning himself. Alexander asked if the philosopher needed anything, and Diogenes made his famous reply, " stand aside, you're blocking the sun." Alexander was so struck by Diogenes' disdain that with a chuckle he replied, "But verily, if I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes." [33] It is interesting to note that the famed teacher and popularizer of the Classics, Gilbert Highet, wrote an essay based on this very scene:

> "He [Alexander] was what Diogenes called himself, *cosmopolites*, "citizen of the world". Like Diogenes, he admired the heroic figure of Hercules, the mighty conqueror who labors to help mankind while all others toil and sweat for themselves. He knew that of all men alive in the world only Alexander the conqueror and Diogenes the beggar were truly free."[34]

In many respects, Alexander and Diogenes were very much alike, because each man in his own way represents the essence of cosmopolitanism. Alexander becomes a symbol for cosmopolitan society, while Diogenes exemplifies the necessary individualism within such a society.

In addition, Alexander brought a Cynic named Onescritus of Astypalaea along with him.[35] Onescritus was a seaman and is mentioned to nave been with Alexander in India. Onescritus steered Alexander's ship down the Jhelum River and was a lieutenant of Nearchus. Also, Onescritus is known to have written a pseudo-historical account of Alexander's journeys.[36] This book would be similar to Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. In it, Alexander was depicted as a Cynic hero and apostle of Greek culture or *paedeia*. Whether there is a connection or not, this romantic vision of

Alexander seems to hold a bit of truth in the history.

Alexander did not generally view the people he vanquished as mere barbarians, but rather strove to establish a certain amount of respect and equality between conqueror and conquered. In fact, Alexander embraced the customs of the so-called barbarians. He wore longer hair and "effeminate" dress, and acquired some very eastern mannerisms. These internal changes were also of great concern to Alexander's men. Arrian reported that Alexander at a banquet in Opis called the Persians his kinsmen. He also described Alexander's sentiment in the following passage:

> "And Alexander prayed for all sorts of blessings, and especially for harmony and fellowship in the empire between Macedonians and Persians."[37]

Likewise, after Alexander conquered the Indus Valley, he asked his adversary, Porus, how he would like to be treated. Porus answered that he would like to be treated as a king. Alexander agreed and restored his sovereignty in India.[38] However, it should be noted that the acculturation aftermath was not entirely one-sided. The Roman historian, Livy (late 1st century BCE), alluded to the reciprocal relationship that formed on account of Hellenization:

> "The Macedonians who hold Alexandria in Egypt, who hold Seleucia and Babylonia and other colonies scattered throughout the world, have degenerated into Syrians, Parthians, and Egyptians."[39]

Livy was a bit condescending in his analysis, but his words ring true with respect to the evident cultural sharing. Eventually, the difference between Greek and non-Greek becomes a semantic debate. Under the umbrella of Hellenization, cosmopolitanism had become a reality in the Hellenistic world.

This cosmopolitan reality is best exemplified by the foundation of Alexandria in Egypt. Alexander himself founded this Alexandria, along with many others, as he marched towards India. Consequently, Alexandria became a cosmopolitan center--the cultural Mecca of the Mediterranean world. Ptolemy I, who was one of Alexander's generals and heir to the Egyptian throne, moved the capital of Egypt to Alexandria.[40] However, it was his successors who made the city into a center of learning, commerce, and industry. Strabo (1st century BCE), a historian and geographer, remarked on the importance of Alexandria as a trading capital:

> "Among the happy advantages of the city, the greatest is the fact that this is the only place in all of Aegypt which is by nature well situated with reference to both things--both to commerce by sea, on account of the good harbours, and to commerce by land, because the river easily conveys and brings together everything in a place so situated--the greatest emporium in the inhabited world (*oikoumene*)."[41]

Its importance as a commercial center is really no different than that of New York, London, Hong Kong, or Dubai.

At its height, Alexandria had a strong multicultural population that could be divided into being originally Greek or non-Greek. The non-Greek population was by far the majority and was composed of Egyptians, Jews, Syrians, and many other ethnic groups.[42] Even though the Greeks governed the indigenous people, they were really the immigrants in Alexandria and other eastern cities. Throughout the Hellenistic Age and into the Roman Empire, Alexandria remained the cosmopolitan center of the *oikoumene*. This ideological movement away from the *polis* or city-state evolved after Alexander the Great had conquered much of the Mediterranean world. The *polis* was no longer the center of civilized life. As a result, cosmopolitanism took the place of nationalism in the Hellenistic world.[43] This change in sentiment was an outward affirmation of the individualism that became characteristic of the Hellenistic Age--an individualism that evolved from the reign of Alexander the Great to the advent of the Roman Empire. Basically, this cosmopolitan individualism is symbolic of an emerging global consciousness within the multicultural world of the Mediterranean. It was also the most important lesson learned by Alexander.

Conclusion

Interestingly enough, the lessons learned by Alexander have great implications on the development of the globalized world of today. Aristotle obviously had a profound impact on his young protégé. As a result, Alexander implemented fairly sound policies of government throughout the *oikoumene*. Isocrates enhanced Alexander's education through his encouragement and revolutionary notions of *paideia*. Alexander himself became the embodiment and vehicle for understanding and transmitting Cynic cosmopolitanism throughout the Mediterranean world. In his monumental work, *Paideia: the Ideals of Greek Culture*, Werner Jaeger rightly asserts:

> "And it was ultimately in the form of paideia, 'culture' that the Greeks bequeathed the whole achievement of the Hellenic mind to the other nations of antiquity. Augustus envisaged the task of

> the Roman empire in terms of Greek culture. Without Greek cultural ideals, Greco-Roman civilization would not have been a historical unity, and the culture if the western world would never existed."[44]

Alexander's education was defined by these ideals. Hopefully, this brief discussion concerning the educational biography associated with Alexander the Great will reaffirm the importance of ideals such as *paideia* and cosmopolitanism from both Alexander's world to ours.

References

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[2] Peter Green, *Alexander of Macedon 356-323 B.C.: a Historical Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) provides an excellent biography of Alexander III. See also N. G. L. Hammond, *The Genius of Alexander the Great* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).

[3] Moses Hadas, Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Diffusion (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 20-29 gives a succinct view of Alexander, the *oikoumene*, and his successors.

[4] Unless otherwise stated, all passages quoted in this paper are from the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press).

[5] Quintus Curtius Rufus (1st century CE) also composed history of Alexander the Great, but this work is a bit more dramatic and romantic in nature.

[6] Plato, *Republic*, 606E called Homer "the educator of Hellas." Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 159 states that Homer became the educator of Hellas because he celebrated those who fought against the barbarians.

[7] Homer, *Iliad*, 9.442.

[8] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 5.4-5.

[9] Plato, *Republic*, 376E.

[10] H. I. Marrou, *A History of Education in Antiquity*, translated by George Lamb (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1956), 36-45.

[11] Green, *Alexander*, 41.

[12] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 7.3. See also E. A. Fredricksmeyer, "Alexander, Midas, And the Oracle at Gordium", Classical Philology 56 (1961): 162-3.

[13] Green, *Alexander*, 55-6.

[14] Justin, 12.6.17.

[15] Green, *Alexander*, 61.

[16] *The Greek Alexander Romance*, translated by Richard Stoneman (London: Penguin Books, 1991).

[17] This is the famous view outlined by W. W. Tarn, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 19 (1933): 123-66. Ernst Badian, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind," *Historia* 7 (1958): 425-44, argues that Alexander did not really have any ecumenical intentions with respect to his conquests. See also H. C. Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 113-134.

[18] S. M. Stern, *Aristotle on the World State* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1968) provides a complete translation and discussion concerning the authenticity of this epistle.

[19] Aristotle, *Politics*, 7. 6.1.

[20] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 329C-D.

[21] Aristotle, *Politics*, 3.12.

[22] This is obviously a gloss on Isocrates' definition of *paideia* (see Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 50).

[23] Plutarch, *Moralia*, 328E.

[24] Isocrates, *To Alexander*, 4-5.

[25] There is also pseudo-Aristotelian treatise on rhetoric dedicated to Alexander.

[26] Isocrates, *Address to Philip*.

[27] Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 50. See also, Plato, *Antidosis*, 295. For Athens as the school of Hellas, there is also a similar reference in Thucydides, 2.41.1.

[28] Marrou, *A History of Education*, 102-115.

[29] Johannes Mewaldt, "Das Weltbürgetum in der Antike" *Die Antike* 2 (1926): 177-189.

[30] Diogenes Laertius, 6.63.

[31] Diogenes Laertius, 6. 98.

[32] John L. Moles, "Cynic Cosmopolitanism," In *The Cynics: the Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy*, Edited by R. Bracht Branham and Marie-Odile Goulet-Cazé (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 118.

[33] Plutarch, *Alexander*, 14.1-3. See also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 331F, 605D, 782A; Diogenes Laertius, 6.32.

[34] Gilbert Highet, "Diogenes and Alexander: the Dog has His Day," *The Classical Papers of Gilbert Highet*, edited by Robert J. Ball (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

[35] Diogenes Laertius, 6.75-76.

[36] Arrian, Anabasis, 6.3, 7.20.9; Indica, 3.6, 6.8, 32.9.

[37] Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7.11.9.

[38] Arrian, *Anabasis*, 5.19.1-3.

[39] Livy, 38.17.

[40] To insure some stability between conqueror and conquered, Alexander married off his generals, Ptolemy and Seleucus, to the reigning families of Egypt and Syria.

[41] Strabo, 17.1.13.

[42] P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 38-92.

[43] Moses Hadas, "From Nationalism to Cosmopolitanism in the Greco-Roman World," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 4.1 (1943): 105-111.

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Establishment of the *Finlandssvensk* Folk High Schools: Political and Philosophical Underpinnings

Katherine Brown
Loyola University of Chicago

In response to German cultural influence and democratic awakening in Denmark, Bishop N.F.S. Grundtvig began writing in the mid nineteenth century about the prospect of an educational institution organized around the German romantic idea of enlightenment education for the peasantry. These rural folk highschools[1] were to preserve and protect the Danish language and culture from the cosmopolitan tendencies of the cities and their intelligentsia. The schools were loosely structured and adaptable, which aided in their viability as they spread across Scandinavia and Finland. This essay will address the events and ideas which served as precursors and catalysts for the folk highschool movement and subsequently for the development of folk highschools by the Swedish-speaking minority population of Finland (*Finlandssvensk*).

Social and political developments within Finland during the course of the nineteenth century contributed to the increase in Romantic, nationalistic thought among both the Finnish and the Swedish speaking populations. The environment of external philosophical influence coupled with political and social transition led to the founding of the first folk highschools in Finland at the end of the nineteenth century by both the Finnish-speaking majority and the *Finlandssvensk*. Finland was unique in the sense that two separate groups within the country utilized nationalistic folk highschools for cross-purposes; whereas, a contrasting example, Denmark, established the schools to ward off an external threat and unite the nation as one ethnic community.

Grundtvig, the Folk Highschool Movement and German Romanticism

Bishop N.F.S. Grundtvig, the father of the folk highschool, was nothing less than a radical and rebel within Danish culture and the Danish Lutheran Church of his time. He was an amazingly prolific writer throughout his long lifetime, delivering his final sermon the day before his death in 1872 at eighty-nine years of age. His drive throughout was the enlightenment of the Danish people in their true essence and spirit so that the nation could live on in independence, strength and prosperity and rise to the task of being Christian in a deep, meaningful, Danish way.

Grundtvig was born in Udby, about 40 miles from Copenhagen on 8 September 1783. His father was a pietistic minister and his mother a member of a prominent Danish family that had produced teachers, scientists, ministers, and public officials. At nine years of age he went north to Tyregodlund to spend six years in a minister's home to prepare for the Latin School. There he developed a love for the peasantry and their myths and songs of the North (Kenworthy 1944, 4). This interest was to carry through his adult years and find resonance in the writings of the German Romantics. In 1800, at seventeen, he entered the University of Copenhagen and was introduced to such Germans thinkers as Goethe, Schiller, and Fichte. Between 1805 and 1810 he steeped himself in Herder, Schelling, Fichte, and Schlegel (Fain 1971, 76).

Among individual harbingers of German Romanticism, Vico, Shaftesbury, Möser, Klopstock, Lessing, and Moser stand out, but the writer who exercised the most profound influence on the German Romantics was Johann Gottfried Herder, (Reiss 1955, 2) a man Grundtvig referred to as a "poem" (Knudsen 1955). The movement in which he was pivotal was much more than simply excising French and restoring the German language among the elites of Germany. For Herder, the mother tongue was the manifestation of the *Volk*[2] spirit and the medium of man's connection to God. This special spirit of a people was held to be impaired if there was too much contact with foreign influences and foreign languages.

This national spirit was precious for, throughout the history of the world, God had created diverse national groups, and through these groups, God's plan was realized. Diversity should be respected, and therefore each *Volk* needs to be protected and preserved; intermixing of the diverse groups was seen as a very negative consequence of the more "cosmopolitan age." Herder and subsequently Grundtvig held in theory that the spirit of one nation was as valid as the spirit of another – each nation created by God (Fain 1971, 83).

If a nationality forsakes its *Volk* spirit and language, it is considered by the Romantics an unnatural society, having destroyed its "self." The *Volk* must protect the natural divisions of the human race and preserve its language as its most distinctive and sacred possession (Herder XIII, 384-5; XVII, 155; XVIII, 247-8; 59, 70-1,100-101). It was thus the goal of Herder, among others, to overcome the artificiality of his age and bring the people back to life grounded in the mother tongue and love for their fatherland: this was the natural order of the world.

In order for the society to regain its previous natural state, the *Volk* must be developed through education, *Bildung*[3], in a broad sense. Herder believed that people can achieve self-development as long as an initial stimulus comes from outside. Perfection, therefore, was both an individual and a social process and any social and political framework which neglects the development of its members or directs it into the wrong channels was deemed by Herder to have lost its *raison d'être* (Herder XIII, 147; XXX, 517; XXXII, 518; 79).

Education to Herder was not only the preservation of the traditions of the *Volk* but also the means by which a society progressed. The synthesis and reconciliation of the Hegelian dialectic of "new" and "old", tradition and progress, though superceding the two original opposites, absorbed and enriched them (Herder XVI, 571; XXIII, 9; 130). One avenue of transformation which Herder greatly anticipated was that of a move away from hereditary rule to a system of aristo-democracy (Barnard 1965, 75, 82, 87).[4] Herder did not favor full democracy; he believed, as many others, that the centuries of neglect had left the *Volk* educationally and politically unfit for government. "For the time being, all we could wish for was not that the *Volk* should rule, but that it should undergo education (*Bildung*)." (Herder XVII, 96; 81)

Ironically, it was the German Romantic belief in the inherent value and utmost necessity of educating the *Volk* as to their history and identity that led Grundtvig to encourage the Danish people to support the Danish *Folk* spirit as opposed to adopting the German culture and language. Grundtvig was bothered not only by the Danish lack of ethnic self-esteem but the negative light in which many Germans held Danish culture. He stated in 1838, his "whole quarrel with Germany is really concerned with the fact that they are determined either to make me a German or to regard me as a fool…Instead I assert that Denmark is no more the tail of Germany than the Norse spirit is a sprite serving the Imperial German reason." (Grundtvig 1984, 100)

Grundtvig saw the Norse spirit as the "venerable father" of all people of the North – which included the English. His hope was to see the day when through the use of the Danish mother tongue, the heroic Norse spirit would be able to rise and be recognized by the rest of the world. To this end he dedicated great amounts of time to the compilation and interpretation of Norse Mythology. Regardless of the reaction of others, the work was to instill pride in the Danish people and would come to serve as a central component to his ideal nationalistic curriculum.

Preservation of the Danish language was central; it was believed by Grundtvig to be the key to the understanding of God and men. Grundtvig's conception of the "living word" (Grundtvig 1984, 120) is basic to his ideas on religion, history and education. He believed that everything should originate in Danish or be translated into Danish for the students (Grundtvig 1991, 37). Grundtvig proposed that Danish should be utilized in the classroom by bard-like instructors who ground education in the students' current life experiences and communicate via discussion and story-telling rather than through books and lectures.

> "Just as the invisible world becomes alive and strong only in the mother tongue, our living relation to our past and our future depends on our sense of continuity with our ancestors and our descendents … it is necessary for a word of the people (a folk word) in the mother tongue to turn the hearts of the children to their parents and the hearts of the parents to their children." (Grundtvig 1976, 43)

During Grundtvig's three summer trips to England from 1829 to 1831, he had been impressed with the universities of London and Cambridge and the active life of the English people (Mortensen 1983, 123). Being abroad greatly sharpened his sense of Danish ethnicity. He could only admit that Denmark had somehow fallen behind England in a fundamental way, that Denmark had not yet evoked the proper fighting spirit and that the reason for this was that the English, by using their mother tongue, had been able to unleash their unique spiritual essence (Fain 1971, 77).

> "For where the mother tongue in its natural simplicity is ousted from official usage and the cultural circles it is so to speak thrown on the dunghill. For it is there that it gradually loses, together with its refinement and its cultivation, all its higher forms of expression and thereby all it spiritual character and its power to move us; the learned and the cultured circles endeavor to assert a way of thought which is foreign to the people and cannot therefore be given living expression in the language of the people, and the people themselves cannot say what they think and feel."(Grundtvig 1984, 116)

It was a combination of his visits to England while continuing his work on Nordic mythology, together with a Romantic perspective of the rapidly changing political and social scene in Denmark (Borish 1991) that all coalesced for Grundtvig to produce in the 1830s a series of writings and lectures[5] in which the idea of the Danish folk high school was born (Grundtvig 1991). He came to be known as the father of the folk highschool and some go as far as to declare him the "father of Western adult education" (Grundtvig 1991).

At an historic meeting on 4 July 1844 on *Skamlingsbanken* Grundtvig addressed some 12,000 people and, with the background of encroaching Germanism, called for an awareness of what it meant to be a free people with self-determination, a culture and a language of its own; and he challenged people to build a school where the emphasis rested not on academic systems, alien cultures and foreign tongues, but on the mother tongue and the Spirit of the North. A few months later, Rødding Højskole in North Slesvig opened its doors and the folk school movement was on the way (Mortensen 1983, 123).

Interestingly, Grundtvig never established nor ran a folk highschool himself. He was characterized as a scholar who rarely left his desk, which explains that huge amount of writing he produced in his lifetime. He was an advocate for the peasantry and rural population in general but tended to remain in Copenhagen as one of the intelligentsia he so disparaged in his writings.

Warren (1989, 217-8) has culled eight distinct features of the folk highschool as articulated by Grundtvig from 1832 to 1855:

1) subject matter would not be significant in and of itself; the curriculum is up for discussion at the beginning of each course with the teacher acting as a bard who's excitement about the topic and personal experience establishes their facilitator role.
2) dialog should be the tool of instructional communication, that grows out of the students' personal experience and found not only in class but also in out-of-class interaction, discussion meetings, student council meetings, and assemblies.[6]
3) no test, grades, or degrees would be imposed. Competition within the group is seen as disruptive and inappropriate.
4) duration of stay would be limited (a single 3-4 month term).
5) students must live at the school.
6) students and staff would work together in some form of physical enterprise.
7) each term's educational community would be self-governing.
8) the teachers would live at the folk high school with the students.

A note to make of this list is the absence of specific religious instruction within the school. This is key because even though he firmly linked Danishness to Christianity, Grundtvig believed that religious awakening would occur naturally once the students were enlightened as to their ethnic identity and prior to that point should be dealt with within the family and the church (Grundtvig 1991, 70). Grundtvig's Christianity did not subsume history and poetry, but operated on an equal level. The goal of the pursuits of religion, history and poetry was enlightenment of life (Warren 1989, 215). Nevertheless, many folk highschool leaders who followed Grundtvig's ideals, most notably Christen Kold, (Kulich 1991, 451) missed the subtlety with which he regarded this subject and placed Christian awakening at the center of their schools at the expense of enlightenment of the Folk. This split led to two very different types of folk highschools. Kold created what was considered for a long time the dominant model of the Danish folk highschool, a revivalist school focused on Christian awakening rather than civic enlightenment, which admitted students as young as 14. Grundtvig, himself, paid tribute to him on several occasions, but it is unclear whether he knew to what extent Kold was deviating from his ideal curriculum of the folk highschool (Kulich 1997). Despite this difference in interpretation, the seeds sown by Grundtvig in Denmark grew into a system of folk highschools which influenced the country's development at a crucial juncture in its history. By 1870 there were 50 folk highschools in Denmark, by 1880, 64 had been established, and in 1900, 74 folk highschools existed (Kulich 1984, 11). Grundtvig had a huge output – his collected prose works were published in a 10 volume edition, which joined nine volumes of poetry, five volumes of songs, and a huge manuscript collection at the Royal Library in Copenhagen (Fain 1971, 80). Many of his hymns were published and he was granted the title of Bishop in 1861. When he died in 1872, his coffin was accompanied through the streets of Copenhagen by thousands of people singing his hymns. His ideas and their import have been variously compared to Dewey, Marx, Illich and Freire by

Scandinavian authors, even though he is little-known outside that area of the world.[7]

As the folk highschool movement spread to different countries, the centrality of grounding the school in the experiences of the common people and organizing it democratically aided in its adaptability. This was the case as the schools moved into the rest of Scandinavia and Finland. Much like Denmark at the time, Finland was going through a great period of change in the nineteenth century. The social and political shifts elaborated upon below led to the awakening not only of Finnish national identity but of *Finlandssvensk* (Swedish-speaking Finnish minority) identity as well. German Romantic influence became evident in Finland as had been the case in Denmark, with the folk highschool serving as one of its primary conduits.

Finlandssvensk Folk Highschools and Nationalism in Finland

As opposed to Grundtvig's desire to preserve and promote a threatened Folk culture, the *Finlandssvensk* (Swedish-speaking minority in Finland) found themselves firmly in the elitist position, similar to the German-speaking or, at times, part-German Danish elite of Grundtvig's day. The Finnish folk highschools mirror quite closely the Danish institutions, while the *Finlandssvensk* were able to use the same institutions for cross-purposes.

During 550 years of Swedish rule, Finland, by 1700, had grown into a cohesive entity made up of a Finnish-speaking peasant class and Swedish-speaking elite class. At the turn of the nineteenth century, Finland had educational institutions, including a university in Åbo. Swedish, though spoken by the minority, was the language of all government and educational institutions of the time and Finnish books and newspapers were virtually non-existent. But it was at this time that the first cultural about-face for the Finns occurred when Sweden lost the area of Finland to Russia as a result of the Napoleonic Wars. Finland was officially made an Autonomous Grand Duchy of Russia in 1809 under the Treaty of Fredrikshamn (Hamina). This was the beginning of a recognized Finnish state. Czar Alexander I took a lenient tact and in order to win support from the new Grand Duchy, he supported the growing desire among Finnish-speakers to find their own culture and use their own language. He hoped to encourage Finns to break emotional ties with Sweden.

The first influence of Romanticism could be observed in Finland with the development of the Finnish Literature Society in the 1840s and 1850s. This group of university students drew on Herderian and Hegelian philosophy to advocate the creation of a national unity and a national culture based on folk culture and use of the Finnish language. The greatest accomplishment of the society was the publication of Elias Lönnrot's compilation of the Finnish folk epic, *The Kalevala*.[8]

Members of the politicized faction of this Society were known as Fennomen; a group of young academics who held that the Finnish nation ought to be founded on linguistic unity and called for the Swedish-speaking educated class to acknowledge, at least in theory, Finnish as their "real" mother tongue. This line of reasoning culminated in the writings beginning in the 1840s of Johan Wilhelm Snellman, a follower of Hegel. He held that use of Finnish was the natural means of expression of the spiritual unity of the nation and that the existence of two languages in a nation was contrary to the very conception and nature of the nation and thus in itself an absurdity (Snellman 1842; Myhrman 1939, 9). Snellman went on to become the eminent spokesman for Finnish language and history. His followers radicalized the movement further and under the leadership of his former student, Yrjö Koskinen, came to be known as the Young Fennomen.

One of the main responses to the Fennomen was found in their contemporary, Axel Olof Freudenthal, whose Hegelian/Herderian interpretation of Romanticism won over many followers. Freudenthal's patriotic instincts were directed toward the totality of Sweden and Finland, the entity which had existed as a political reality for 600 years before 1809. At the time when he expressed his ideas (ca. 1860), he was among those who regarded Finland's reunion with Sweden as a real and highly desirable possibility. In principle the Finnish-speaking population in Finland was a "foreign nation" to him and he called on all *Finlandssvensk* to support politically, economically, and spiritually their own "nation" within Finland. He stated specifically to the students it was their "duty to work against assimilation by raising the cultural level of this [rural *Finlandssvensk*] population and by making it conscious of the fact, that, though politically united with the Finns, it was nevertheless in nationality a branch of the Scandinavians, between whom and the Finns it was to make a connecting link in the future" (Mörne 1927, 54-5).

The attempt to counter Finnish nationalism with a mobilization of the entire *Finlandssvensk* population, elite and rural, led to the creation of a variety of ethnic-movement organizations. Initially, the *Finlandssvensk* nationalism movement had been focused only on the upper, educated classes. The leaders were in the power position and did not have to reach out to the masses to bolster their support and standing.

The Freudenthalian group, the Scandinavians, was more and more comprised of not the aristocratic and upper class families, but of *Finlandssvensk* university students from the small town bourgeoisie and even some peasantry (Mörne 1927, 225). Like-minded members of the upper classes were not circumvented for long however, as their interest in the university students' publications on the geography, history and ethnography of the Swedish-speaking countryside was peaked. With the support of the aristocracy and well-to-do, the university students were able to publish many albums, calendars and pamphlets on the *Finlandssvensk* culture (*Nationalitet och Bildning* 1887; Magnusson 1893, *Om Folkhögskolan* 1891). In addition, popular lectures were held and public libraries were opened throughout the rural areas.

To understand to import of university student activism in Finland, the political structure of the student nation must be clarified. From 1640 until the beginning of the twentieth century, Finland had only one university, Åbo Akademi, which was moved to the new capital, Helsinki, and renamed the Imperial Alexander University in 1828, after a fire destroyed nearly all of the city of Åbo (Klinge 1989). Because of its singularity the university was the hotbed for all political movements and parties within Finland, whether they were Fennomanist or Freudenthalian. The student nation at the University of Helsinki was extremely powerful and the alliances established there continued into the formal political life of the country. University students from each province had their own group, from which representatives were elected to serve in the central Student Nation. The groups were segregated according to language and generally dominated by one of the political sentiments of the time (Klinge 1978). The *Finlandssvensk* provincial nations fostered folk education and a nationalistic agenda rooted in the concepts of mother tongue and fatherland. The students volunteered their time to provide classes and lectures on *Finlandssvensk* heritage and history, folk music, dance, and crafts, as well as raised money for public libraries, and eventually folk highschools, in their home provinces.

The first mention of Finnish folk highschools was made by Yrjö Koskinen in the *Aftonbladet* article entitled "Om Bondehögskolor" (On Rural Highschools), but it was in 1868 in the newspaper *Folkvännen* that Wilhelm Grefberg wrote a more detailed five-article series on the possibility of folk highschools in Finland (Selén 1989, 9). During the 1870s and 1880s writings appeared periodically in Finnish newspapers and periodicals debating the merits of the schools after the opening of the first folk highschool in Sweden in 1868 (*Helsingfors Dagbladet*, 19 October 1888; *Helsinigfors Dagbladet*, 26 October 1888; *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 31 August 1889). The first Finnish folk highschool was established in the Grundtvigian tradition at Kangasola by Sofia Hagman in 1889.[9]

In reaction to the Finnish rural population becoming politicized through folk education and to increasingly oppressive measures from Russia, the *Finlandssvensk* intensified their efforts to uphold the Swedish language and culture. Though politically and economically powerful, the *Finlandssvensk* urban intelligentsia realized that even more must be done within the rural population to solidify their political base and preserve the integrity of their ethnic / linguistic group.

The *Finlandssvensk* university students from the province of Nyland held lotteries, secured funds, and served as the initial leadership for one of the first *Finlandssvensk* folk highschools, Finns Folk Highschool (initially called Mellersta Nylands Folk Highschool), established in 1891 (Fellman 1985, 11-13). One day after Finns' establishment, Kronoby Folk Highschool was opened as a result of the work of university students from the province of Vasa, the "Young Vikings," and the local Östrobothnian Youth Movement.[10]

The first *Finlandssvensk* folk highschool, Borgå, was established in 1889 by J.E. Strömborg. He had been dedicated for years to the formation of Swedish-speaking folk schools for children and other projects such as public libraries. He assembled eleven men from the town who had worked with him on other projects and formed the Board of Directors of the school; these individuals also provided the initial funding (Selén 1989,11-14).

The aim of the folk highschools was to advance *Finlandssvensk* culture and civic education in rural areas and to create a desire in the students to be Swedish in mind and language. They sought to prevent language shift to Finnish, increase ethnic awareness among the rural population, and provide a base for political participation and activism. The schools achieved this through courses on *Finlandssvensk* culture and history, Swedish language and literature, and participatory political systems. Just as important, if not more so, were the out-of-class experiences, such as discussion meetings on political and social issues, student council meetings, folk choirs and dance groups. Robert Rostedt, the first headmaster of Finns Folk Highschool, outlined goals for Finnish folk highschools in a speech at a folk benefit for Finns in 1891. He stated that young people at the schools should first learn their mother tongue, so that it, in thought and feeling, is natural and through which a connection develops among them. This connection then forms the essence of the community. On the same note, they learn to speak and write clearly about what they think and know, as well as become familiar with the wisdom available to them through their folk heritage (Rostedt 1891). The initial mission statements for Kronoby and Borgå Folk Highschools in part state that the purpose of those schools was to promote a higher peasant education and work toward, through appropriate instruction, refinement of feelings and reason as well as retain useful, practical knowledge and skill (*Program för Folkhögskolan i Kronoby* 1892, *Program för Folkhögskolan i Borgå* 1894).

In many respects the early *Finlandssvensk* folk highschools appear similar to the Danish and Finnish schools of their day, but it would be wrong to equate them in every aspect. Most importantly, the *Finlandssvensk* were not attempting to establish the respectability of their culture and language; in fact, their superiority was seldom questioned among the intelligentsia. Though threatened by certain political elements within the country and without, they were acting from a position of power and prestige, unlike their Finnish-speaking cousins and Danish neighbors. Had it not been for the growth of the Finnish nationalistic movement, there is doubt as to whether the *Finlandssvensk* would have been compelled by Romantic ideals alone to reach out to their rural population.

How the *Finlandssvensk* folk highschools evolved through the turn of the century and after Finnish independence may very well shed further light on their distinguishing characteristics which set them apart from the Finnish schools. An in-depth study of the *Finlandssvensk* folk highschools after the establishment of a Finnish state, based on the knowledge gleaned from this examination of their historical development, could lead to important insights on the viability of ethnic, nationalistic adult education over time.

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Endnotes

[1] Throughout this essay *folkhögskola* will be translated as folk highschool in order to distinguish its meaning from the "high school" for adolescents. Some authors utilize the translation "folk college" but this is misleading in that the schools are not colleges in the American sense.

[2] In the macrocosmic sense: "A *Volk* is a natural division of the human race, a community *sui generis*, endowed with its own language by means of which it became aware not only of its own existence but also of that which differentiated it from the rest of humanity. It is the most natural and organic basis for political association. A *Volk*'s language was not something detachable, for Herder saw it as the embodiment of a *Volk*'s inner being, its inner *Kraft*, without which it ceased to exist." (Barnard 1965, 57, 118, 142)
In the microcosmic sense: "The *Volk* are associated with the *Bürger*, whose occupations figure predominately in folksong: the farmer, fisherman, craftsman and artisan, small trader; all those who Herder feels are least affected by the influence of

"civilization" and, accordingly, embody most truly the original *Volk* characteristics of the nation: spontaneity, 'earthiness,' and *Naturverbundenheit*, a kind of naturalness and simplicity found in children." (Ibid., 74)

[3] *Bildung*, a main function of the State, has no real equivalent in English. In the sense Herder uses it, it is best rendered as *conscious* human development. It is a process of education in the widest sense in which the individual becomes aware of his relationship to his environment and of what he can receive from, or add to, the cultural heritage that is transmitted to him. (Barnard 1965, 78, 131)

[4] The aristo-democracy was to be made up of scholars and professional educators who were "of the people" but not "from the people," who would willingly relinquish power when they were no longer necessary. At that point, Herder foresaw a situation of *Humanität*, a world of "organic" nation-states, in which political government was replaced by centrally un-coordinated autonomous *ad hoc* institutions.

[5] Grundtvig's main essays on his educational ideas were the "Danish Four Leaf Clover" (1836), the "School for Life and the Academy at Soro" (1838) – especially Part One, "The School for Life", and the "Introduction to *Nordic Mythology*" (1832), which contains a chapter on Universal Historical Learning which may be described as Grundtvig's manifesto on culture and education. His series of 51 lectures at Copenhagen University in 1838, "Within Living Memory," each drew from 300 to 600 people, and spoke to his view of current history as well as education. These were not published until after his death.

[6] A traditional folk highschool assembly is the *morgensamling*, a morning gathering at which students and faculty sing songs from the folk highschool songbook (many by Grundtvig), hear a brief motivational presentation (usually by a student), and discuss the day's schedule and cooperative tasks.

[7] Grundtvig's ideas have been compared to those of Dewey in both Opstein's and Pitkin's chapters in *Grundtvig's Ideas in North America* (1983). He is also compared to Marx, Illich and Freire in various chapters of *Grundtvig och Folkupplysningen* (Grundtvig and Folk Enlightenment) (1978).

[8] *The Kalevala* (1835) helped establish standardized, modern Finnish. Lönnrot traveled the countryside as a rural physician and collected folk stories, from which he constructed a new and ordered mythology to record the ancient history of the Finns. *The Kalevala* was pivotal because it established the Finnish people along with the Finnish language as something that had a long, glorious past: a past which could be used to bolster support for an independent state. *The Kalevala* empowered the Finns by allowing them to read about their own heroes in their native tongue. (DuBois 1995; Collinder 1964)

[9] All folk highschools in Finland, both Finnish and Swedish-language, were of the Grundtvigian type until 1907, when the first revivalist Christian folk highschool was established. These were slow to spread in Finland; only two were founded in the following ten years. (Larson 1970, 140)

[10] The Youth Organizations were made up of the young people within a province or smaller area who were younger than university age or not necessarily attending the University (although some leadership within the Student Nations and Youth Organizations overlapped.) The first *Finlandssvensk* organizations were established in 1888, one in Östrobothnia and the other in Åboland. The numbers grew provincially until a national organization was formed, the *Finlands Svenska Ungdomsförbund* (Finland Swede Youth Organization.) The societies sponsored lectures, discussions, amateur theater, concerts, choirs, folk dancing, and sporting events, as well as supported local historical and ethnographic studies, local museums, and folk highschools. (*Ungdomsrörelsen i Svenska Nyland 1889-1914* 1915, *Ungdomsrörelsen i Svenska Österbotten: 75 År* 1963, and *Finlands Svenska Ungdomsförbund Historik och Statistik* 1912)

Historical Portraiture: The Artistic and Spiritual Legacies of Kathe Kollwitz and Evelyn Underhill

Rita E. Guare
Fordham University

I am the woman dancing the world alive:
Can you not see the roundness of me:
Curve of the earth
Maternal arms of the sea
Encircling you wetly as you swim?
I am the birthing woman
Kneeling by the river
Heaving, pushing forth a sacred body
Not mud, not stone: flesh and blood
I am a God of a thousand names:
Why cannot one of them be
Woman Singing?
– Catherine De Vinck

Historically, women have probed the fabric of their lives searching for spiritual meaning. With persistence, compassion, and the intuitive sense that the search itself is worthwhile, many women have traveled the routes to interior landscapes, the unseen borderland of their souls. Often such journeys begin deep in the drama of ordinary life, the familiar terrain of women's lives. There, amidst the cultural, social, and political forces distinctive of each historical period, women have witnessed with extraordinary power and beauty to the music of Wisdom sounding through the ages.

The poet Catherine De Vinck celebrates this Wisdom in "The Womanly Song of God." With feminine imagery, she describes this wisdom "dancing the world alive", a fluid and embracing reality that seeks expression in birthing women "heaving, pushing forth" sacred lives of flesh and blood. Through the generous acts of their love and their work, women have enlarged our sense of the spiritual as that underground source of all cultures and as a generative force in history. All too often, however, this steady stream of Wisdom is shadowed and silenced. To uncover the hidden life, the sacred recesses beneath the surface of things, and to catch a glimpse of the paradoxes and the promises that dwell in the depths of Mystery, we need to explore the full adventure of women's lives. This paper is an historical portraiture of two women's full engagement with the mystery of life.

First, let me suggest the critical lens through which my eyes tried to capture the historical portraits of Kathe Kollwitz and Evelyn Underhill. In The Great School Legend: A Revisionist Interpretation of American Public Education , Colin Green described historiography from "E.P. Cubberly to Lawrence Cremin, from 1900-1965" as "filiopietist, parochial and narrowly institutional" (Greer 1972, 38). He challenged the history of education to uncover the conservatism of schooling hidden in the promises of the American dream. In dismantling the myths of the one best system, Greer called for a revisionist telling of the history of education. Such an historical account would be faithful in describing the actual practices of schooling and not the rhetoric of its advocates. Greer called for a more inclusive telling of the history of education, one that heard the voices and recognized the visions of all those that the school failed to honor. Building on Greer's argument, and challenging the "narrowly institutional" focus of the history of education, I want to honor the voices and visions of two women, Kathe Kollwitz and Evelyn Underhill, who worked outside the boundaries of traditional schooling but who contributed in deeds to the full enterprise of education.

In developing the unique angles of these portraits, I am mindful of Bernard Bailyn's analysis that women's history has not been drawn into the general history as a full partner (Bailyn 1994). Rather, it still remains parochial and polemic emerging as an argument and not as a natural part of the wider story. According to Gerder Lerner, however, women have always been in the majority and need their own history (Lerner, 1975). What can historians do then to change history as it is written? First, historians must overcome the traditional neglect of male historians in documenting women's history and appreciate women as cultural and spiritual forces acting throughout history.

According to Lerner, the freedom to chronicle women's history depends on breaking the traditional links to women as only child-bearing and child-rearing. In order to write history anew, we need to recognize that women's culturally determined roles and psychologically patterned responses seem to be what makes women's historical experiences different from that of men (Lerner 1978).

Today, historians are developing a more heightened awareness of gender differences (Anderson and Zinsser 1988; Lerner 1975, 1986). They acknowledge that the interpreted record of the past is only a partial record. Omissions and distortions in telling the story from the male perspective, as the one best viewpoint, have rendered the record incomplete. Those committed to a more generous telling of the story with multiple meanings and perspectives, and those dedicated to a broader vision of what constitutes the history of education are giving rise to a new consciousness. This new consciousness celebrates women's place in educating communities in schools and beyond the borders of traditional schooling.

When I was preparing the canvas and deciding upon the background colors for the portraits, the work of Bonnie Anderson and Judith Zinsser informed my vision. In the introduction to A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present, Anderson and Zinsser describe a method of organization that looks at "place" and "function" in order to write a history that includes women and their interests by definition (Anderson and Zinsser 1988, XV). Like Lerner, these authors question the forcing of women's lives into male categories and experiences which usually result in their disappearance from history altogether. To redeem the invisibility of Kollwitz and Underhill from the historical record and "to counter the subtly denigrating myth that women either 'have no history' or have achieved little worthy of inclusion in the historical record", I attempt to make visible through portraiture the artistic and spiritual lives of these two women (Anderson and Zinsser 1988, XI).

At one of the darkest times in history, Kollwitz and Underhill educated human communities in the root sense of "leading out" those artistic and spiritual impulses in the human soul. To tell their stories is to place their visions and their voices at the center of the canvas and make sense of their experiences. It is telling the stories as "if it were seen through the eyes of women and ordered by values they define" (Lerner 1979, 168). It is reconceptualizing history (Greer 1972).

Portraiture is a powerful way to witness to Kathe Kollwitz and Evelyn Underhill, birthing women heaving, pushing forth life, laboring at the borderland of their souls. In selecting portraiture as the process of inquiry for this historical project, Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot and Jessica Davis became my mentors informing my perspective and guiding my hand (1997). When I was first drawn into the lives of Kathe Kollwitz and Evelyn Underhill, I knew that portraiture was a way to illuminate their lives and "capture the richness, complexity, and dimensionality of their human experience in social and cultural contexts (1997, 3). I was eager to combine in my research efforts "systematic, empirical descriptions with aesthetic expression, blending art and science, humanistic sensibilities and scientific rigor " (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis 1997, 3).

In order to begin this work, I had to see myself as a portraitist who would be dialoguing with her subjects as they negotiated the boundaries of their worlds. I had to understand that I would be participating with each woman in drawing the image of her life. And, finally, with great surprise, I had to discover that the portraits were not simply mirror images of Kathe Kollwitz and Evelyn Underhill. Rather, I came to appreciate that I was involved in and with a process of rendering visible some essence unique to each woman.

Kathe Kollwitz (1867-1945), the German painter, sculptor and printmaker, dared to tell the truth about her life. That truth unconcealed through the legacy of her art has created clearings and open spaces for the wounds of war to be seen an, in some cases, healed. Tears and grief are no strangers to those who are familiar with her work and find in her art burning outrage and penetrating forgiveness. An outspoken critic of violence and war, Kollwitz so threatened the Third Reich that much of her work was burned. Yet, enough of Kollwitz's work remains to offer us one woman's courageous vision of protest, a prophet's resistance, against the dominant imperial culture of her world.

A dominant culture is one that refuses to see the pain and to hear the cries of the dispossessed and uses religion as an opiate so that no one discerns the misery alive in the heart of the Creator (Brueggimann 1978). To form a new consciousness, the social political imagination of the prophet must be at work cutting through the numbness and self-deception of people immersed in privileged and oppressive structures. Embodied in Kathe Kollwitz's art is the radical work of a prophet dismantling the dominant culture of pre-war Germany. To accomplish this work of unsettling a world that feeds on the suffering of others, Kollwitz offered symbols of poverty, conspiracy and death that spoke to the horror that was evoking numbness and denial. Kollwitz sketched poor working women, showed women as revolutionaries in her series on the Peasant's War, and used forceful images of mothers and children to embody her pacifist spirit. "Black Anna" in the fifth drawing of her series on the Peasant's War is the embodiment of outrage (Kollwitz 1969, 19). One can imagine that Anna holds in her strong clenched fists the untold story of women during the war.

In her work, Kollwitz reactivates symbols for redemptive honesty. This, too, is the work of the prophet. Her charcoal representation of "The Visitation" comes to mind as a profoundly simple yet powerful encounter of two women daring to break the silence of mystery in a culture that would never understand a woman's protective custody of seed, of life in its greatest possibility (Kollwitz 1969, 51). More typically, however, Kollwitz offers children as symbols hungering for a world without war. "Seed Corn Must Not Be Ground" is the haunting image of one mother's painful effort to shelter the children from the horrifying shells of mortar (Kollwitz 1969, 64).

Dismantling a dominant culture involves bringing to public expression those very fears and terrors that have been denied so long that we have forgotten they are there. Kollwitz's drawings of war-torn lives graphically open us to the needless violence of "man's" inhumanity. The most moving indictment against war is the statue of the "Grieving Parents" at the German military cemetery in Vladslo (Kollwitz 1992, 182). Through these images, we participate in the passion of God, the divine pathos, and through it, we meet the mourning of God poured out in human faces and huddled figures.

Kollwitz is concrete about the real deathliness that hovered over her life and her world. As an artist and prophet, she invites us to experience what was all around her- poverty, violence, and death. A thread of suffering and anguish runs through all his work. Perhaps, however, the most poignant of her prints is "Woman Welcoming Death" (Kollwitz 1969, 67). What we see here is an utterly tender and gentle reminder of that experience which touches all our lives. It is a prophet's picture, one inviting us, as all her work so powerfully does, to relationship. Yes, even our relationship with death. It is this uncanny quality of intimate and profound relationships that makes her art so compelling. As I dialogued with Kathe Kollwitz through this portraiture and participated with her in creating an image, I am aware that it was her own deeply-lined face, her self-portrait that drew me into her life (Kollwitz 1969, 40). It was as though her charcoal pencil found and uncovered a bond of communion with me. For this alone, I the portraitist, am in her debt.

Across the continent, working in a quieter but no less prophetic way was a contemporary of Kathe Kollwitz. Evelyn Underhill (1875-1941) was born in England and knew from a very early age that she wanted to be an author. In 1902, The Grey World was published. We find in this novel not only autobiographical hints but the theme that would possess her life, the quest for the Infinite. Willie, the main character of the novel, is a reincarnated English boy who struggles to live between two worlds, at the same time, that he searches for what is real. That search for authenticity resonates truth only when he discovers beauty. "It is after all the visual side of goodness" (Underhill 1902, 332). The connection between beauty and transcendence is made all the more clear to him when the woman he meets in the woods tells him: "You must love everything, don't you see, because every thing in the whole world is being offered to you as a symbol of an adorable idea that is beyond" (Underhill 1902, 336).

What Willie discovered in The Grey World , Evelyn would learn throughout her entire life, namely that, everything in the world is lovable and holy. In essence, everything is a sacrament of the infinite and the entire landscape of life brims with that deeper Reality.

Evelyn Underhill spent her life living in that "landscape so rich and great that no one person can explore, apprehend, still less live in all of it" (Underhill 1927, 195). Evelyn's access to that world came through the poets who she believed, see right to the marrow of the bone and through the mystics who see beyond the shadows of our lives to a more loving Reality. Like the poets and the mystics, her vocation in life was to make visible our deep connection to the sacred. Such work involved her in mediating "a range of reality and bearty to which the common eye is blind" and in offering us "an inkling of… other reaches of reality and beauty" (Underhill, 1925, 224).

While her early work was informed by the great mysics who always searched beyond this world for their true homeland, Evelyn's later work was penetrated by the awareness that in the ordinary affairs of one's life the ways of the spirit can be learned. Listen as she speaks about her own experience:

The first thing I found out was exalted and indescribable beauty in the most squalid places. I still remember walking down Notting Hill main road and observing the (extremely sordid) landscape with joy and astonishment. Even, the movement of the traffic had something universal and sublime in it. Of course, that does not last! But the after flavour of it does and now and then one catches it again (Underhill).

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Preparing to Serve: Educational Development at the National Training School, 1920-1950

Traki Taylor
University of Michigan at Flint

The National Training School for Women and Girls, Incorporated was founded in Washington, DC in 1909. Its founder, Dr. Nannie Helen Burroughs[1], is most known for her oratorical skills and her sixty-one years of work with the National Baptist Convention. However, her most profound contribution to American history was her dedication and contributions to the education of African American women and girls.

This paper seeks to examine how the women and girls at the National Training School were educated. In doing so, the school's curriculum as well as student and teacher expectations will be discussed. A history of the National Training School (often referred to as "God's School on the Hill") naturally focuses on Burroughs. After all, she founded the school and served as president for fifty-two years. Yet, there were other important lives on the hill that have been virtually omitted in studies of the school. These individuals shared Burroughs' strong belief in God, worked hard, raised money for the school and helped the school to earn and maintain a good reputation. Even with a phenomenal leader such as Burroughs, the institution did not grow to be successful without good teachers and students. Although little is known about Burroughs, considerably less is known about the lives of the teachers and students. However, there is enough information to develop a sketch of what the lives of the teachers and students were like as they taught and matriculated at the school on the hill.

On October 19, 1909, Dr. Nannie Helen Burroughs opened the National Training School for Women and Girls, Incorporated in Washington, DC. The school opened with Nannie Helen Burroughs as President, five assistants and eight students. In order to attend the school, young ladies had to be at least fifteen years old and have completed the sixth grade. Its object was to "establish and maintain institutions of learning for women and girls, in which special attention is to be given to formation of industrial habits and Christian character" (Burroughs Papers, Box 310). Burroughs decided on a trade school "Because specialized training meets the definite requirements in the world of today. It gives the graduate special advantage over those who have only a general education. It is less difficult for her to secure employment and make advancement in her field. It develops job security" (Burroughs Papers, Box 310). The school would open the first Wednesday in October and close the first Friday in June.

It was important to Burroughs that African American girls were cared for and properly trained. She did not believe that they should be left unattended. Yet, she did understand that some mothers had to work all day and had no other option but to leave their daughters at home. Still, Burroughs pleaded with parents not to leave their girls alone while working. She felt that "Our race will be morally bankrupt if parents do not put first things first in the care and protection of their daughters" (Burroughs Papers, Box 310). She went on to remark that parents should send their daughters to "the best Christian boarding schools" for their protection and the training that they needed for productive futures.

It was Burroughs' belief that the majority of African American women made their living in the area of service. It was her opinion that the specific need was in the area of domestics for well-trained "servants." The young ladies in her domestic science program received practical experience along with book knowledge. They served in some of the most affluent white homes in the Washington area. She wanted "to professionalize domestic science and to redefine the work identities of Black women as skilled workers rather than incompetent menials" (Higginbotham 1993, 204). In her words, "Since we must serve, let us serve well, and retain the places we have long held in the best homes in the land" (Burroughs Papers, Box 303).

The women who entered the domestic science program learned far more than just how to clean a home and provide other needed services for their employers. In a general sense, Burroughs training African American women in domestics and other industrial areas was keeping in line with current trends. However, the difference was that Burroughs also stressed educating the head along with the hand. The women graduating from her school were highly trained and qualified to take any job in their field. A woman in the domestic science program was also introduced to higher level math, history, a foreign language, and many other subjects that may not have been considered "needed" for domestics.

Burroughs taught the young women who attended her school skills that would enable them to earn a living. One of the reasons some men (specifically those in religious circles) gave for not supporting the school was that the young ladies were being trained to be "breadwinners" (Easter 1992, 121). Traditionally, and not just in the African American community, this is the man's role. Another criticism of the domestic training program was that Dr. Burroughs was training the young ladies to be servants. It was stated in an editorial that "Nannie Burroughs does not prepare girls for servants, but for service. . . Nannie Burroughs secures a discipline and a morale which our public schools cannot begin to imitate or rival" (Burroughs Papers, Box 318). The women and girls who attended this school were trained to do the 'essential' things in life.

While many criticized Burroughs saying that she only trained girls to be servants, a closer look at the school reflects something totally different. Burroughs and her teachers trained their pupils to be self sufficient and productive members of their communities. The students were trained to effectively work in the school, in the home, in the church, in business, and in their communities among other places. Although Burroughs was considered the female Booker T. Washington, she blended industrial education with classical training to develop well-educated and well-rounded students. Even the young ladies who were in the trades (plain sewing, dressmaking and tailoring, millinery, printing, beauty culture, gardening and laundering) had to successfully pass the classical component of the curriculum. In Burroughs words, "We are looking for girls of the finest character. This is a select school. There is such a great need for young women of talent and leadership ability, who really want to let their lights shine in this 'confused' world, that we have highly resolved to find and train leaders" (Burroughs Papers, Box 310).

The school's academic program expanded gradually to offer junior high courses initially, then by 1929, junior college courses mixed with those for trades and professions. At the junior college level, such courses as leadership of girls' activities, Philosophy I, the History of Education, Expression II, English, English grammar, and English composition were offered (Burroughs Papers, Box 310). There were extra curricula activities at the school such as basketball and interest clubs. Such activities and clubs were formed to develop leadership skills. It was Burroughs' opinion that she developed the school curriculum in conjunction with the needs of her people. As Burroughs stated in one of her informational circulars, "We keep in close touch with the masses, study their condition and needs, and shape our curriculum to meet the actual needs of the race" (Burroughs Papers, Box 310).

Burroughs' teachers were college graduates who were upstanding, hard working, Christian citizens. She sought only the best for her school. "Teachers were selected on the basis of Christian character- professional fitness- definite interest in the growth and development of the students, fineness of spirit and excellence in good social behavior" (Burroughs Papers, Box 310). The teachers seemed to agree with Burroughs' tactics and did their job in upholding school rules and keeping the students in line. Their mission was to develop fine Christian women and send them out into the world to be of service in their communities. Burroughs wanted her teachers to have the same zeal for the development of character and zest for the training of Christian workers that she possessed. As she once told her teachers, "I have put much into this CAUSE and I haven't put it in for Nannie H. Burroughs, but for my Lord and Savior who wants womanhood glorified and as Christian women, I want you to catch the spirit of this thing. Put your heart in it. Understand everything about it" (Burroughs Papers, Box 46).

Carter G. Woodson was a friend to Burroughs and supported her efforts both in word and deed. He felt that morality was taught at the National Training School. Both Woodson and Burroughs had their own ideas of what it was to be "morally estute." For Burroughs, morality was based both on her own personal principals of and ideas about morality and on her Christian beliefs and assumptions. It seems that many students weren't necessarily immoral, but lacked qualities which may have been considered highly immoral by Burroughs' or Woodson's standards. To them, anyone who was a smoker, drinker, user of foul language, or exhibited any type of deviant behavior was immoral. This went for students and teachers alike.

It was important that Burroughs teachers were also of the highest moral standing because many working parents sent their daughters to the National Training School for refined training, growth and protection. Some of the parents worked all day and had no one to look after their daughters and a boarding school met their needs.

> These students come from the homes of the hard-working people- from that of the widow or widower with a daughter requiring protection while the breadwinner is away at work, from that of the parent who is seriously concerned about the development of character in the child, from that of the religious person who wants to see his child taught the principles of Christianity by the examples of the teachers who do not spend their leisure smoking, drinking, petting, or playing poker (Burroughs Papers, Box

318).

Burroughs aimed to promote an "atmosphere conducive to the development of real Christian Womanhood." Interwoven in the standards Burroughs held for students and teachers were the moral and ethical standards, which she forced them to conform to. She dealt, directly and indirectly, with issues of respectability. She told them, both teachers and students, how they should present themselves. Burroughs was very serious about image and ethics. African American women in general, and African American religious women specifically held themselves up to very high standards. For them, it was important to be a lady at all times and not to carry ones self in any way that would allow others to think otherwise. African American teachers, churchwomen and clubwomen epitomized this true womanhood.

African American women had a great deal to stand up against when it came to issues of feminine nature and womanhood. Many (specifically whites) refused to look at them or any one in their race as human so it would be almost impossible for people holding such views to see African American females as women. ". . . black women were not perceived as women in the same sense as women in the larger (i.e., white) society. The emphasis upon women's purity, submissiveness and natural fragility was the antithesis of the reality of most black women's lives during slavery and for many years thereafter" (Perkins 1983, 18). This is all the more reason to stress finer womanhood. Not just at Burroughs school, but in the African American community and beyond. Black women were able to develop their own standards of womanhood and hold each other to them. Burroughs instilled this in her students.

A large part of Burroughs' curriculum revolved around religious education. Two examples of this in the curriculum are Bible-Missionary Education and advanced religious education. "Any young woman with a good English education, sound health and strength enough for the labor and strain of her calling, can take up this work....Each applicant will be expected to be recommended by her pastor, or some other reliable Christian worker or organization known to the faculty" (Burroughs Papers, Box 310).

In the Bible section, the women would learn the first five books of the Old Testament and the first four books of the New Testament. In Missionary education, they would learn the importance of missions in the Christian faith. They would also need to be well versed in Latin and English. The Missionary Training Department was only open to women over eighteen who felt God had called them to "engage in special Christian work." Some of their other mandatory courses were Old Testament interpretation, Biblical Theology, Methods of Bible Study, Exegesis of the Epistles, and Christian Evidence (Burroughs Papers, Box 310).

In the Missionary Training and Social Science Department, there were three years of training for church, city, home and foreign missions. This program prepared the participants for positions as pastor's assistants and as settlement workers. Those in missionary training had to take elementary nursing to prepare them for emergency cases and to enable them to be helpful to the poor. Applicants for this program, as with others had to be recommended by their pastor or "some other reliable Christian worker or organization known to the faculty" (Burroughs Papers, Box 310).

As well as receiving domestic and missionary training, the students were also receiving a liberal arts education.[2] Burroughs stressed Black history, culture, and Black pride. Her school had a department of Black history and required every student to take a Black history course and to pass both oral and written exams on the subject (McCluskey 1989, 9). In many instances, Burroughs' ideas sound very much like the thoughts of her colleague, Carter G. Woodson. Woodson criticized institutions for not teaching African American history. Burroughs did what Woodson felt African American institutions should be doing. As Woodson states, "In our schools, and especially in schools of religion, attention should be given to the study of the Negro as he developed during the ante-bellum period by showing to what extent that remote culture was determined by ideas which the Negro brought with him from Africa (Woodson 1990, 147).

Nannie Burroughs was a lifetime member of the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH), now called the Association for the Study of African American Life and History. This dimension of her curriculum was consistent with the work and ideas of ASNLH. In Burroughs' opinion, it was important for the attendees to know and be proficient in their own history. Knowledge of self was critical. The students came to look forward to the oral exams. They used this as a time to show everyone what they had learned about their own history and culture. Racial pride was evident at the National Trade and Professional School for Women and Girls, Incorporated.

Burroughs was named the "Female Booker T. Washington," however, she believed in the educational philosophies of both Washington and DuBois. Her curriculum reflected that philosophy. In looking at the curriculum, it seems that Burroughs was preparing the young women for much more than domestic work and missionary services. Her belief was that trades could not be taught without an academic background. Burroughs stated, "This is a trade school, but we can't teach a trade without giving an academic background. . . therefore, for that purpose only, do we offer the literary subjects that we have in order to round out the necessary qualifications for useful citizenship" (Burroughs Papers, Box 310). The curriculum included classes such as English, Latin, psychology, and French, as well as U.S. history, science, typing, bookkeeping, business arithmetic, shorthand, sociology and world history, geography, and sewing (Burroughs Papers, Box 311). As stated by Mattie Robinson, once the head mistress at the current school, "Burroughs believed that academics and spirituality went hand in hand" (Washington Post 1992, B-1). The students at the National Training School were taught to love knowledge, themselves and their race, and above all, God.

At the high school level, several subjects were required per year. A total of thirty-four units were required. The first year the students took English, speech, spelling, penmanship, and read a classic novel. The second year there was speech, composition and Rhetoric, spelling, and penmanship. Classes taken in the third year were composition and rhetoric, American literature, spelling, and penmanship. The fourth year's course load consisted of speech, English literature, spelling, and penmanship. In the third and fourth year classics classes, the students reviewed American and English literature as well as modern prose and poetry (Burroughs Papers, Box 310). High school students also took word analysis and algebra along with other higher level math and sciences. At the junior college level African-American history and Finer Womanhood were taught. In the Finer Womanhood class, topics such as homemaking , courtship, and marriage were discussed (Burroughs Papers, Box 311).

There was also a foreign language component to the curriculum. Four years of both Latin and French were offered. These subjects were taken as part of the general or academic, commercial, home economic, and trade course requirements. Three units of foreign language were required, but a student would be allowed to take up to six. Both the Latin and French teachers had A.B. degrees. One had also gone to graduate school. These teachers were certainly skilled enough to have their positions. Each of them had studied two to three languages other than English. Another one of the languages studied by them (including French and Latin) was Greek (Burroughs Papers, Box 311).

The school held an institute for personal development for the students. Different teachers conducted the workshops, speaking on topics that they found important. The workshops were: "The Nature and Meaning of Culture; Courtesies of Everyday Life; Poised Personality--What is it? How to develop it; Poise and Graciousness at the Table; The Art of Studying; Friends- How to Make and Keep Them; A Living Religion; The Art of Gracious Grooming; Standard to Live By; and Boy and Girl Relations" (Burroughs Papers, Box 311). The workshops were to help the students with their everyday living, both as students and after graduation.

To successfully complete each course, students had to pass written exams. In some cases, exams were oral. Oral reports started as early as the seventh grade and continued on through junior college. In most cases, written exams were in essay format. Teachers did not administer "fill in the blank" and multiple choice exams. Students had to prove their understanding of the material covered, and in some instances, be able to defend their positions.

The intense training received at the school worked to the benefit of the students. They graduated and went on to be successful in many different arenas. In his travel, Woodson came across ladies trained at Burroughs school and found them well fit for their jobs. He came in contact with a waitress in a diner, a secretary with a handicap who worked in one of the largest African American owned businesses, and a woman who ran a large "up to date" print shop "very efficiently." Burroughs tried to find jobs for students who earned diplomas. It was her desire that they hold jobs suitable for their training.

Graduates were asked to fill out a "Former Student Questionnaire." This questionnaire requested current mailing information, occupation, a request to join the alumnae association, and recommendations for officers for the Association, students who the graduate kept in touch with, as well as a request for the graduate to recommend a new student to the school. The Questionnaires reflect that graduates of the National Training School for Women and Girls, Incorporated had various occupations. Some of the occupations were: stenographer, departmental secretary, domestic, general missionary, homemaker, Nurse's Assistant, teachers (both of religious and secular subjects/schools), waitress, finisher in a dress shop, and cottage mother for an orphanage for African Americans (Burroughs Papers, Box 311).

Most African American women did not have the luxury of deciding whether or not they would work. Yet, many of them did not have specific training for employment. Between 1895-1925, most African American females were not college or training school graduates. The majority of African American women in the labor force had "menial, unskilled, low paying jobs deemed suitable for women only" (Neverdon-Morton 1989, 68). It was not Burroughs' desire that her graduates have to take certain jobs. She trained them so that they could hold the job of their choice. Even if it was not a traditional female occupation the graduate wanted.

Graduates of this school were employed in nearly every state, and also in such places as Puerto Rico, Haiti, South America, and Africa. These ladies were trained to work, and they left the school and did just that. Some other occupations were, principals, nurses, doctors, civil servants, entrepreneurs, and administrators. Some other graduates were private secretaries, dressmakers, beauty specialists, social workers, insurance agents, cateresses, and milliners (Burroughs Papers, Box 309).

Some students kept in touch after leaving the school. Some wrote about their current experiences or how they had grown as a result of their experience(s) at the school. One of the students, Annie French from West Virginia, replied to a teacher five years after leaving National Training School: "Had I known how green I was 5 years ago, I would have been ashamed to come to any body's school. But thanks to something, I didn't know that I didn't know" (Burroughs Papers, Box 309). It was felt that "A normal girl cannot live in this atmosphere without improving" (Burroughs Papers, Box 309). Della Harris from the Missionary Training Department spent four to five years in Africa and was engaged in church work. Susie Green from Alabama and Christine Jean Francois from Haiti tended a garden while at the school that was very plentiful. Christine returned to Haiti, but kept in touch with the school. Her friend, Susie Green owned a print shop in DC and was an assistant at the YWCA summer camp. Before beginning the National Training School, Green was attending school in Montgomery but could not afford to continue nor could she afford train fair to DC. Burroughs "discovered" her and made a way for her to come to DC. Because she had a "mechanical mind" she was asked about taking printing and did (Burroughs Papers, Box 309).

Nannie Helen Burroughs worked hard and went above and beyond the call of duty to insure that the young ladies who came to her DC school were highly respected, trained to hold good jobs, be productive members of society, and assist their churches and communities however possible.

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[1] Dr. Burroughs received an honorary doctorate from the University of North Carolina Religh-Durham.

[2] Most of the curriculum information in the Nannie Helen Burroughs Paper collection reflected the courses required for the liberal arts section of the curriculum.

History and Ideology: Conflicts Between Angie Debo and Muriel Wright

Courtney Vaughn
and
Joan K. Smith
The University of Oklahoma

Well into the twentieth century, professional opportunities for women were severely limited. The history profession was no exception. Although, early in the century graduate schools in various universities across the country, namely Stanford and the University of Chicago, were offering women the Ph.D., it was very difficult if not impossible for graduates to secure faculty positions in university history departments at coeducational and, of course, all-male schools. Even women's colleges and their practice of hiring female faculty members were waning, and with it was the opportunity, some historians have noted, to bond with other women both socially and professionally (Palmieri 1995). Thus, a turn-of the century female historian usually was faced with finding alternative employment--conducting research and writing when she could.

During the first half of the twentieth century, Angie Debo and Muriel Wright were two of the only notable female historians in Oklahoma. Both were: born late in the nineteenth century; reared primarily in Oklahoma; committed to Protestantism; and dedicated to the field of history. Moreover, despite Wright's elitist family background, each struggled during her life to make a living in a male dominated profession. Neither married nor bore children, but both left a rich legacy of numerous books, articles, and other writings, primarily in the area of Native studies and the American West. Despite all that Debo and Wright had in common, they were not friends; in fact, they were frequently at odds. Essentially, their social and political ideologies were antithetical, never to be reconciled through the example of their own lives.

Wright was a product of Choctaw and United States history, providing the background for her later academic battle with Debo. Muriel's grandfather, Kilihote, was born in Mississippi in 1826 and came to Indian territory with his parents, when the federal government "removed" all of the Five Tribes (Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole, and Choctaw) from the southeastern United States to Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. Although a full blood Choctaw, Kilihote was orphaned as a child and went to live in the home of Cyrus Kingsbury, a prominent white missionary. Subsequently, he was imbued with Euro-American culture, symbolized by a name change and his conversion to Christianity by well-known Presbyterian Indian Territory missionaries. As Muriel later explained:

> Through the influence and preaching of Rev. Gleason, my grandfather, Rev. "Allen Wright," joined the church and was christened with his English name--"Allen Wright," at Wheelock Mission Church soon after its completion in 1846 in the presence of the old missionaries, Cyrus Kingsbury, Cyrus Byington, Alfred Wright C.C. Copeland, [and] Ebenezer Hotshkin (Wright 1952).

Allen grew to manhood and graduated from Union College in 1853 and from Union Seminary in New York City two years later. He returned home to Civil War in Indian Territory as the Choctaw Nation sided with the Confederacy. In fact, Boggy Depot, a town Allen helped found, was a headquarters for Southern troops. After the war, in 1866, he served on a Choctaw commission which was forced to accept freed slaves as citizens of their nation with full rights and privileges and a concession of some Choctaw western lands. But, in absentia, he was elected Principal Chief of the Choctaws and would hold two consecutive terms (Wright, 1952).

Allen married white elitism, Harriet Mitchell, a direct descendent of the Mayflower Pilgrim, the Elder William Brewster. The couple's first born son and Muriel's father, Eliphalet Nott Wright (1858-1932) graduated from Albany Medical College in New York in 1884. He returned to Boggy Depot and became a surgeon and physician for the Missouri-Pacific Coal Mines. In 1888, E. N., as he was called, also married a white woman, Ida Belle Richards, an Atoka teacher who could trace her New England lineage to families such as: Bassett, Stone, and Sprague (Smith et al. 1998; Wright undated).

In 1894, E. N. was appointed to a delegation that met with the Dawes Commission to dissolve the Indian governments and allot the lands in severalty among the Choctaw citizens. Wright was the only tribal delegate to reject the edict, but another delegation later signed the Atoka Agreement of 1897 which deeded to the United States all tribal lands to be divided equally among its citizens. In 1900 and again in 1930, E. N. vied but did not secure the position of Principal Chief (Smith et al. 1998). Apparently, he was well thought of by many of the Choctaws, including full bloods who "...look to Doctor Wright as the one man, among their people, who has the knowledge and the ability, and the sympathy, too, to help them in their problems" (Thoburn, 1929).

Politically, the Wrights were progressive Republicans, and they were progressives within the Choctaw Nation. But in the latter case, this political ideology advocated pride in the Choctaw heritage but also assimilation into the Euro-American power structure in Indian Territory. The Twin Territories became one in 1907; and for decades Oklahoma was dominated by a political machine that centered in what was called "Little Dixie," a portion of southeastern Oklahoma (formerly Indian Territory). Ironically, for the Wrights, this machine was dominated by Democrats (Debo 1961; Roll of Delegates and Alternates to the First National Progressive Convention 1912; Vaughn-Roberson 1992).

Also a dedicated Republican, Muriel, the eldest of the two daughters, was born in 1889 and grew up in and outside of Lehigh, near Atoka. It seems that Muriel's childhood was happy, and that she was well loved. When Muriel was fourteen, her maternal grandfather, Reverend Thomas Marshall penned, "I love [you] so much. I wish the time was shorter when I am to see you again.... I hope and pray that your life may be long, happy and useful in the pleasant service of the Master" (Marshall, 1903).

As a young child, Muriel attended "awful" schools, so when the family moved outside of town, Ida tutored her daughter at home. In 1906, Muriel enrolled at Wheaton Seminary in Norton, Massachusetts. She enjoyed her time there but was taken back by the liberal attitudes, especially toward African American equality. "The one point that stood out was... the whole school and teachers were pro Negro," she later recalled (Wright 1973). Muriel graduated and then came home to complete a teacher education course in 1912 at Talequah's East Central Normal School. While a student she appeared in a play that in some respects imitated her family heritage. She was an Indian girl, reared by whites. As a young girl her biological father kidnapped but returned her to the Euro-American world to which she belonged. A certified Oklahoma teacher, for four years Muriel taught and was a principal in the state's schools (Smith et al. 1998; Wright, *Scrapbooks*).

Although East Central had not been a bachelors degree granting institution, in the fall of 1916, Muriel had an opportunity to enter Barnard College in New York City as a special graduate student but returned to Oklahoma a year later. She resumed teaching and administering, became serious about publishing historical research, and was a candidate for principal chief of the Choctaws during the early 1920's (Wright, *Scrapbooks*). From 1934 to 1943 she became assistant editor of the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, the state historical society's publication, and after the latter year she held the editor's position until 1973. Moreover, she remained active in her tribe's political and social activities (Wright 1973; Smith et al. 1998).

In a sense Debo and her family represented many of the people whose financially desperate situation had been part of the dispossessed's persistent interest in Indian Territorial land. In 1890, the year Angie was born, the American frontier officially closed, and land hungry whites helped government officials reduce Indian Territory to its eastern half and create Oklahoma Territory out of the western portion. Hoping for a more prosperous life, the Debos (tenant farmers in Beatie, Kansas) migrated to Oklahoma Territory and settled near Marshall in 1899 ("Indians Outlaws and Angie Debo," 1989; Debo 1984).

Hungry for learning, Debo loved school. She was disappointed that after completing the eighth grade there was no high school for her to attend.

> That was one of the most miserable times of my life. I wanted to accomplish something. Well, I wasn't even graduating from high school. And then when I was sixteen I started teaching in the rural schools around Marshall, and from that time on I was very content" (Debo 1989).

When Angie was able to attend high school most of her teachers had only two years of college, but they tried very hard and as a result "walked in grandeur among us" (Debo 1984). Debo graduated from high school when she was twenty-three, and after teaching for two more years, enrolled in the University of Oklahoma and received a bachelors degree in 1918 (Debo 1984, "Indians, Outlaws and Angie Debo," 1989; Loughlin 1998).

One of Debo's professors, Everett Edward Dale, who had studied at the University of Chicago under the esteemed Frederick Jackson Turner, encouraged her to attend the University of Chicago where she received her master's degree in 1924. While at Chicago, it was very disconcerting for Debo to learn that although her master's thesis would be published, "the history field was closed and barred to women. There wasn't anything a woman could do to enter it" (Debo 1989). Curious why the Chicago history faculty did employ one woman, Angie sought her out and discovered that she had received her position during war time, as an emergency hire, and it seemed very unlikely that any more women were forthcoming. Debo did manage to secure a position at West Texas State Teachers College in Canyon, Texas and then pursued a doctorate at the University of Oklahoma with Dale (Debo 1984).

Knowing little about Natives, but having majored in international studies at Chicago, as a dissertation topic, Debo proposed to investigate the Choctaw nation's history, before and after white encroachment. She completed her Ph.D., and, in 1934, her dissertation was published as *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic*. After her ten year stint at Canyon State College in Texas, she quit to make a living as a writer and moved home to work. From 1947 to 1955, Angie resided in Stillwater, serving as maps librarian at Oklahoma A. & M. College (Debo 1961, 1984; "Indians Outlaws and Angie Debo," 1989; Loughlin 1998).

Common Ground

Hardship was a common denominator in Debo's and Wright's life. As tenant farmers in Kansas and later as small farmers in pioneer Indian Territory and then Depression-era Oklahoma, Debo's family had struggled to make a living. At one time or another, she, her parents, and her brother had worked the fields, and after Debo became an educator, she contributed sporadically to her parents' and brother's financial support (Debo 1984, "Indians, Outlaws and Angie Debo," 1989). Angie's familial loyalty is evident in *The Rise and Fall*'s dedication to her brother who had died young (Debo 1961).

After Debo resigned from Canyon, probably because she had been denied promotion, she wrote *And Still the Waters Run* (1940). A very controversial work, it charged prominent Oklahoma politicians and others with cheating the Indians out of their land. After completing a chapter Angie would read it to her mother who feared, "'no one will ever publish that book'" (Debo 1989). Although The University of Oklahoma press initially offered Debo a contract, officials were concerned about potential law suits and eventually declined to honor it. Princeton University Press published the work in 1940, after having removed a few overt references to certain individuals in the text. Debo was then fifty years old (Debo 1984; "Indians Outlaws and Angie Debo," 1989). Forever grateful to her mother for her continued support, Debo (1951) wrote, "Most of all I want to express appreciation to my mother, who remained at home alone at an age when she might have been expected to require the attendance of her only daughter" (iii).

Wright also was adamantly loyal to her family who held a prominent place in Indian Territory and Oklahoma history. By no means inestimably wealthy, her grandparents were able to educate their children well, although not without financial sacrifice. Muriel's father had to leave Union College, because his parents had other children to support. E. N. and Ida did send Muriel to Wheaton and Barnard College, but World War I ended her stay at the latter institution after only one year. By the 1920's, the family's resources were not plentiful. Muriel made a living teaching in and administering Oklahoma public schools and selling her written works. When her father could not co-author a textual history of Oklahoma with local historian, Joseph Thoburn, he suggested Muriel for the job (Smith et al. 1998). Muriel did receive temporary research work at the Oklahoma Historical Society for which she was praised, sometimes in a deliriously racist way. She sardonically penned to her parents that in the presence of Mr. Adair, a Cherokee and a signer for the Historical Society Bill, Judge Baxter Taylor:

> was complimentary of my work,...especially remarking upon my ability as a worker. Mr. Adair looked pleasant and jovial during the conversation, then said, 'Well, when you find an Indian that will work, he sure does work! Now ain't that so, Miss Wright' (Wright 1931)?

Muriel's father died in 1932 about the time his daughter lost the Historical Society job (Dwight 1932; McCurtain 1931; Miller 1932). Muriel and her mother moved in with Gertrude, the younger sister, and her family who then lived in Oklahoma City. By 1934 Wright was appointed assistant editor of the *Chronicles*, but then around the time of her mother's death in 1941 she was again faced with the prospect of unemployment (Application for Employment, 1940; Wilson 1941). Although she had graduated from a normal school and attended Barnard College, she never received a higher education degree, and by the early 1940's this proved a hardship in receiving good teaching and other professional positions related to her field. In the 1940's she attempted without success to convince what was then Northeastern State College to grant her a degree based on her normal school and Barnard College course work augmented by her numerous publications (Faust 1941; Linscheid 1942). Then in her early fifties, Wright contemplated enrolling in the University of Oklahoma to complete her degree, but in 1944 she was appointed the *Chronicles* editor (Gittinger 1941; Smith et al. 1998; Wright 1955).

However, academic credentials remained important to her as evidenced in later interviews in which she explained that if she had completed her work at Barnard she would have received both bachelors and master's degrees; when in 1968 Oklahoma City University granted her an honorary doctorate she sometimes used the title Dr. Wright (McRill, 1973; Wright 1985).

Controversy: Familial History and Professional Turf

Debo's book *The Rise and Fall* began the two historians' life long conflict. Although not yet personally acquainted with Angie, Debo's work pierced the core of Wright's being. The *Rise and Fall* noted that Allen, Muriel's grandfather, had taken a bribe during the 1866 Washington DC treaty negotiations (Debo 1961). Muriel was incensed. In a scathing critique published in the *Chronicles* (1935), she lightly acknowledged the work's contribution and went on for several pages to delineate errors, such as misinterpretations of key Choctaw words, crucial when speculating about the ancient Choctaw's religious and cultural perceptions. Further, Wright denied that any money her grandfather received for his services to the Choctaw people was a bribe. Angie later commented concerning the review and Muriel's obvious hurt feelings:

> Miss Wright would never have known how shocked and distressed I was when I found out [about her grandfather, but]...I don't know of anyone except Miss Wright and her relations, but perhaps there might have been other Indians like her, who were extremely successful leaders of the white mans' society... (Debo, cited in Loughlin 1998, 14).

The *Chronicles* did not review Angie's next work, *And Still the Waters Run*, although major historical journals, such as *The Journal of Southern History* did. Possibly, Wright's editorial decision was influenced by Robert Williams, a former federal judge and head of the Oklahoma Historical Society. His name had appeared in Debo's book as a participant in the fraudulent acts perpetrated against Oklahoma Indians (Debo 1940; Loughlin 1998).

A brief interlude of overt cordiality between the two historians did occur in the 1950s when Angie wrote to Muriel asking if Debo might write a "Necrology" sketch for the *Chronicles* on A. H. Ellis, a member of the state constitutional convention who had recently died (Debo 1950). Muriel responded favorably (Wright 1950). In addition, as a member of the program committee, in November of that year, Debo asked Wright to present a paper concerning the history of higher education in Oklahoma (Debo 1950). Wright responded favorably (Wright 1950).

Yet, in 1951 another *Chronicles* publication delivered caustic remarks concerning Debo's monograph, *The Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma: Report on Social and Economic Conditions* (1951), a piece of commissioned research for the Indian Rights Association to assess the economic success of Five Tribes Indians. Although the author reported lethargy as she saw it, she also portrayed the economically poor Oklahoma Indians whom she visited as taking pride in their homes, being clean, and taking care of their surroundings. Yet to Muriel and her uncle, James Brooks Wright (J. B.), formerly a government Indian agent, the report focused on the unsuccessful, thereby fueling the all too common image that Indians were depraved and incapable of assimilation into the white world. J. B. (1957) penned:

> It seems that Miss Debo is unfortunate in her use of English words and expressions and this conveys the wrong impressions, in many cases, to the casual reader and these are in the majority. She is also inclined to generalities. A reader might be led to believe that all Indians are placed in the same category (244).

Debo objected to J. B. rather than Muriel writing the critique and countered with a response, later explaining:

> In all my career as a writer I have never replied to a review of one of my books. A reviewer is supposed to be a scholar in his own right, and his judgment is entitled to respect. If he makes a mistake, it is his own reputation that suffers. Thus, if Miss Wright had reviewed my report

> unfavorably, I should have made no objection, because she is a distinguished historical writer who has earned the right to criticize. But this is different. It is simply a letter from an individual correspondent (Debo, cited in Loughlin 1998, 13).

Muriel may not have solicited her uncle's written remarks, but receiving them just as an edition of the *Chronicles* was being type set, she eagerly squired it into print (Wright 1951). In addition, Muriel and her family had always, at least privately, been critical of "elitist" Oklahoma historians. For instance, Gertrude's son, John Allen Reid, wrote to Muriel, praising the value of her historical writing for the "'good'" people and not just by [and for] the ivory-tower professors" (Reid, unknown date).

Considering the recent fray, Angie's 1952 review of what was one of Muriel's most significant works, *A Guide To Indian Tribes of Oklahoma*, published by the University of Oklahoma press, was somewhat charitable, but Debo did restate what was becoming a familiar response. Writing for the *New York Times Book Review*, Angie wrote:

> This is the most useful reference book on Indians that has appeared for many years. Its compass is much more extensive than its title would indicate; for Oklahoma was once an 'Indian Territory' and Indians from all the eastern half of the United States were concentrated there.... Except for some mention of the plight of the Cherokees, however, the book almost ignores the poverty in which many unassimilated Indians live.... This should not obscure the fact that many Oklahomans are successful farmers by any man's standards, but it should have been presented as an essential part of the picture (10).

A final, rather public (at least in historical circles) debate between Wright and Debo evidenced what an outsider might view as the ridiculous ends to which rival historians sometimes go. Each supported by local authorities, Debo and Wright debated the location of the first Civil War Battle in Indian Territory, Round Mountain, beginning on "November 19, 1861 between the Union Creeks and Confederate troops, including a Creek regiment, Choctaw-Chickasaw and Creek-Seminole regiments, and a detachment of Texas cavalry" (Loughlin 1998, 5). Again, Wright considered the Civil War, particularly in Indian Territory, her expertise, while by the early 1960's, when Debo wrote an article defending the Yale site, she was thought of as a noted national frontier historian. The squabble resulted in a stalemate, but the two continued to spar at academic conferences during the 1970s (Louglin 1998).

Religion and Race

Religious beliefs and race augmented the familial history and professional turf issues explicit in the Wright-Debo feud. Both of Muriel's grandfathers had been ministers, and in a sense, her parents were missionaries. Their and Muriel's goal was to retain pride in the Choctaw heritage while emulating the dominant society's ideals. During the 1920s William Dunn, one of Muriel's Native friends articulated this ethos, in a series of letters, penning:

> We have forgiven, but we never can forget [the forced removal to Indian Territory, but]...the grand missionaries who were among the class of 'good White people'...certainly deserve revered recognition in the History of the Indian." ...Your grandmother, and others, you know of,...did so much to enlighten and elevate the Standard of morality and Christianization of our Choctaw people (Dunn 1927,1928).

Another Native friend, reiterated the hope that "we may be some enlightenment to our race as well as to ourselves" (Roberson 1928). An active Presbyterian, in 1932 Muriel revealed her own views on Choctaw Christianization, writing to P. D. Miller, Educational Secretary for the Presbyterian Executive Committee of Home Missions:

> Doctor Morrison had told me of his work in preparing a book for the study of Indian missions in the Presbyterian Church and I have been looking forward to seeing it in completed form. You asked that Doctor Morrison might have the data in my story on the Choctaws to use in the preparation of his manuscript. This story, to which Mr. Scatergood referred, was written with the idea of interesting the general reader in one of the most tragic chapters in Choctaw history, the circumstances of which, paradoxical though it may be, finally led to some beneficent results for that people.

Debo's religious beliefs manifested themselves socially in a somewhat different direction. She served as a Methodist pastor during World War II in her home town of Marshall, and apparently her convictions were a linchpin of Debo's commitment to civil rights. Her choice to give voice to Indians without social and political power spoke for itself. Debo's stance with regard to African Americans was similar. As Wright, herself, wrote, Angie was:

> very religious and critical of anything that has to do with the Confederate history in the Civil War. She is a devout Methodist and served as the Minister in the pulpit of her home town (Marshall) during World War II. She 'bends over backward' in favor of Negro racial problems, and evidently follows in the train (I think) of Elinor [sic] Roosevelt (Wright 1952).

A member of the United Daughter's of the Confederacy, Muriel had problems dealing with racial equality between African Americans and others. Although dated, from a modern perspective, in 1945 she wrote to J. Bartley Milam, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation:

> Now as Southerners, you know and I know that there are some good, old darkies who do know local lore and some stories about former days whose reminiscences do have a place in history, but recording their accounts, the investigator has to take into consideration the reliability of the individuals giving the information.

A few years later, the state branch of the Oklahoma Pen Women's Association, of which Wright was a prominent member, invited Debo to join. Angie declined because of the association's exclusion of black writers. As she explained to Wright in 1949, "I object to racial bars in cultural and intellectual organizations."

Reflections

Both Muriel and Angie lived long and productive lives; Wright died in 1975 and Debo in 1988. Although each was a dedicated historian, the ideological outcomes of each person's work contradicted the other. Thus, rather than forming a bond based on feminist and professional interests, they found themselves constantly at odds. Each one's publications seemed to annihilate the important statements made by the other, jettisoning both into at least one of the significant battles of her life. It is truly a tragedy that given the female centered environment of an institution such as Wellesley, these two historians may have come to recognize the power of their commonalties rather than their differences (Palmieri 1995).

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A Wedge in the Door: Coeducational Pioneers of Women's Education at the University of Michigan

Jean Rowland-Poplawski
University of Michigan

Throughout the nineteenth century, coeducation could mean segregated education for both sexes, segregated education of the sexes in the same college (although the curriculum was not the same), and education of the sexes together. Some of the opposition to the admission of women in state universities could have stemmed from the "Cult of True Womanhood", where education of women in the early nineteenth century focused on developing homemaker skills for the female role of wife and mother. Included in women's education was reading of the Bible and other religious materials; which was intended to provide upper and middle-class white women the skills necessary to train their children. These subjects assisted in perpetuating the ideal of true womanhood for a select group of females destined to become the wives of the leaders of the community.

The Civil War era forced women to cross over to traditionally male roles. Women were allowed access to careers during the war because their skills, such as nursing, were in demand. Some became property owners due to the death of their spouse or never married due to the shortage of marriageable men after the Civil War. These women, forced to support themselves because of the social upheaval of the War, became prime candidates for higher education.

Early alternatives to coeducation, such as women's colleges offered the opportunity to prepare for a career as a teacher, originally the only career available for women besides the role of a missionary's wife. Over time other career choices for women also emerged in these institutions. Women's colleges provided a unique experience for their students as they could enjoy and participate socially in ways traditional institutions would not allow. For example, women could hold elective office and participate in theatrical productions and graduation ceremonies.

Coeducational institutions did exist in the early nineteenth century. One of the most notable was Oberlin College which admitted its first female students in 1837. Oberlin offered traditional courses and a special "Ladies' Course" which offered a diploma upon completion. Most women received their diploma from the Ladies' Course. In fact, in the first 34 years of coeducation at Oberlin, 395 diplomas from the Ladies' Course had been granted, while only 84 graduated with a traditional Bachelor's degree during the same time period (Woody 1966).

Other institutions were also coeducational. Antioch College, under the direction of Horace Mann in 1852, was developed as a coeducational institution different from Oberlin in that it allowed women the opportunity to participate in the same courses as men. Both men and women recited their lessons in the same classrooms, fulfilling Mann's idea "to secure for the female sex equal opportunities in the same studies, and classes, and by the same instructors, after the manner of many academic institutions in different parts of the country" (Woody 1966). State universities created additional opportunities for coeducation, such as Iowa, which was coeducational from its opening in 1856. In general, however, Western State Universities were the influential leaders of the coeducation movement, though not much importance was attached to it until after 1870, with the admission of women to the University of Michigan.

The debate of women's education has been described as becoming "what the abolitionist debate was before it and what the suffrage debate would become after it – a large-scale movement, amorphous, with different intellectual strands, involving the energies of many middle-class women and men" (Palmieri 1989). Arguments against coeducation stated that it would reduce a woman's chance of marriage and result in physical and psychological damage. These arguments were designed to intimidate women by suggesting that attending college threatened their ability to fulfill their role as a "true woman," which was limited to the roles of wife and mother.

One of the most prominent anti-coeducation theories espoused during the post Civil War era was published by Dr. Edward Clarke of Harvard University, in his 1873 book Sex in Education: A Fair Chance for the Girls. He claimed that the female anatomy could not withstand the rigors of higher education and the result of women's education would be damage to the female reproductive organs. Proponents of coeducation suspected his book had been inspired by the reluctance of Harvard University to open its doors to women (McGuigan 1970). The doors of coeducation were firmly locked at prominent institutions such as Yale and Harvard for much of the nineteenth century. The University of Michigan became a Western icon for coeducation, but it took over twelve years from the first inquiry before the door was opened.

The first inquiry for female admission to the University of Michigan was presented to the Board of Regents on March 25, 1858. The Board of Regents documented the inquiry as follows: "A communication was received from Miss Sarah E. Burger, stating that a class of twelve young ladies would present themselves for admission as students in the University, in June next. Laid on the table" (University of Michigan 1863). After no reply was received from her initial request, in June of 1858 Miss Burger and two other women, Miss Harriet Patton and Miss Augusta Chapin, sought admission to the University. The following minutes were recorded on June 24, 1858: "A report was received from Regent Parsons, Chairman of the Committee, on the admission of Miss Burger and other ladies to the University. On motion of Regent Bishop the report was accepted and the Committee discharged" (University of Michigan 1863).

On September 29, 1858 the issue was revisited as Regent McIntyre read his fourteen-page report, "On the Admission of Females." The report stated that the University had the right to refuse admission to persons "whose presence would detract from the character of the Institution, or prevent it from attaining to the proper rank of a University" (University of Michigan 1863). On the motion of Regent McIntyre, the following resolution was passed:

> Resolved, that to adapt the University to the education of both sexes would require such a revolution in the management and conduct of the institution, that we think it wiser, under all the circumstances, both in respect to the interests of the University and the interests of the young ladies, that their application should not be granted, and that at present it is inexpedient to introduce this change into the institution (University of Michigan 1863).

Less than a year later, 1,476 signatures were accepted on petitions, supporting the admission of women to the University; along with the applications of Sarah Burger and three other women for admission to the Literary Department. Again, a resolution was passed on June 30 1859, by the motion of Regent Brown that stated "Resolved, that the Board sees no reason to change the action already had upon the subject of the admission of females to the University" (University of Michigan 1863). The door was officially slammed.

What happened to these women? Harriet A. Patton, who applied in 1858, eventually in 1872, graduated as the second woman to receive a law degree from the University of Michigan. Augusta Chapin of Lansing went to Olivet College and earned a Master of Arts degree in 1884. She was the first woman in the United States to earn a Doctor of Divinity degree from Lombard College (McGuigan 1970). Sarah Burger of Ann Arbor, attended Ypsilanti State Normal School. In 1863 she married and with her husband pursued the attainment of women's rights. Sarah Burger Stearns served as president of the Minnesota Woman's Suffrage Association and other active leadership roles.

The admission of women at the University of Michigan took almost two decades from the first inquiry. Although the original charter of the University called for a female department, no money had been appropriated and the Regents firmly opposed every admission inquiry presented. Officially, women were barred from the classrooms. Unofficially, at least one woman did attend classes.

James Robinson Boise, a professor at the University, is credited with allowing the first women into a Michigan classroom. His daughter, Alice Boise (Wood) attended Latin classes in her father's classroom with the traditional male students. Some of the faculty, including his assistant, approved of Dr. Boise's daughter in the classroom, and allowed Alice into their classrooms. She continued to attend classes from September 1866 to December 1867. Rising opposition to a female student in the classroom provoked the resignation of Dr. Boise in December of that year.

Official documentation did not describe women pursuing admission to the University of Michigan again until 1867. During the period 1859 to 1867, feminists, politicians, and the media discussed the subject of women's education in the state of Michigan. The Michigan Legislature passed a resolution stating that "the high objects for which the University of Michigan was organized will never be fully attained, until women are admitted to all its rights and privileges" (University of Michigan 1870). The Board of Regents, in response to legislative pressure, agreed to revisit the subject of the admission of women.

A high school teacher, Lucinda Stone supplied the initial force that led to the admission of Madelon Stockwell as the first female student of the University. She and her husband, who was Principal at the University of Michigan's Branch College at Kalamazoo, got a copy of the organic laws governing the University. They could not find any laws prohibiting the matriculation of women from the College to the University. With the power of the University's own laws in hand, they sought out the Rev. George Willard, a member of the Board of Regents, and persuaded him to back their case before the Board.

It took two new members on the Board of Regents, intense lobbying by politicians, and nine months for a final vote on the subject. Finally, in January of 1870 the historic resolution was officially recorded: "Resolved, That the Board of Regents recognize the right of every resident of Michigan to the enjoyment of the privileges afforded by the University, and that no rule exists in any of the University statutes for the exclusion of any person from the University, who possesses the requisite literary and moral qualifications" (Centennial of Admission of Women Committee, Senate Concurrent Resolution #247 1970). Within days, acting President Frieze granted Madelon Stockwell permission to take the University's entrance examinations.

Immediately a faculty bloc was formed to fight the motion of the Board. The Medical Department, backed by the Clergy, submitted a memorandum on female medical education in March of 1870. It stated that while the medical Faculty had no prejudice against the medical education of women, in their judgement, "the medical coeducation of the sexes is at best an experiment of doubtful utility, and one not calculated to increase the dignity of man, nor the modesty of woman . . . it must be obvious, even to the casual observer, that a large portion of medical instruction cannot be given in the presence of mixed classes without offending the sense of delicacy, and refinement, which should be scrupulously maintained between the sexes" (Centennial of Admission of Women Committee, Memorial on Female Education 1870). Although the Medical Department sought to prohibit the admission of women, they succeeded in segregation of the departmental classes only, with faculty receiving an additional five hundred dollars for the "burden" of teaching the female students.

Miss Stockwell was subjected to rigid entrance examinations, and as reported by Mrs. Stone they were "much more severe than that given to the men students" (Sagendorph 1948). Not only did she pass the examinations; she had enough credits to be admitted to the sophomore class and became the first woman to gain admission to the University. During the year 1870 – 1871, she was the lone female student in the University of Michigan. The following year, 34 additional women entered the University in the following departments: 14 in Literary, 18 in Medical, and 2 in Law. Although many private institutions were open to women, admission to the largest, tax-supported institution was an important victory for women's rights. Coeducation had officially become public policy.

Miss Stockwell graduated in 1872 from the Literary Department and married her classmate Charles Turner, who graduated from the Law Department in 1873. She remained socially active through serving as President of the Ladies Library Association and ran for positions on her local school board. She also continued her education after graduating by learning several languages and was awarded an honorary degree from the University in 1912.

As published in the University Newsletter, #62, in the first decade of the admission of women to the University of Michigan, the number of female students enrolled grew from 1 to 138. The percentage of women students grew from .08% to a total enrollment of 9.67%. By the turn of the century, 714 women were enrolled, which accounted for 21.61% of the enrollment at the University. The proportion of women to men grew substantially in the Literary Department, where Madelon Stockwell represented .21% of the departmental enrollment in 1870, however, by 1880 women represented 18.07% of the enrollment and by 1900, they represented 47.20% of the overall enrollment in the department.

Women were officially admitted, yet there is a difference between admittance and acceptance. The doors of admission may have been flung open; but the pioneers of the first decade did not always have the welcome mat rolled out for them. The signs of acceptance were evident in the reactions of the students, professors, and the community at large.

Women who aspired to attend college took the initiative to enroll themselves, as their families were not likely to encourage continued education for their daughters. The dangers of sending a daughter to an institution that traditionally fought their presence at all costs, coupled with the limited funds for education (usually reserved for the sons of a family), caused many families to hesitate sending their daughters at all. Daughters were also viewed as having more family obligations than sons, especially in large families, where older daughters were responsible for the care of younger siblings and aged relatives.

For example, Alice Freeman ('76) had to promise that she would not marry until she had paid her younger brother's way through medical school (McGuigan 1970). Upon arrival on campus in June of 1872 with her father, she failed the strenuous entrance examinations. Unwilling to give up, Alice and her father spoke directly with

President Angell imploring him for admittance. She did not let President Angell down. Alice Freeman exemplified the early woman scholar and has been named repeatedly as one of the outstanding students of her time. To live in Ann Arbor, she took interim jobs during vacations to support her living expenses during the term. Described by a classmate, Lucy Andrews ('76) as "a silver tongued orator and genius" (University of Michigan Alumni Association 1924) Alice Freeman was recommended by President Angell to Wellesley College, where she became the second President in 1882. The University of Michigan, in 1912, conferred upon her the honorary degree of Doctor of Philosophy for her accomplishments as a pioneer for women's education.

Convincing family members and enduring the difficult entrance examinations were just the beginning of the journey for women students. The University did not accommodate the female students. For example, women students were not allowed to place their coats in the coatrooms and had to wear their coats and hats in class, causing many to become ill from wearing their wet clothing. The community of Ann Arbor regarded women students with discourtesy and at times, open hostility. Two students, Lucy Maynard Salmon ('76) and Louise Hall ('76) walked the streets of Ann Arbor for three days trying to find a landlady willing to rent them a room (Walker, 1896). Ostracized by society and denied fellowship in most churches, the pioneers of the first decade demonstrated resilience to the coldness that surrounded them. One woman student purchased and occupied a pew in a prominent church for an entire year and was never spoken to except by the treasurer (who collected the pew fees) and the minister who openly expressed his disapproval of the "unwomanly position of college girls" (Walker 1896).

Professors, who were charged with publicly accepting female students in their classrooms, did not deny themselves the opportunity to openly resist the new students. Upon the arrival of Madelon Stockwell, the professors who administered the entrance examination required her to recite the following for admission: (Dick 1988)

> It behooves us in the first place, to consider this, that we are by nature women, so not able to contend with men; and in the next place, since we are governed by those stronger than we, it behooves us to submit to these things and those still more grievous.

Other professors addressed female students as "Mr." instead of "Miss" and addressed the class as "gentlemen" instead of "ladies and gentlemen". As recounted in the University Chronicle soon after Madelon Stockwell's arrival, one professor even openly ridiculed the admission of women (McGuigan 1970):

> A dog had wandered into a classroom, and a couple of students rose to remove it. The professor stopped them. "That dog," he said, "is a resident of Michigan. Don't you know we now recognize the right of every resident of the state to enjoy the privileges afforded by the University?"

Not all professors were openly hostile towards their female students. Even Madelon Stockwell had fond memories of Professor Olney, who commented on the artistic touches she added to her trigonometry notes when he said, "Who can say now that mathematics is not one of the fine arts?" (Stockwell 1919). His comment may not have been made in earnest, for it was this same professor who avoided calling on the only female in one of his classes for an entire semester. At the end of the semester he apologized, saying he knew she was prepared and it was her male classmates who actually needed the drill. It is difficult to judge the temerity of his actions, were they the result of sincerity or sarcasm?

The early women students did not always silently endure the prejudice of their professors. Lucinda Goodrich ('77) wrote of the following experience (University of Michigan Alumni Association 1924):

> We were studying Plauties and Terence as sophomore Latin, and if my memory registers correctly, the selection at the time was "the Andrean Woman". Very properly our textbook was a dramatized edition with asterisks to indicate omissions. Ours not to reason why the assignment – ours but to get our lessons and behave in a most lady like manner, lest the experiment of co-education receive an impetus in the wrong direction. Our instructor was what was then denominated a woman hater and violently opposed to the admission of women to Michigan University. To make it unpleasant for the girls, he persisted in supplying the omissions. We bore it for some time, lowering our faces over the desks, and then held indignation meetings in the dressing room in the old university hall building. Finally after a very embarrassing experience, a member of the class, Octavia Williams Bates, who knew the rights of properly behaved students said "Girls, if he ever does that again, I shall leave the class and I wish you would follow me." We didn't have long to wait. The offense was repeated. Miss

> Bates rose to her full height and she was tall and stately and left the room and we went trooping after her. He never did it again. We had tactly taught him his lesson.

The community and faculty reactions to women students provided an atmosphere of rejection most often demonstrated by the reaction of the male students in the classrooms. Madelon Stockwell was initially treated with cold indifference by her male counterparts. The feeling seemed to be that if they ignored her existence, she would simply return home. When she didn't they went on the offensive, lining the streets as she walked down them, trying to stare her down as she passed. Miss Stockwell stared straight ahead and with forced determination ignored their silent threats.

Other students recalled similar treatment by male students in the classrooms. In chapel for example, the women students were placed in between the freshman and sophomore male students. The students proceeded to throw hymnbooks, and apple cores at each other, through the crowd of women students. Mary Marston, in a letter to her mother described her reaction in this way: "I felt as though I wanted something to happen to make them sorry. Of course, I didn't want to shake them myself, because it would tire me and wouldn't be lady-like, but I would willingly have held a lamp or something of that sort while somebody else did it" (Marston 1874). Some male students even offered women students money to forego graduation exercises, so they wouldn't have to graduate with them. When women did attend their graduation exercises, like Amanda Sanford ('71) the first female graduate of the Medical Department, they were cheered with vulgar obscenities from the audience.

Not all students had the resilience of the early pioneers. In the first decade two students committed suicide on campus. Mary Marston described one of the students in a letter to her mother (Marston 1874):

> A very sad thing happened here last Sunday. A Miss Sykes, who entered college two years ago, and was out last year, came back to complete her course. But she was seized with a fit of monomania to which she has long been subject and shot herself through the head. She is still alive, but there is little hope of her recovery. President Angell this morning in chapel gave a brief statement of the facts, speaking of her as a girl of "excellent character and excellent mind".

We are left to wonder how her experience at the University affected her decision to take her life.

The women of the first generation at the University of Michigan knew that their success or failure influenced the future for women who would knock on the University's door in subsequent years. The reaction of the community, faculty, and students within the University was the preamble to the reaction the culture at large would have to women who were educated at the University.

The women of Michigan's early admission years, 1870 – 1880, were provided with unique experiences at the University. Those that wondered why a woman would want to attend college in the first place began to wonder what effect the experience of higher education would have on early female scholars. President Angell reported that none of the perils envisioned upon the admittance of women had been realized either intellectually or physically, no embarrassment had arisen from the presence of women and the academic scholarship of the institution did not falter. If the influence of women on the University had not been as negative as was predicted, what was the influence of the University on the women who were admitted?

In 1924, the Michigan Alumni Association distributed a survey to complete the record of women graduates and former students. The respondents included 69 women who attended the University during the admission era, 1870 -1880. Of those responses, 50 cases were reviewed for this report. Findings from a review of these cases confirm that 72% of the respondents graduated from the University of Michigan or another institution of higher education such as Radcliffe, Northwestern, Bryn Mawr, Oberlin, Chicago University, Smith, Stanford, the Sorbonne in Paris, and the Polytechnic in Zurich. Contrary to the popular beliefs of the time, 50% of the respondents married after graduation and an additional 4% were married and then divorced. Of those women 30% had children, effectively defeating Dr. Clarke's argument against coeducation.

An overwhelming majority (82%) of the women who responded to the survey worked outside the home. While most became teachers or physicians, other occupations of these women included Librarian, Writer, "Farmerette", Preceptress, Chair of a Normal School, and Director of a Settlement House. Some of the women earned national recognition for their achievements, including Sarah Banks ('73) who was the second woman physician in the city of Detroit; Eliza Mosher ('75) who became the University's first Dean of Women in 1896; Annie Peck ('78) was the first person to climb Mt. Huascaran in Peru (elev. 21,812 feet); and Lucy Salmon ('76) an accomplished author who published 5 books during her career.

The women who blazed the trail in the first decade of women's admission to the University became role models for future students. Every woman of the admission era, graduate or not, could be considered outstanding for their sheer determination to cross the threshold of the once all male institution. The findings of the 1924 Alumni Association survey concurred with President Angell's opinion that most of the fears of admitting women to the University of Michigan were unfounded. Male students continued to enroll despite the inclusion of women, and attendance by women did not result in spinsterhood or prevent women from having children. In spite of the cold treatment they received on campus, a majority of them did graduate with a diploma or degree from a college or university. Most of these pioneers continued to blaze trails for women by entering occupations outside the home, some practicing their craft for over 50 years, receiving national and international honors for their achievements.

Today, the doors of admission at the University of Michigan are open for any that wish to apply. The women of the admission era defied the culture of their day by attending college in the first place. It is hard to imagine the depth of commitment any of the women who attended the University in the 1870's must have possessed in order to return each day and endure the ridicule, condemnation, and indifference with which they were treated by the community, faculty and students around them.

Despite the fears propagated at the time by the adversaries of coeducation at Harvard and Yale, Western Universities became the icon for the coeducation movement in the nineteenth century. The admission of women to the University of Michigan was important due to the size of the institution and the fact the University was a state supported institution. As a powerful force in the administration of the University, the Board of Regents refused to admit women and it took almost two decades before the will of the people of the state of Michigan forced the Board to rescind its earlier resolutions barring women from the University doors.

Madelon Stockwell is lauded as the first female student to attend classes at the University. We cannot forget other pioneers such as Alice Boise who attended classes even though women were not allowed in the classroom and Sarah Burger who was turned down three times before she sought access to education elsewhere. These students along with scores of politicians, feminists, and the people of the state secured a place for any woman wishing to go to college, thereby creating a "wedge in the door" for all women at the University of Michigan.

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Reflections: Student Life on the African American Campus During the Nineteenth Century

Wanda M. Davis
SUNY–Buffalo State College

During the antebellum era, educational opportunities for the descendants of Africa were virtually non existent. By and large there was no provision for learning in the higher branches and with little exception, historically white colleges denied admission to persons of color. Christopher Lucas, in his work *American Higher Education: A History* reminds us that no more than twenty-nine black graduates are listed on college rosters prior to the Emancipation Proclamation. A few of the distinguished are: Alexander Lucius Twilight, the first Negro to obtain a college degree in the United States, graduated from Vermont's Middlebury College in 1823. Edward Jones and John Russwurm graduated respectively from Amherst and Bowdoin, in 1826. Mary Jane Patterson is recognized as the first female graduate of African descent. She received her degree from Oberlin in 1862. Despite these exceptions, during the pre-civil war period, educational opportunities for the greater population had not been achieved nor had the greater task of providing higher education for African Americans on a broader scale been addressed.

Golden Beginnings: a Comparison of Pre-civil War Institutions

Ashmun Institute, now Lincoln University was founded in 1854 as a private Presbyterian institution of higher learning for males of African descent. Reverend John M. Dickey, a colonizationist and leader in the Presbyterian Church, established the school. Located in Hinsonville, Pennsylvania, adjoining the tri-state areas of Delaware and Maryland, the campus rested in a community of "free"African Americans. One case, the story of James R. Amos, the university's first student, is extremely important to the history of Lincoln.

A Dream Deferred: An Abbreviated Story. James R. Amos, a young "free" man, had a dream to advance his education. Then in his twenties, James settled on a farm in a small area in southeastern Pennsylvania. Hinsonville was a community of five African American settlements. Amos was a hard worker, only taking rest on Sunday to attend church. Already an ordained minister in the African Methodist Church, he felt the call to preach. He wanted an advanced degree. With this goal in mind, Amos sought the counsel of Reverend John M. Dickey (Murray 1973, 393; Thomson 1898, 392).

Dr. Dickey found Amos to be academically qualified and sought to secure admission for him at a school connected with the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. Unfortunately, white students reacted negatively. They demanded that Amos be made a porter rather than to engage with them in scholarly activity. When James refused to take this subordinate position, he was dismissed.

Determined, Dr. John Dickey sought admission for Amos to virtually every institution of higher education in the Union. Although academically prepared, to no avail, Amos faced continual rejection. In the interim, Dickey instructed James. A dedicated student, Amos walked twenty-eight miles once a week to recite personally to Dr. Dickey. Frustrated with standing admissions practices, Dickey laid plans to establish a school of Christian training for African American male youth. With the financial assistance of his wife, Sara Cresson, and many, many others, in 1854 Ashmun Institute was chartered as a liberal arts university for scientific, classical, and theological education. The expressed mission of Ashmun Institute was to train males of African descent to teach others and to serve as missionaries in Africa.

The Early Curriculum. Following the Princeton model, the early curriculum of Ashmun Institute was rooted in the classics. It was among the earliest of institutions in Pennsylvania to include the science and the art of teaching in its curriculum. Academic instruction was largely comprised of college and seminary subjects with a sprinkling of general courses. As with other schools of the period, religion was at the core of the curriculum.

Student Life. The first class of students was admitted in 1857. Although the university was established for the purpose of educating colored male youth, as early as 1873, Lincoln enrolled several white male students, some of who graduated in the fist class.

At Lincoln, student decorum was extremely important. A rigorous academic program complemented high behavioral and moral standards. If anyone was found in violation of any code of conduct, they were dismissed. Misbehavior included public drunkenness, misrepresentation of reasons for visiting families in the village or in the town of Oxford, and for leaving campus without permission. Other offenses might include practical jokes, water fights, gambling, and destruction of university property, possession of weapons, and the use of alcohol. Two instances of student protest of particular interest occurred in 1875 and 1890.

In 1875, students questioned the racial make up of their board of trustees and the faculty. Ironically, Lincoln had a policy that prohibited African Americans from being part of the faculty or administration. For students, this was unacceptable. After much debate and student opposition fifteen years later the policy was changed to employ faculty regardless of color. In 1954, (91 years after Lincoln was chartered), Horace M. Bond became the first African American president.

Another sign of organized student unrest came in 1890 when seniors refused to take part in a required examination. As a result, the entire class was dismissed. Most students felt remorse for their actions and were subsequently readmitted. A few graduated the next year. Some transferred to other institutions. Of those who transferred, Dr. Eugene Percy Roberts later returned as president of the board of trustees. (Bond 1976, 357)

These early students were full of fun. A traditional prank at Halloween was to take the presidential buggy out of its shed and to leave it at some distant point. On one occasion, Dr. Rendall, a graduate of Princeton and then president of the university, hid in the buggy. After the students had taken the buggy several miles toward the town of Oxford, to their astonishment, the president rose up from the buggy and made a strong suggestion that they take the buggy back to the campus (Bond 1976, 287). So the prank was foiled.

Dr. Rendall expected his students to succeed academically and often arranged for them to display their mastery of the King's English as a promotional tool. The book loan record of the library indicates that the earliest of students read widely and in quantity. For example, William D. Robeson, 1873-1876, father of the noted artist Paul Robeson was very well read. Another student George Cleveland Hall class of 1886, a most voracious reader, became a famous surgeon and civic leader in Chicago. Other students went on to become heroes in the Civil War.

The founding of Ashmun Institute marks a pivotal point in the evolution of educational opportunities for peoples of African descent. Like Lincoln, Cheyney University was founded in Pennsylvania during the early nineteenth century.

The Institute for Colored Youth, now known as Cheyney University was chartered in 1837 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to fulfill the dream of its distinguished Quaker benefactor, Mr. Richard Humphreys. A Philadelphia Friend, Humphreys was a member of The Religious Society of Friends. As with many of his associates, Richard gave freely to humane causes. The Institute for Colored Youth was one of them.

Upon his death in 1832, Humphreys bequeathed $10,000 for the establishment of a training school for African American youth. In accordance, the Quaker Board of Managers bought land, erected a building, hired teachers, and set up a curriculum equal to that of other high schools of the period.

Curriculum. Quakers were hesitant about creating theological seminaries and the provision of classical education, therefore, the Institute for Colored Youth was established to provide instruction in literature science, agriculture, and the mechanic arts (Conyers 1990, 9). An integral part of the mission included preparing students to serve as teachers.

The diversified curriculum covered an array of programs in both vocational and academic subjects. As the Civil War approached, the Institute offered six different levels of academic program for males and females of African descent. Later, based upon the insistence of students, Black mechanics in Philadelphia, and a Committee of Colored men, the curriculum would be expanded to include the liberal arts.

Student Life. The first class of five students arrived on October 5, 1840. Admitted from The Shelter for Colored Orphans (Conyers 1990, 30) the male students were of eleven and twelve years of age. They could read, write, and spell. The also had some knowledge of geography. Ms. Ann Jones, wife of the principal, Isaac, enforced the rules and regulations. In that capacity, students admitted from the shelter were bound to the Institute until the age of twenty-one. After four years of service, starting with garden and farm work, they were to advance to some instruction and cultivation of good habits. The presence of female students became evident after 1852.

Two years after the admission of the first class, conditions began to deteriorate. The needs of the farm placed literary education as a second priority. As a result, between 1840-1844, students became restless. They rebelled and it caused such hardship that the farm had to close. It seems that students wanted intellectual stimulation and this conflicted with the needs of manual farm labor. As a result, they ran away or caused destruction to property (Conyers 1990, 8). Elias Montgomery was the first of a number of students to run away. Others would leave to take on apprenticeships with masters in the city. A typical day went like this: rise at 6:00 a.m. to a breakfast of fried mush and potatoes with bread and milk or molasses at 7:00 a.m. Academic or manual instruction began at 8:00 a.m. These youngsters would then work the farm until noon when dinner would be served. Dinner included soup and meat on alternate days with vegetables, rice, and flour pudding or plum pie. It was back to the fields from 1:30-5:00. Supper, which consisted of bread and milk or mush and milk, began at 5:30 p.m., and students were to retire at 7:00. This basic meal plan cost four cents (Conyers 1990, 30).

Needless to say, students were not happy with this arrangement. They felt that they were being treated as farmhands. Their discontent surfaced in a variety of ways. Not only did students take permanent leave from the campus, in one instance, late one night, the managers received word that a fire had occurred under suspicious circumstances near the outhouse. Dissatisfaction among students ran so high that by 1846, only six years after the first students arrived, the Institute suspended operations. The school reopened and continued. Two of the early graduates of the institute went on to Oberlin College. Another graduate went to Edinburgh, Scotland to pursue a scientific and classical course of study. His desire was to teach.

Substantial changes in institutional and student culture would occur under the tutelage of Ms. Fanny Jackson in the 1870s. The presidencies of Fanny Jackson Coppin and Hugh Browne and later, Leslie Pinckney Hill deserve individual study and attention that will not be provided here. (Conyers 1990, 62).

Many years of hard work had gone into fulfilling the mission of the Institute, and on the eve of our nation's Civil War, it was achieving its mission. Instruction was now being offered to a number of African Americans who would not have had the opportunity for educational advancement. Our third institution is Wilberforce University in Xenia, Ohio.

Wilberforce University is the outgrowth of a proposal that was made by the Cincinnati Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church (M.E.). Founded in 1856 and located at the Tawawa Spring Resort, the campus rests along the West Virginia and Kentucky borders. At least two principal stations of the Underground Railroad lie on the campus.

Resulting from tensions between the North and South over slave territory, the school almost closed. Fortunately, in 1863, through the hard work and extraordinary vision of Bishop Daniel Payne, an African American member of the original governing board of Wilberforce, the charter was changed and ownership was transferred to the African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.).

Curriculum. The educational objective of Wilberforce was to provide men and women of with intellectual, moral and social development. The M.E. and the A.M.E. Church felt that it was important for the West to have a university to accommodate the intellectual and moral condition of thirty thousand people of color who were now migrating and residing in Ohio. As with Lincoln, Wilberforce was chartered and mandated to begin as a university. As such, the classics and religion remained central to the curriculum. Operating as a normal school with a preparatory department, students of Wilberforce enjoyed their rich surroundings. They graduated and went on to teach and Christianize others.

Student Life. When Wilberforce opened its doors in 1857, nineteen students were enrolled. Between 1857 and 1860, enrollment increased to include more than two hundred and seven male and female students. These early students represented a wide range of ability and attainment. They came from over twenty states. Approximately one half of them were from twelve southern states. Wilberforce also admitted a number of children of mixed blood. They were the sons and daughters of plantation owners (McGinnis 1962) and some were from established families of Ohio and the Southern and Southwestern states therefore exact figures and names are not readily available. As much as possible identities were intentionally protected. Not only did the students of Wilberforce represent the integration of various races, student representation grew to include an international segment. They came from Mexico, the British West Indies, Bermuda, Canada, South America, Haiti, and almost every part of South Africa. As with Lincoln, an international connection was apparent. The majority of Wilberforce students graduated, excelled, and went on as teachers.

During the formative years the faculty controlled the extracurriculum and it consisted of study hall and activities that centered on the religious program of the college. A literary society, the Giddings Lyceum was formed to facilitate debate and literary culture. Women students proclaimed their compositions every two weeks with male students promoting their views on alternate weeks. Fredrick McGinnis(1941) suggests that sometimes students would get so involved with the religious fervor that classes would need to be canceled. He goes on to explain that the university sanctioned theatricals and elocutionary contests because it was felt that they would encourage literary activity among the young scholars.

Overall student life was restricted and rather routine. Roommates shared responsibility for keeping their quarters orderly. After making their beds, they carried in coal and water. General duties related to hygienic living were also necessary. Little to no frivolous behavior was permitted. Life was organized and serious. The chief event was the monthly social hour when at designated times, older students could mix sexes. Mixing meant that they were allowed to march up and down the corridor of the hall, arm in arm to the tunes of martial music. Generally, however, students were expected to attend chapel services twice daily, at 7:45 a.m. and at 4 p.m. Alcohol, tobacco, firearms, games of chance, profanity, obscenity, and immoral books or papers was forbidden. A student caught visiting with another student during study hours or a student found absent from campus faced dismissal.

Common among students of the period, pranks were in order. As with other institutions Halloween was an excuse for this behavior. So, aside from playful activities such as pillow fights and wrestling matches, students would sometimes involve themselves in activities against an individual faculty member or the president. In 1887, when the president was doused with water, the faculty resolved itself into a court and called before it twenty suspects. Some were suspended from school. The university chapel was also targeted. In fact, once a year, a cow, pig, or horse needed to be rescued from the chapel tower. Most of this happened at 12 midnight on the eve of Halloween. If students were not in class or church, they were supposed to be studying. If they were found in violation of any of the codes, they received a black mark. Three such marks resulted in a separation from the school. This represents the first sign of an organized system of discipline. Over time, these rules and regulations were softened and modified. In fact sometimes they would bypass the faculty and go straight to the board of trustees to get what they wanted (McGinnis 1941, 253).

During the antebellum period, with the exception of Oberlin College, Wilberforce was the predominant institution of higher education available to people of color in Ohio and the West. Not only did the school produce teachers and preachers, by the end of the nineteenth century Wilberforce began to produce doctors and lawyers (McGinnis 1941, 282).

Conclusion

In comparison, each institution had theology or religious study as a core element of their curriculum. In each case it was hoped that students would go on to teach and Christianize others. Lincoln University had an international mission, Cheyney geared its focus on youth of the Colored race in Philadelphia, and Wilberforce University had a national focus that addressed the educational needs of those of African descent, the mulatto descendants of Southern planters, and African Americans in the Western region.

Similar to other institutions of the period, students were held to a very tight schedule that included daily prayer. Lincoln students were being trained to serve with the Presbytery in Liberia, Cheyney's students were being trained as teachers and were provided the practical skills of the mechanical arts, and Wilberforce was training teachers. Both Lincoln and Wilberforce were founded as liberal arts universities.

On occasion, each school faced student discontent. In some cases students were suspended; in others, the campus was shut down. At each campus, students took the initiative to form extra-curricular activities. In most cases they took responsibility to meet their own intellectual or social needs even in the face of dismissal. When they were the campuses remained relatively quiet. If the environment was not compatible with student needs and expectations, they responded, sometimes with violence. By the end of the Civil War, a number of students had completed their studies and received their degrees or certificates. Clearly, students influenced Lincoln, Cheyney, and Wilberforce Universities. Each, although distinct in their mission, withstood and overcame the difficulties of the period. The African American University/College and their students occupy a distinctive and unique place within American higher education.

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Gerald H. Read: Education Ambassador to the World

Chara Haeussler Bohan
The University of Texas at Austin

Gerald Howard Read has served as America's education ambassador to the world. His contributions in the field of comparative education are unparalleled and numerous. At Kent State University (KSU) from 1943-1976, he was the Endowed Professor of Comparative Education. Twice an Ohio State Scholar at The Ohio State University during his years as a graduate student, Read went on to a career that included academic leadership as national president of Kappa Delta Pi, founder and Secretary-Treasurer of the Comparative and International Education Society, Associate Editor of the *Comparative Education Review*, Fulbright Scholar, Chairman of the Selection Committee of Fulbright Scholars, and Honorary Chairman of The World Council of Comparative Education Societies. Read has also authored many articles and co-authored two books, *The Changing Soviet School* (1960) and *Russian Education: Tradition and Transition* (1995), and has received prestigious honors such as the President's Medal for Outstanding Service to Education (KSU), Outstanding Alumni of Kent State University, and Charter Fellow, College of Preceptors, United Kingdom. In addition to these noteworthy accomplishments, Gerald Read has been a remarkably altruistic individual who has made significant monetary donations to several educational organizations. Read's most notable abilities, however, lay in his organizational and interpersonal skills. He directed field studies and seminars for many organizations throughout the world for over forty years. Thousands of educators were able to learn about and to visit educational systems in countries around the globe because of Read's leadership. Significantly, Read negotiated the first academic exchange agreements between the United States and the Soviet Union, 1957; Rumania, 1958; Hungary and Czechoslovakia, 1960; Poland and East Germany, 1961; and the People's Republic of China, 1973 (Read 1998a). Clearly, Read was an educational pioneer in an age when the airplane enabled people of the world to come into closer contact with one another.

Born in Akron, Ohio, on June 28, 1913, Gerald Read's family was of modest means. He graduated from high school in the midst of the depression, but was able to attend nearby Kent State University on a football scholarship (Read 1995). Although an injury sidelined Read and left him on crutches for almost five years, Read earned a Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees, *magna cum laude*, from Kent State in 1936 (Ohles 1986). During his senior year at Kent, Read organized his first trip abroad to study Cuba's rural education program undertaken by the national President, Fulgencio Batista. Read's interest in Cuba stemmed from his youth. His childhood home was filled with Spanish American War memorabilia that his father, a U.S. Army veteran, had collected. During his first trip to Cuba, Read and several of his fellow Kent State University students were guests of the director of the "Escuela Normal José Martí" which trained "sergeant-teachers." As a result of this experience, Read's interest in Cuban education expanded, and he formed life-long professional friendships with Cuban educators (Read 1998d).
Subsequently, Read attended The Ohio State University, at which he wrote his master's thesis, "History of Cuban Education" and earned his A.M. degree in 1938. Thereafter, Read began his professional career in education as a junior high school principal in Tallmadge, Ohio. In 1941, he married Victoria C. Tarog. Desiring a position in a high school, Read taught Spanish and history in Perrysburg, Ohio during the 1941-42 academic year (Ohles 1986; Read 1995). The following year he returned to The Ohio State University, again as an Ohio State Scholar, and began work toward a Doctor of Philosophy degree. Continuing his work on Cuban education, he wrote his doctoral dissertation on "Las Escuelas Rurales Civico-Militares Movemiento," but did not complete his degree until 1950.

Read returned to Kent State in 1943 as supervising teacher of social studies and professor of secondary education. He resumed his activity in the local campus chapter of Kappa Delta Pi, the national honor society in education. As an undergraduate, he had been initiated into the society in 1936. Upon his return to Kent State as a professor, he assisted with the organization and became the chapter counselor in 1948 (Read 1995). Since its founding in 1911, Kappa Delta Pi had been run by "essentialist" educators such as William C. Bagley, Dean T. C. McCracken, and E. I. F. Williams (Read 1986, 70). He quickly gained notice from the society leaders at the national level, and in 1954, he became national Vice-President. Subsequently, he was reelected to this office five times and served until 1964. Believing that the times demanded changes in the authoritarian power structure that he sensed had dominated

Kappa Delta Pi since its inception, he used his presidency (1964-1966) to democratize the society and bring it into "the 21st century of progressive reforms," an accomplishment about which Read remains extremely proud (Read 1998b). One change was that long tenures of Executive Council leaders ended, and a democratic method of electing Kappa Delta Pi officials was instituted. Read also helped to amend the constitution of the society to create the office of President-Elect. Continuity in leadership was established by the election of a member to serve two years as President-Elect, two years as President, and, then, followed by two years as Advisory Counselor. Furthermore, tenure of President was limited to one biennium, except when an unexpired term of President was served by the President-Elect (Read 1986).

At Kent State University, Read taught numerous courses related to his interest in comparative education. At the undergraduate level, he taught "School and Society" along with other professors who were part of the Foundations of Education department. In addition, Read taught several graduate level courses. These courses included: "Teaching Moral and Spiritual Values in the Public Schools," "Teaching About Religion in the Public Schools," "Education Reforms in Developed Countries," "Persisting Problems in Education Throughout the World," and "Communism, The Soviet Union, and Socialist Education" (Read 1998c). Because Read increasingly engaged in directing educational seminars abroad during his years at Kent State, courses were either team taught with other members of the department or conducted in short, intensive four-week seminars in order to facilitate his extensive travel.

Despite an incredibly busy schedule, Read developed strong relations with many colleagues and students, particularly his doctoral candidates. Read's former Ph.D. students, such as Abdul Al-Rubaiy, Peter Hackett, Mary Ellen Hynes, Xiaolu Hu, and Sherry Cable, eventually spread out across the country to numerous institutions including the University of Akron, the University of Virginia, Central Florida State University, San Jose State University, and the University of Tennessee. Dr. Abdul Al-Rubaiy conveyed fond memories of Gerald Read stating that he was "a man who provided rare opportunities for American teachers and professors to see how the other side of the world lived, educated, and provided for their young. His main idea was not to argue the benefits of democracy and capitalism, but to show others that it is one of the better options available for governing and providing for people" (Al-Rubaiy 1993, 40). Colleagues, such as J. Arch Phillips, a professor at Kent State University for twenty-six years and the director of the Center for International and Intercultural Education, conveyed similar complementary sentiments. He wrote, "Dr. Read is one of a kind among professionals and I think he has no peer in the field of Comparative Education... It was Dr. Read's contention that teachers (of social studies in particular) needed to observe and experience socialist government and education practices first-hand if indeed they were to teach about democracy and its critical advantages in a civilized society" (Phillips 1998).

During the 1950s and 1960s, Read engaged in several academic endeavors which enhanced his interest in comparative education. He directed the work of the Commission on Teaching Moral and Spiritual Values in Public Schools, of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. He also attended conferences of the Society for College Professors of Education, at which individual scholars interested in comparative education formed a special interest group. At these meetings, Read formed a life-long friendship with William W. Brickman, a New York University professor and editor of *School and Society*, who became instrumental to Read's future travels (Bereday, Brickman, and Read 1960; Read 1995). Brickman had been a student of Isaac Kandel, at Teachers College, Columbia University, an individual prominent in the field of comparative education studies. In the 1950s, Brickman organized several conferences on comparative education. Soon thereafter, interest arose in planning visits and seminars with professors in European universities. Brickman and Read became directors of the first European seminar which occurred in 1956 (Read 1998d, 1). Forty-four U.S. professors of education began this first trip on a Pan American jetliner that had to be refueled twice before landing in London. After a challenging session of seminars led by the director of the Institute of Education of the University of London and several visits to surrounding schools, the professors continued their program in France, Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Scotland (Ohles 1986, 54). The trip was a tremendous success.

As a result of the European Seminar, Read and others organized the Comparative Education Society, as a section of the Society for College Professors of Education. Read was elected the group's Secretary-Treasurer. Shortly thereafter, the organization began a scholarly journal, *The Comparative Education Review*, and Read became its Associate Editor, with George Bereday, Professor of Comparative Education at Columbia University, as Editor.

Demand for seminars in other countries followed. In 1957, at the request of the Japanese Ministry of Education, Read organized a delegation of U.S. professors to visit Tokyo and to attend a conference sponsored by UNESCO on moral education (Read 1998d, 2).

In that same year, Read and Brickman, at the meeting of the Comparative Education Society, were asked to explore the possibility of an exchange with professors in the Soviet Union. This exploration launched Read's interest in Russia that continues to this day. Of course, 1957 was the height of the Cold War. In that year, the Soviets launched the "Sputnik" satellite which caused tremendous fear in the United States that the Soviets were scientifically superior to the U.S. (Tindall 1988, 1340). Books such as *What Ivan Knows and Johnny Doesn't* heightened the demand for an improvement of American education (Read 1998d, 2). In the midst of such a tense atmosphere, the American Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Llewelyn Thompson, pressured the U.S. State Department to encourage educational and cultural relations between the two powers. Thompson prevailed upon Moscow State University's preeminent psychology professor, Dr. Alexi N. Leontiev, to extend an invitation to Read and Brickman to make an exploratory visit. Read's wife, Vicky, who spoke Russian, accompanied the men, although the Russians were unaware of her fluency (Read 1995). On the way to Moscow, they stopped for a briefing from Stockholm University's Professor Torsten Husen who later was to become the founder of the international testing movement. Individuals at Stockholm University had established close contacts with Soviet educators. Read and Husen eventually became the first foreigners to be elected as Academicians by the Russian Academy of Education because of their work. In January, 1958, a U.S.-U.S.S.R. agreement was reached to exchange a delegation of educators that was approved by American Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Llewelyn Thompson (Ohles 1986; Read 1998d, 3).

When Read and Brickman returned to New York, they received word from the U.S. State Department that a number of national organizations were opposed to the exchange agreement. The opposition included leaders of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the American Federation of Labor, and the National Education Association. Read and Brickman produced Ambassador Thompson's initials on the official agreement, and after lengthy discussions the agreement remained in effect (Read 1995).

Despite this controversy, Read and Brickman conducted the first seminar in August and September, 1958, and this initial visit paved the way for many that followed. Not only did the American group visit the Soviet Union, but the seminars eventually expanded to nearly every region of the world. Members of the first seminar, which included seventy educators from across the United States, spent time in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev and Tashkent. They met with Russian educators and visited local schools. The group, which was sponsored by the Fund for the Advancement of Education of the Ford Foundation, were guests of the Soviet Trade Union of Educational, Cultural, and Research Workers (Bereday, Brickman, and Read 1960, xiii). As an result of the exchange, a final report, *The Changing Soviet School* (1960), was published. Although authored by George Bereday, William Brickman and Gerald Read, many of the seminar members contributed to the book, which described Russian education's historical antecedents, organization, and other selected issues. Another result of the exchange was that Read received invitations to visit other Eastern European countries soon thereafter, and he negotiated the first Academic Exchange Agreements between the U.S. and Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, and China.

Read's travels extended not only east and west, but also north and south. Indeed, he has directed educational travel programs that have covered almost the entire globe and included almost one hundred countries. In 1962, Read organized a tour of several African countries, including Liberia, Ghana, and South Africa. Because of South Africa's policy of apartheid, that nation typically denied visas to non-white foreigners. However, Read's group included Mrs. Fleming, an African-American educator from Canton, Ohio. While visiting Johannesburg, the group attended a reception hosted by the mayor, a Mr. Fleming, who told the American party that he had been born of South African parents in Pennsylvania, and wanted to meet Mrs. Fleming to find out if perhaps they were related. Mrs. Fleming assured the mayor that they were not related. During the visit, no South African officials made an issue of her race. When Mrs. Fleming returned home, she told people how she had broken through South Africa's racial barrier and met a possible relative, the honorable mayor of Johannesburg (Read 1998e, 2).

In 1972, while lecturing at Haile Selassi University in Ethiopia, Read was asked to serve as advisor of group travel to the Ethiopian Airlines. Earlier, the Ethiopian government's national airline had been granted the rights to fly to China. Because of his expertise, Read flew with the Ethiopian royal family to China in February, 1973. During his trip, Read met with the Premier of the People's Republic of China, Chou En Lai, and Chinese educators, and arranged for a delegation of American educators to visit China. In return, the Chinese officials requested that Read gain admissions and financial support for Chinese professors to pursue graduate study in American universities. In 1974, amidst the Cultural Revolution, Read directed the first group of American educators to visit China, which was sponsored by Phi Delta Kappa (Ohles 1986, 56; Read 1998d, 6). Interestingly, one of the conditions was that the Americans travel to China by way of Ethiopia, and spend time touring that developing country. In a recent interview, Read reported that this visit to such a primitive country as Ethiopia was quite an experience for the American group, which included college presidents. In Ethiopia, the people were appallingly poor, children often had flies over their bodies, hotel facilities were meager at best, and education was generally rudimentary (Read 1995). On a personal level, the trip to China also was tremendously rewarding for Read. Kongit Haile Meriam, the niece of the Director of Sales of Ethiopian airlines whose father had died and left nine children, befriended the Reads. At the end of the visit to China, the Reads accepted her as their daughter. She later graduated from Kent State University and earned a master's degree (Read 1998d, 6).

Read's work in comparative education enabled many students and visiting scholars, particularly from Eastern European countries and China, to come to the United States to teach and learn. For example, his efforts led to bringing two scholars, Dr. Yany Zhi-Ling and Dr. Lin Bing, from Beijing Normal University to Kent State University. These two Chinese individuals were the first to earn doctorates in any field at an American University since the Cultural Revolution (Phillips 1998). Read also arranged for numerous visiting professors from around the globe to teach specially designed courses at Kent State University. Hailing from prominent world wide educational instutions, a few of these professors were Nigel Grant of Edinburgh University, Michael Debeauvais of the University of Paris, Elzo Velema of Amersterdam University, Brian Holmes of the University of London, and Buhn Thin, Thailand's Minister of Education (Read 1998c).

Not only was Read instrumental in developing relationships and enhancing understanding among educators around the globe, often times between the United States and countries where tensions were deep, but he also has been generous in supporting future generations of educators through endowments and scholarships. A modest man, Read has given intellectually and financially without seeking recognition. Indeed, his generous philanthropy is quite astounding. When Read began directing the seminars and travel programs, Kent State's College of Education set up an International Travel Fund to administer and disperse payments and charges. Because Read fulfilled his teaching assignments by team teaching, the college did not have to draw upon the fund as originally planned. The fund, which helped to establish the Endowed Gerald H. Read Chair in International and Comparative Education, was turned over to the Kent State Foundation upon Read's retirement, and at present has grown to more than one million dollars (Phillips 1998; Read 1998c). In addition, Read and his wife "donated a major pavilion to the Porthouse Theater grounds, the summer home of Kent State's theater department which is located in conjunction with the Blossom Centerk, the summer home of the Cleveland Orchestra" (Phillips 1998).

Read's philanthropy has not been limited to Kent State University. Because Read also directed seminars and tours for Phi Delta Kappa (PDK), upon his retirement he was able to turn over the surplus fund of more than $200,000 dollars to the PDK Foundation. Today, this fund has grown to over $700,000 and it is the source of PDK scholarships (Read 1998c). Furthermore, Gerald Read is not the only generous member of the Read household. Read's wife, Vicky, who owned vast property in Ohio, funded the "Adopt a Scholar" program of PDK and also gave her hometown its first public library (Phillips 1998). Recently, both Read and his wife gave a challenge grant of $100,000 dollars to Kappa Delta Pi (KDP) in recognition of the contribution the society made to Read's professional development as a counselor and officer of the society. Clearly, the Reads' generosity is quite extensive has and will continue to benefit education for many years.

Read retired from Kent State University in 1976, but continued to direct tours until 1986. From 1987-1994, together with Professor Brian Holmes of the Institute of Education, University of London, and Professor Natalya Voskresenskaya of the Russian Academy of Education, Read updated the original Ford Foundation project that sponsored his first educational tours to Russia. The result was the publication of *Russian Education: Tradition and Transition* (Holmes, Read, and Voskresenskaya 1995). Clearly, Read has remained active in retirement. On the occasion of his eightieth birthday, a group of professors wrote and distributed a *Festschrift*, a pamphlet with almost a dozen articles, to honor Gerald Read. Fittingly, Read's admirers who contributed to the *Festschrift* hailed from around the globe. One former student noted that Read was a father figure to a large number of foreign and domestic students, but that he was also now a grandfather, who has educated his grandson to "see the difference in people, but also to look for the commonality among human beings" (Al-Rubaiy 1993, 41).

With such remarkable accomplishments, altruism and praise, one is left wondering whether Gerald Read has any flaws. Surely, Read is mortal. He seems to have been a fairly opinionated person with whom to work. In fact, one former student reported that Read had a "rough exterior" "demanding manner, and forceful personality," but that these traits belied his willingness to provide and support people (Al-Rubaiy 1993, 40). Undoubtedly, Read's powerful demeanor enabled him to make contacts and negotiate important agreements. Moreover, Read's success was in large part due to high expectations he held for himself and others. With the present emphasis on multicultural education, Read's work stands as groundbreaking. He worked to increase understanding of other cultures by bringing educators from around the globe into contact with one another. Read's work deserves critical acclaim, and his generous philanthropy assures that future generations of educators will also benefit from his efforts.

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"Mexican School": Towards Understanding Educational History

Mary S. Black, Janet Hammer, Wilhelmina Daniels,
Kathy Blankenship, and Matthew D. Davis
The University of Texas at Austin

Among histories of immigrant education in America, emphasis on Mexican American schooling has long languished. However, a *Harvard Educational Review* symposium on Mexican American educational history in April 1998, highlights growing interest in this area.[1] A recently published article in the pages of that journal constitutes the most thorough chapter yet in the history of Mexican American education.[2]

However, little is known of individual schools where children of Mexican heritage in this country have been or continue to be educated.[3] Particularly missing are accounts of schooling opportunities beyond the blighted experiences reported by Manuel, Carter, San Miguel, and others. This form of "problematizing" the subject - exploring the complexities of the lived experiences of students - only recently has been a source of inquiry in African American educational history.[4] Not until more numerous, and more complex, studies of individual schools have been written can meaningful comparisons between various schooling experiences be investigated. This paper attempts to fill part of the void in educational history by describing one specific school for children of Mexican descent.

Zavala Elementary School was established as a public school in Austin, Texas, in 1936 specifically to educate children of Mexican heritage.[5] The school was named for Lorenzo De Zavala, Interim Vice President of the Republic of Texas one hundred years before and former governor of Yucatan in southern Mexico. The Mexican origin population in Austin during the 1930s, as today, consisted of both recent immigrants and people whose families had lived in the United States for generations.[6] From its founding until 1969, classes were taught in English only at Zavala.[7] Even though the Austin school board wanted specifically to address the needs of Spanish-speaking students, English-only laws forbade instruction in any other language in Texas public schools.[8]

Zavala represents a commitment to education during a time in Texas when both people of Mexican heritage and Whites were less educated than their counterparts in other Southwestern states.[9] Zavala also demonstrates considerable differences to the stereotypical pattern of poor schooling conditions for children of Mexican heritage in the United States during the early years of this century. From the beginning, it has been an urban school with an excellent physical plant. The standard curriculum for Austin Independent School District has always been taught, rather than the sparse curriculum often described for schools serving Mexican origin students prior to 1970.[10] It has always offered a full nine-month scholastic calendar in contrast to rural schools for agricultural workers that were only open five or six months per year in some areas. Even though the neighborhood was primarily low-income and minority, many families were settled urban dwellers rather than migratory farm workers. Nonetheless, it is often a story of political compromise cloaked in good intentions during periods of segregation, court-ordered desegregation, and modern resegregation.

Information for this study was collected through interviews and document examination as part of a dissertation for one researcher and a graduate class project for the others. Even though this study is still incomplete, it fills in some of the spots left blank by previous fragmentary reports of Mexican American educational history.

White School Dominance: Zavala's First 30 Years, 1936-1968

During a school board meeting in Austin, Texas, in the summer of 1935, the superintendent rose to enumerate the most pressing needs of the city's schools. Among the priorities he specified was the construction of a new school specifically for students of Mexican ancestry. According to the school board, it had been the desire of that group for many years to provide for the "large group of Spanish-speaking citizens of Austin a suitable, well-equipped school building...as near the center of population as possible...It is proposed to construct and equip a conveniently located 12-room brick building including an auditorium."[11]

Two months later Austin Mayor Tom Miller signed the grant application to the Federal Emergency Administration for Public Works to build the new school in the middle of the deepening Depression. Thanks to the influence of then Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, federally subsidized construction projects for public housing and school renovation and expansion were underway in Central Texas. The new school was to be built directly across the street from a new housing project for low-income Mexican families, in a neighborhood that was primarily of Mexican heritage.[12]

Two schools existed in Austin exclusively for Spanish-speaking children prior to 1936, the West Avenue School and Comal Elementary. Four blocks away from the Zavala location, children of Mexican origin had attended Metz Elementary School together with Whites since 1916. But with the hardening of segregation during the Depression, another separate school for Hispanic children was seen as a political necessity.[13]

Zavala Elementary School opened specifically to educate children of Mexican heritage in September, 1936, at a cost of $52,153.00, which was $12,000 under budget. The new brick building included 11 classrooms, manual training rooms, homemaking rooms, a lunchroom, a bookroom, and something that gave great pride to the school, an auditorium. The building represented the best physical plant available for students during this era. This was a dramatic difference from the poor facilities in which many Mexican origin children in Texas, especially in rural areas, were compelled to study.[14]

Four years later a south wing was added that included 3 classrooms and a library. In 1949, a second auditorium was built, as well as showers and bathroom facilities. Finally in 1955, a large recreation center was built adjacent to the school. Clearly the school board was following through on their desire to provide an outstanding educational facility to this neighborhood.[15]

From its opening in 1936 until court-ordered desegregation began in 1981, Zavala's school enrollment was approximately 98% children of Mexican origin. As was commonly known at the time, and still expressed in the neighborhood today, Zavala was built especially to educate Mexican children in a segregated school. In the 1930s, citizenship classes were held at Zavala in an effort to "Americanize" immigrants from Mexico.[16] After Zavala was built, the perception in the neighborhood became that Metz Elementary four blocks away was only for White children, and Mexican children should attend Zavala. In actual fact, not all Mexican origin children who had attended Metz prior to 1936 changed schools. Metz remained at least 10% Mexican origin from 1936 to 1940, even though Zavala offered a brand new building as well as community solidarity.[17]

One woman who did switch schools recalled her childhood during the Depression. She attended Metz for first through third grades, and transferred to Zavala for grades four through six. When she finished sixth grade in 1939, she had to quit school to help support her family. "I cried and cried for days when I had to quit school," she said. "That was my sacrifice for my family." She says all the children in the family had to work to get enough to eat during those years. Even the youngest ones shelled pecans to earn money. The family also made Mexican candy and sold watermelons to make ends meet. "Everybody pitched in," she recalls.[18]

During the first 30 years or so of its existence, the school struggled to educate an annual influx of migrant students, who followed their parents to work in the fields from Texas to Michigan six months out of the year. No provision was made in the school calendar to accommodate the needs of these children, however; consequently, many fell behind the typical pattern of grade progression.

The overall school enrollment at Zavala reached 665 in 1954, the sixth highest in the city. Meanwhile Zavala's sister school, Metz, hit a peak of 880 students, topping all other elementary schools in Austin that year.[19] Clearly this part of town was continuing to grow. In 1958, the school district installed one of the city's first Mexican American principals at Zavala, a Mr. Hernandez. More research is needed about this phase of Zavala's history in order to address adequately the impact this made on the school, the neighborhood, and the city.

By 1961, Zavala had another White principal, Don Schmidt. When he became the school administrator, a particularly strong mandate from the central administration office spurred Schmidt to improve daily attendance rates. He successfully raised daily attendance from 85% in 1961 to 92% when he retired seven years later. An attendance investigator was assigned by the central office to meet weekly with the principal. Truancy cases were filed in city courts against several parents who failed to comply with the district's compulsory attendance laws. As Principal Schmidt recalled 30 years after his tenure, "attendance was vital to student progress."[20]

Similar to reports from many other schools serving children of Mexican heritage in Texas in the early half of this century, staff demographics failed to mirror students' faces. For example, Mr. Schmidt remembered only 3 Mexican American teachers at Zavala while he was there in the 1960s. One of these was Edermira Saenz, however, who had taught continuously at the school since 1945.[21]

The Rise of Mexican Culture in Education: Zavala as a Model Bilingual School, 1968-1980

A major shift in school culture occurred when Hermelinda Rodriguez became the second Mexican American principal at Zavala Elementary in 1968. A woman of intelligence and zeal, she grasped the opportunity for change during that era of social reform. She instituted the first bilingual education program in Austin in 1969, years before federal mandates, with the help of three other Zavala teachers. Ms. Rodriguez wrote a letter to the school board outlining her plans to teach Spanish-speaking children in both Spanish and English. There was no response to this letter whatsoever by the school board. "So, I took that as agreement," she said, "and just did it." [22]

Former Zavala teacher Edermira Saenz recalls that people came from all over the United States and several foreign countries to observe the Zavala program. Many people considered the program a success, she said, "because [of] the results …in teaching these young people."[23] [But] "to become a bilingual teacher, I had to struggle," said Ms. Saenz. "We had to, not knowing what bilingual education was when we first started." She describes how the program began:

> Not much happened until Ms. Rodriguez entered the picture….[then] we did our own thing of what we thought bilingual education was. I had never seen a class of bilingual education, but what was in [Ms. Rodriguez's] mind, what was in Ana [Galindo's] mind, what was in my mind, we sat together and figured out that this is what bilingual education is.

In summer 1969, Ms. Saenz and others took a nine-week course taught by Dr. Theodora Anderson for bilingual education teachers. The course was partially funded by the federal government. The following year, Zavala began receiving Title VII money for bilingual education. Ms. Saenz related:

> At the time, we started the program to help our children: our Mexican American, native Mexican American children, born here in the United States, learn English. It was a new concept. We didn't have any books. We were reading out of books from Puerto Rico. And you know that the way that you express certain things, that you say it, we don't say. Then we would have to explain [to the children] what the things were and how come they were said that way.[24]

Ms. Saenz taught at Zavala since graduating from the University of Texas at Austin in 1945. She taught solely in English for 23 years, before the bilingual program began under Ms. Rodriguez.

> "[Suddenly], I was given permission to speak in Spanish," she recalled.So I started in Spanish, and then all of a sudden I can hear myself, I have reverted to English. Because I was used to teaching in English and it was the harder thing for me to stay in Spanish, it is even now. To become a bilingual teacher, I had to struggle. We had to, not knowing what bilingual education was when we first started. It was a good program. And [then] it was….just dropped like a hot potato! Federal money was running out and Austin was not ready to pick it up. Those are the exasperating times![25]

It was not until Fall 1974 that bilingual education was initiated in other elementary schools in Austin Independent School District. [26] Bilingual education was implemented in kindergarten through third grade. Schools could continue bilingual education past the third grade on a volunteer basis. Not everyone in the community favored bilingual education during this period. For example, a Mexican American woman addressed the school board in August, 1970, commenting that the only reason bilingual education was necessary was because Mexican American children were often segregated from English-speaking White children. [27]

The late 1960s and 1970s in Austin saw much debate over school integration. The school district was sued three times in federal court to end segregation of Black and Hispanic children. In 1968 the district was found to be in noncompliance with the 1964 Civil Rights Act because their modified neighborhood school desegregation plan was too restrictive. In 1977 the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that Austin had intentionally segregated minority children in schools. The Supreme Court refused to hear the case in 1979, setting the stage for massive busing to achieve racial balance in schools.[28]

Forced Desegregation: A Period of Unrest, 1981-1987

When two-way busing went into effect in Austin in 1981, Zavala was paired with Casis Elementary School, which served a mostly White, upper middle class population on the other side of town. The plan called for kindergarten students to attend their neighborhood schools, but first through third grade students would be bused across town. Zavala students would then attend fourth through sixth grades back at their neighborhood school, along with additional students from Casis.

In Fall 1981, the mixed first through third grades at Casis included 26 Black children, 243 Mexican American children, and 207 White children, for a total of 476 students. Bilingual teachers from Zavala also went to Casis to teach the young Spanish-speaking children. Zavala educated kindergartners from the Zavala neighborhood, and fourth through sixth grade children from the areas around both Casis and Zavala. This gave the school an usual mix of very young children, and children in the intermediate grades.

Some Casis parents were anxious about their children attending Zavala, which had an obviously Hispanic culture, according to one Zavala teacher.[29] For example, a local artist had painted a huge mural around the front door at Zavala. The Zavala teachers, students, and neighbors loved it. But when the Casis parents saw it, they demanded that it be removed. Some Zavala teachers reported that major repairs to the school were not done until the partnering with Casis was imminent. Some saw this as preferential treatment by the district for the White, upper middle class newcomers to the school.[30]

The desegregation plan created problems for many people with school-age children in Austin. For example, many Zavala parents did not own cars, and Casis was a 45-minute bus ride away. This made it almost impossible for Zavala parents to attend school meetings or pick up students if they got sick at school. Some Zavala parents escorted their children on the school bus everyday, however, rather than let the youngsters ride that far alone. Busing was traumatic for children who had to leave their neighborhoods and go to a strange school. Many young Zavala children, and even some parents, had never been outside their own neighborhood before. On the other hand, some teachers at Casis were intimidated by the thought of having to work with Spanish-speaking or limited English-speaking parents, as well as children. Teachers also reported that students from both neighborhoods interacted during the school day, but did not become friends and play together after school. Because of these and other barriers, unclear perceptions about the other often remained in both White and Hispanic groups.

Many Zavala parents were monolingual Spanish speakers. They sometimes felt overwhelmed by the influential White parents from Casis. The Casis parents were used to being very involved in school activities, especially the Parent Teacher Association (PTA). Even though the Zavala school benefited from their experience in some ways, some neighborhood residents feel that the White parents took over the PTA and, in effect, kept Zavala parents away. For example, the wife of then Texas governor Mark White, regularly attended Zavala PTA meetings and class parties since her two children were among those bused from Casis.[31]

Casis parents wanted the bilingual teachers at Zavala to teach their children Spanish. That was not feasible, however, since the teachers' job was to support monolingual Spanish-speakers in learning English, not the other way around. The parents raised enough money to pay a Spanish teacher's salary, however, thus implementing a two-way bilingual program during those years at Zavala. Several teachers from both schools switched places during this time, creating a more integrated faculty as well as student population.

One White teacher from Zavala remembers that fifth and sixth grade students were separated into "gifted" and "non-gifted" at Zavala for language arts. During the language arts class period, students identified as gifted were sent to a special classroom, and taught by the special "gifted" teacher, with additional assistance from their homeroom teacher. Those students were mostly White, the teacher recalls. Remaining students not labeled gifted, were mostly Hispanic. These students did not get the same enriched language arts experience as the others. [32] Since busing ended in 1987, special programs have been put into place at Zavala to prepare students for honors classes and challenging academic work.

Resegregation: The Current Conundrum

Today, busing continues for Zavala students entering middle school. They are bused across town for almost an hour to Murchison Middle School, located in an affluent, mostly White neighborhood. Zavala teachers sometimes hold special after school tutoring sessions for middle school children, to help them make the transition to the expectations of the new school. Parental involvement has been steadily increasing at the elementary level since Zavala returned to a neighborhood enrollment policy in 1988. The school today is more than 90% Mexican American, and the center of community pride. A new wing will be added soon to replace portable buildings necessitated by increased enrollment.

Conclusions

Zavala has survived as one of the primary elementary schools serving children of Mexican heritage in Austin for over 60 years. It has weathered changes in the academic climate to offer a quality educational opportunity for children. Even though the hardships of poverty continue to trouble many students, the school was recently nominated as a Blue Ribbon School for educational excellence. The story of Zavala demonstrates variety in the educational experiences of Mexican American students. It represents an urban school especially created to offer the best available public education to children of Mexican heritage, even during periods of educational neglect in many parts of the country. It also represents a compromise, however, between full equality and perceptions of political necessity during eras of both restraint and expansion. It is only by looking at individual school histories that we begin fully to understand the implications of policy decisions on individual institutions and people.

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The History of Antebellum Military Academies in the North: 1803-1865

Lee S. Duemer
The University of Iowa

The purpose of this study is to chronicle and analyze the rise of postsecondary military academies in the antebellum North. This study develops an understanding of how military institutions developed in northern states and the larger historical trends that created a climate conducive to their development. Northern states are defined as those that comprised the Union during the Civil War. Northern states were the focus of this study because of the more rapid development of military education in the north and differences in the development of military education between the north and south.

Scholarship on the history of military education in American has tended to focus on events following the Civil War or the origins of West Point. There is ample history on West Point, but little examination of the history of military education beyond that institution. For example, Frederick Rudolph's *The American College and University* and *Curriculum* goes no further than West Point. In a sum, this indicates a sizeable gap in the literature on military education in the United States, as well as the history of higher education. Existing literature concludes that military education developed largely as a response to national crisis brought about by war (Sack 1963, 499).

The postsecondary military institutions in the United States can be divided, for the most part, into three types. The first type of institution is that controlled by the federal government for the purpose of preparing men and women to be directly commissioned officers in one of the branches of the armed forces (Reeves 1914, 158). Examples of such institutions include West Point, Annapolis and the Air Force Academy. Postsecondary graduate institutions include the Naval War College. The second type of institution is controlled by the state governments (Reeves 1914, 158). Examples of state controlled military institutions are The Citadel or Virginia Military Institute. The third type of institution is privately controlled. For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on privately controlled postsecondary military institutions.

Implying causality is always a difficult issue when working in a historical context. Rather than imply causality, this study is influenced by the notion that economic, political and societal conditions create a climate favorable for change to occur, rather than causing the change themselves. This recognizes that factors favorable for change may already exist, and that larger economic, political and societal conditions act as the catalyst to allow change to take place.

A problematic issue when addressing the origins of military education, is what criteria to use to determine when a college or institution 'exists.' We can formulate a number of possible definitions to establish when an institution exists. It can exist at the point when boards of trustees come together with a common purpose; when an institution is named; when a mission statement is written and agreed to; when it owns property or assets; when it is recognized or accredited by the state; when the first student is enrolled. The problem of existence is evident in the Annual Reports of the United States Commissioner of Education when accounting for the number and condition of colleges in Pennsylvania.

> Collegiate privileges have been granted by the legislature of Pennsylvania to between forty and fifty institutions of learning. Over thirty of these are believed to be still in existence, but a number of them are in such a condition of constitutional weakness or premature decay that they would scarcely seem for themselves the rank of a college. Apart from these dilapidated institutions we have some twelve or fifteen live colleges (*Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1869-1870* 1870, 271).

For the purpose of this study, an institution will be recognized when it has been recognized as an educational institution by state or federal agencies, such as in annual reports by the Commissioner of Education.

Citizen-Soldier Principle

An underlying factor important to this inquiry is the influence of the citizen-soldier principle in early United States history. The central elements of this principle are the subordination of military authority to civilian control and a historical apprehension about a standing, professional military.

The citizen-soldier principle was a legacy of Colonial occupation by Britain. In the twenty years before the Revolution, Britain's dispatch of thousands of troops to the Colonies placed the civilian population in an uncomfortable position. British troop needs with respect to supplies, impressment and quartering fostered a sense of mistrust toward the military (Rogers 1974, 37,75). As early as the French and Indian War, it was a common and popular Colonial sentiment to assert that a Colonial militia of irregulars was more trustworthy, brave and effective in battle than professional British troops (Rogers 1974, 9-10). The value emphasis on the citizen based militia is articulated in the Second Amend to the Bill of Rights: "A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed" (*United States Constitution*, Second Amendment 1791).

The preference for citizen-soldiers was partly responsible for George Washington's appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army. Those who recommended his appointment did so not because of his previous military service, but based on his experience as a legislator in the Virginia House of Burgesses and in Congress, and his character (*Letters of Delegates to Congress Vol. 1* 1976, 499-500). Philip Schuyler, the only other general appointed by Congress in 1755 to command a field army, also served in Congress (Rogers 1974, 146). In spite of their high regard and personal respect for Washington, there continued a high degree of suspicion toward the Army. John Adams, though a strong supporter of Washington, advised that the military should be closely monitored (*Letters of Delegates to Congress Vol. 1* 1976, 667-668).

Preference for a national defense policy based on a militia was evident in the educational philosophy of Captain Alden Partridge. In 1813 Partridge was appointed Professor of Mathematics at West Point. From 1813 to 1816 he served as Professor of Engineering and in 1815 was appointed Superintendent.

Partridge advocated military training as part of higher education. He was opposed to the idea of a large standing army, and was of the opinion that the nation would better benefit from citizenry properly trained in military tactics. Partridge believed that practical and scientific military instruction as part of higher education would produce a nation of physically fit citizen soldiers who could be called upon to defend the nation without the need for a standing army (Nash 1934).

Such concerns were usual for the early nineteenth century. Throughout the early half of the century, West Point was the target of repeated attacks on its existence and mission. The House Committee on Militia submitted a 17 January 1817 report which included the committee's concerns about and recommendations on military education. The report was as much an endorsement of military education as it was a warning. That the committee preferred a citizen based militia is clearly articulated in their report.

> The safety of a republic depends as much upon the equality in the use of arms amongst its citizens, as the equality of rights. Nothing can be more dangerous in such a government than to have a knowledge of the military art confined to a part of the people; for sooner or later that part will govern (*Debates and Proceedings of the Congress of the United State* 1848, 571).

The committee based much of their criticism on concerns about the power a professional military structure would command. They compared America to ancient Rome which transferred military education from the masses to professional soldiers who in turn, took arms against their own country (*Debates and Proceedings of the Congress of the United State* 1848, 571). The only logical solution according to the House Committee on Militia was to diffuse military education among the masses through public education (*Debates and Proceedings of the Congress of the United State* 1848, 573).

Following his departure from West Point and court-martial on orders from President James Monroe, Partridge embarked on a path of revenge against the institution. On 2 March 1820, Partridge presented a memorial to Congress which attacked West Point and complained about the threat of a growing military aristocracy (*Journal of the House of Representatives* 1855, 333). Partridge's complaint soon found sympathy, on 10 March 1820 Representative Newton Cannon of Tennessee submitted a resolution in the House Appropriations Committee which recommended the elimination of West Point. It was taken up the same day and rejected by a vote of 12 to six. The committee reported the vote to the full House and no further action was taken (*Journal of the House of Representatives* 1855, 1632).

Another attempt to abolish the academy was made on 17 May 1834 by Representative Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky. In a meeting of the Committee on Military Affairs he cited formal resolutions from the Tennessee and Ohio legislatures that recommended closing West Point. The committee decided not to recommend closure to the full House (*Committee Reports of the House of Representatives* 1855, 466.) On 7 January 1836 Representative Albert

Hawes of Kentucky introduced a proposal asking that the House to appoint a select committee to investigate whether West Point should be closed. His proposal was rejected (*Congressional Globe* 1836, 83).

In 1838 Partridge submitted another memorial to Congress, petitioning for the elimination of West Point. Partridge's second memorial was a change from his first when he only recommended a change in the form and organization of military education (*Executive Documents of the House of Representatives* 1839, Document 140). Partridge's request was followed in 1842 by similar petitions from Maine and Connecticut (*Senate Documents* 1842, 85, 363).

1803-1817

Early Private Military Education

Before the American Revolution few opportunities existed for American colonists to obtain instruction in military education. The most likely option was to study military science on one's own. Washington's military education is typical for army officers of the 18th century. He obtained his education through the tutorial method. Much the same as many physicians and lawyers prepared for their careers. The tutorial method involved discussions with battle veterans, readings, observation and practice (Higginbotham 1985, 15).

Americans had to wait until 1788 when General Henry Knox, Washington's Chief of Artillery, opened a conventional military academy in Pluckemin, New Jersey. Knox lectured untrained officers on tactics and gunnery. However, his commitments to active duty soon forced him to abandon and close the academy (Callahan 1958, 155).

The earliest examples of military education were found at small, private schools that included military education into an otherwise typical curriculum for the time. Such schools cannot rightly be considered "military institutions" or "military academies" because the character of the schools was not primarily military. Though they did engage in military education, it was a supplementary component of their curriculum. One of the earliest examples of such an institution was that established by Mrrs. G. and F. Blackburn in Philadelphia in 1800. Their curriculum included classics, English, mathematics and "Military mathematics . . . similar to that of Woolwich, to which will be added a short system of Tactics" (Mulhern 1933, 272-273).

West Point Reforms

A series of reforms for West Point were initiated by Congress in 1812. A 29 April 1812 Act of Congress reorganized West Point and set a tone for the institution which would last into the twentieth century (Reeves 1914, 40). The act increased the number and qualifications for faculty, and increased the number of cadets to 250, considerably more than 156 since 1808 (*Debates and Proceedings of the Congress of the United States* 1852, 2849-2852). Admission requirements for cadets were formalized, the academy was granted permission to confer degrees, and cadets were required to serve five years in the Army following graduation (*Debates and Proceedings of the Congress of the United States* 1852, 2282-2284).

A second set of reforms were initiated in 1816 under the authority of Secretary of War George W. Crawford. Crawford's reforms included the appointment of a board of visitors to oversee the academy, description of the proscribed curriculum for cadets, the requirement for yearly examinations of cadets with graduation based solely on performance, and a required four year course of study for all cadets (Lovell 1979, 21).

The reforms were necessary considering the state of disorganization at West Point before 1816. The reforms of 1812 were largely ignored; cadets continued to be admitted without consideration of age or academic qualifications. Consequently, the student body suffered from a high attrition rate, and the institution suffered from a general lack of military discipline on the student level and on the administrative level evident by the continued neglect of the 1812 reforms.

1817-1861

West Point Reforms

In 1817, Sylvanus Thayer was appointed Superintendent and initiated another series of reforms. He immediately organized the cadets into military units; a battalion composed of two companies. A Colonel of Cadets with supporting staff was appointed to supervise discipline and order.

More significant, however, were academic reforms to the academy. Cadets were organized into four classes and movement upward was based on successful academic performance. Weekly reports on classroom performance were required for all cadets and a unified system of grading was implemented. Admissions were further defined in 1818 by the Secretary of War to include an entrance examination to be administered to all applicants.

In 1819, as the result of a decision by Attorney General William Wirt, it was determined that the cadets at West Point were subject to military law, including courts martial. Wirt's decision eliminated any lingering ambiguities about the interpretation of the 3 March 1815 act of Congress which detailed the military peace establishment of the United States and specified that the corps at West Point was part of the military establishment. Consequently, the cadets were subject to all the rules of war and military law.

Increased Sophistication of Private Military Institutions

In 1819 the American Literary, Scientific and Military Academy (later Norwich University) was founded in Norwich, Vermont by Partridge. The curriculum for Partridge's academy was a combination of military science, liberal arts and scientific study. Partridge's plan was a subtle but significant departure from previous military education in the Untied States. Before this point, private institutions that offered military education offered it as a distinct component from the rest of their curriculum. Partridge developed an institution that combined military instruction with the liberal arts and scientific education. Still, Partridge was clear to caution observers that his intent was to produce young men who were as capable of defending their nation, as they were aware of their civil obligations in a democracy.

> "I beg not to be understood as recommending a system of education for our youth purely military. Being far from this: I mean nothing more than that the military should constitute an appendage to their civil education . . . " (Partridge 1820).

Partridge's vision of military education was partly shaped by his resistance to a standing military. The intent of institutions patterned after his model was to provide all the military expertise sufficient for the national defense establishment. In his framework for military education, there would have been no need for West Point, private military institutions would have supplied all the necessary personnel for the officer corps.

Partridge's academy experienced rapid success. By 1825 when it had only been operational for five years, enrollment exceeded 200 students, making it one of the largest postsecondary institutions in the United States. Partridge founded another military academy in 1826 in Frederick City, Maryland (*Laws made and Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland* 1826, Resolution 10). In 1829 the New York Legislature approved the incorporation of the Harlem Literary and Scientific Academy. The Harlem academy was founded by Partridge and based on the same plan as the American Literary, Scientific and Military Academy (*Laws of the State of New York* 1829, 81-82). Other institutions founded on Partridge's plan were the Scientific and Military Academy at Whitesborough, New York in 1826; Collegiate and Commercial Institute in New Haven, Connecticut in 1836; and Duff Military Academy in Cooperstown, New York in 1838.

Certainly Partridge's imprint was on the Pikesville Literary, Scientific and Military Academy founded in 1828 in Maryland. The institution's curriculum included the liberal arts, science, civil engineering and military education (*Laws made and Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Maryland* 1826, 51). His influence is also apparent in the 1829 founding of the Western Literary and Scientific Academy in Buffalo, New York. Other institutions that reflect his educational philosophy include the Military, Scientific and Collegiate Institute in Briston, Pennsylvania and the Gymnasium and Military Collegiate Institute at Pembroke, New Hampshire.

Following the success of Partridges academies, Christian denominational bodies began to found military academies of their own. The Episcopal Church was responsible for the establishment of several military academies in the Northern states. Among them were Burlington Military College in Burlington, New Jersey in 1846 (*Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1883-1884* 1884, 595). The first Presbyterian military institute was Clinton Military Academy founded in 1816 in Clinton, New York. This was, however, relatively primitive in the historical evolution of military education as drill composed the bulk of the military component (*Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1874* 1874, 582). The Presbyterian Church later founded Alexander Military Institute in 1844 (*Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1872* 1872, 732) and Yonkers Military Institute in 1852, both in New York (*Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1890-1891* 1891, 1324).

The influence of military and scientific education spread to change the character of existing institutions. Pennsylvania Military Academy was not originally a military school when it was founded in 1821 as a boarding school for young men. A military component was introduced in 1858 and became so popular it defined the institution completely. The curriculum included practical military instruction such as drill, but also theoretical instruction including engineering (Reeves 1914, 180).

Analysis and Conclusions

Early private military institutions consisted of small schools with military instruction defined in a narrow, unsophisticated manner. In the early nineteenth century, military education was often defined as nothing more than drill and military tactics, as was evident in the curriculum at Clinton Military Academy, founded in 1816. Military education consisted mainly of instruction in military subjects isolated from scientific or liberal arts material.

The findings of this study indicate that the most likely explanation for military education development was grounded in a desire to disperse military knowledge across the population. There is ample evidence from the writings of Partridge and debates in Congress that many were concerned about the creation of a military aristocracy as a result of the establishment of West Point. The idea of distributing military knowledge throughout the masses was nothing new to the American people. The earliest settlers existed in a wilderness with a native population that alternated between periods of peaceful coexistence and open warfare. The diffusion of military knowledge was encouraged as a means of survival. One of the earliest examples of legislation encouraging private military education originated with the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1640. A law concerning military education required the male head of each household to oversee the military education of each male family member who was physically capable of bearing arms (*Transcripts of General Court Records* 1640, 174).

The decade spanning the 1820s represents a turning point in the history of military education in America. With the exception of West Point, until the 1820s, most military academies were focused primarily on military education defined by drill, tactics and military history. The founding of the American Literary, Scientific and Military Academy and the efforts of Alden Partridge redefined the form of military education in America.

Alden Partridge's influence was central to the qualitative improvement in private military education in the United States. Partridge's philosophy of military education was far more comprehensive and sophisticated than was previously evident. His proposed curriculum was a combination of military science, liberal arts and scientific study. Military education was a component of a more comprehensive curriculum, not the entire course of study. Partridge's proposed curriculum revealed a higher degree of liberal arts influence than at West Point, where the curriculum remained more technically based.

Certainly, Partridge was motivated by a degree of lingering hostility toward West Point and the Army. Following his resignation from the superintendency and court-martial for disobedience of orders in 1817 and resignation from the Army in 1818, he began a series of attacks against West Point and national defense policy. However, accusations that hostility toward West Point and the Army were his primary drives can be dispelled by his efforts at developing a unique vision of military education for America. His success at building institutions patterned after his own vision far overshadowed his attempts to destroy West Point.

Partridges model reveals an awareness of the modernization trend in American during the early nineteenth century and the need for the infusion of science and technology in higher education. Modernization had a considerable impact on higher education, pressuring it to respond to the increasing needs for men educated in a scientific curriculum. Like competition in business, commerce would force a system of education covering the professions and trades (Reeves 1914, 180). One of the goals of the industrial movement was to apply the findings of science to the changing business order and keep education in touch with the affairs of the world (Ross 1942). With the increasing application of science in the development of industry, and the broadened social and educational vision of leaders in American higher education, "Educational reform and extension were inevitable phases of (this) general movement" (Ross 1942).

The findings of this study also indicate that the growth of military academies was related to the reforms instituted at West Point during the Thayer administration. The reforms helped set a standard for military education in America. That West Point was essentially a military installation with a military focus, justified the inclusion of military subject matter across the curriculum, rather than as an isolated component. The reforms at West Point raised the level of instruction and student expectations from secondary to postsecondary level. The broader result was to enhance the image of military education and justify its existence in spite of repeated challenges from the public and Congress. Within 20 years, military institutions existed in nearly every northern state. Changes in northern military institutions paralleled some of the reforms instituted at West Point. Engineering and scientific instruction was improved at many institutions, and the quality of instruction overall improved. Additional studies will be necessary to better chronicle the development of private military institutions in the United States. The development of private military institutions in the south will be necessary to provide a comparative perspective of antebellum military education in American history.

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Zeal for American Democracy: Civic Education and the Cold War

E. Jan Jacobs
Southern Illinois University

On April 17, 1947, John W. Studebaker, Commissioner of Education, whose office was in the Federal Security Agency(FSA), wrote to Senator William F. Knowland (R-California), chair of the Senate Appropriations Committee:

> "I am sure you will be appreciative of the full significance of what I listed as the No. II priority on the list I gave you this morning, namely the educational program on Democracy vs. Communism...If that program can be set up I hope very much that you can be a member of the committee to work with our Office in setting up the objectives and policies for the program and in guiding its operation throughout."[1]

Included with the letter was a four page outline of the proposed program entitled Education to Implant the Ideals and Benefits of Democracy and to Reveal the Evil Character and Tactics of Communism.[2] Studebaker, like so many in the post-war world, believed that Soviet communism was a direct threat to American democracy, and sought to enlist American educators in developing a civic education program that would warn America's youth away from totalitarian forms of government. As part of his program proposal, Studebaker also recommended the Office of Education (OE) develop a film series that would address aspects of democracy and totalitarianism. Studebaker divided the series into two parts. The first, Our Freedoms, would present the student with information that focused on the ideals and mechanics of American democracy, such as the Bill of Rights and the various freedoms American citizens enjoyed. The second part of the series, Ways of Dictatorship, would be devoted to describing how totalitarian forms of government sought to restrict the people they governed.[3]

Zeal for American Democracy was part of an over-all plan within the OE in support of strengthening national security, and an expression of the rise of anti-communism. What made it unique as a civic education program was its dual nature as it compared and contrasted American democracy with Soviet communism. The fact that the House and Senate Appropriations Committee agreed to fund such a program without much discussion was indicative of the growing consensus within government in regard to the threat posed by Soviet Russia. When the program was first brought to the Senate Appropriations Committee on April 7, 1947, Senator Pat McCarran (D-Nevada) responded that he was glad Studebaker had proposed the program and saw the schools as a logical place to fight against communism on the home front.[4] Although Studebaker's request for $235,678 to develop ZAD, was pared down to $121,213, the Congress had given the program its support and the OE proceeded with confidence.[5]

The basic goals of education for citizenship in the post-war world were ideas that had been discussed during the 1930s. With the advent of the Great Depression, educators used the crisis to promote the discussion of contemporary issues, in order to give the youth of America the practical knowledge needed to be a good American citizen. The world-wide depression also forced Americans to acknowledge their dependence on the well being of other nations, and as the specter of fascism cast its shadow across Europe, educators expanded the notion of citizenship to one that encompassed the world. The conflict between the United States and the U.S.S.R. gave educational policymakers a reason to pursue education for democratic citizenship with a missionary zeal.

Another concern for American educators was the need to facilitate the development of critical thought within the mature student. Encouraging discussion of contemporary issues and problems, especially those of a controversial nature, was necessary in the development of a thoughtful citizen. Throughout the Twentieth Century, progressives in every field of endeavor agreed that the ideal citizen was an engaged and active person who understood the issues affecting her society whether it was on a national, state or local level. For the progressive generation, meaningful reform began at a community level and gradually made an impact on the larger world scheme. This was Studebaker's vision of how Zeal for American Democracy should work, and he sought to assist in shaping an American citizen who would be well equipped to fight communism because she was fully schooled in its tactics and strategies, which could only be achieved through thoughtful consideration. Studebaker strongly believed in the American democratic faith, and that "the inculcation of the faith itself must be a controlling purpose in the conduct of this country's educational enterprise."[6] The basis of that faith was expressed in the American Creed developed after World War I. The creed was a reaffirmation and commitment to the American ideals of freedom, equality and justice. By the end of World War II it also included notions of the public welfare and the right of all Americans to a high quality of life, regardless of racial or religious differences. In emphasizing these principles, ZAD reaffirmed the framework of civic education that progressive educators of the 1930s had agreed upon, which was fostering within the youth of America the kind of activism that would seek positive solutions to contemporary problems.

In February, 1948, the OE published a special edition of its monthly publication School Life. The issue was entitled Zeal for American Democracy: Education to Meet the Challenge of Totalitarianism,[7] and over the next six months the OE would distribute 35,000 copies to educators, business, and community leaders across the country. The issue opened with a reprint of a keynote address John W. Studebaker had given before the annual convention of the National Council for the Social Studies(NCSS) held in St. Louis the previous November. The speech, entitled "Communism's Challenge to American Education," introduced educators to the Zeal for American Democracy program, and reiterated the idea that education's basic and fundamental task was to help to strengthen democracy.

The OE also used the special issue to promote programs directly targeted for student involvement. One was an annual contest, "Voice of Democracy," sponsored by the National Association of Broadcasters and the Radio Manufacturers. It was a way of encouraging students throughout the U.S. to think and present their ideas about American democracy. Those who won were given the opportunity to record their thoughts, which were then broadcast over the radio.[8] Although the content of this special issue of School Life promoted a harsh view of totalitarianism, it also focused on the positive aspects of democracy and encouraged educators to present a balanced view.

A major criticism about the special issue was the lack of concrete curricular material for use in the classroom; however, the OE had been working intensely on a series of booklets and pamphlets which would provide educators with the materials that they called for. The ZAD program was under the daily direction of Edwin H. Miner, Associate Commissioner of Education, and he had assembled a general council made up of personnel from various divisions of the OE. The task before them was to make concrete some of the more idealistic notions of the program. The general council broke up into smaller working conference groups in order to address the curricular needs of the program more efficiently. By February 17, 1948, these groups had completed forty-two outlines for various pamphlets. The first twenty-three projects developed were resource materials to be used by educators on all levels, and subjects ranged from "Developing and Sustaining Loyalty to Democracy," to the "Strategy and Tactics of Communist and Fascist Infiltration of American Institutions."[9] Along with these general projects, there were also those developed specifically for the various educational levels. These focused on suggested activities that students might engage in for a positive "hands on" experience of democracy.

Zeal for American Democracy emerged at the end of a period of transition within the American government. Congress had moved toward a more conservative political outlook and at the beginning of the 80th Congress, Republicans were in the majority in both the House and Senate. At the same time, Truman replaced the New Deal cabinet with one that was more moderate and conservative. It is well known that Truman was never able to achieve a consensus with Congress on his domestic agenda, but foreign policy was another matter entirely, and in the fight against communism the president and Congress cooperated with one another.

Truman moved to make the Executive departments of his government more reflective of his agenda, and to that end he appointed Oscar R. Ewing as the new head of the FSA. As often happens in transitional periods, new leadership can cause tensions and confusion within institutional structures, and the FSA was no exception. The greatest public display of conflict within the FSA occurred between Oscar R. Ewing and John W. Studebaker, and it would eventually effect Zeal for American Democracy, particularly as it concerned the anti-communist component of the program. Given the fact that 1948 was a Presidential Election year, and the OE was part of the Executive division of the government, it was not surprising that its parent agency, the FSA, would try and control the rhetoric of the ZAD program. Oscar R. Ewing became administrative head of the FSA on August 27, 1947. Prior to his appointment, he had spent his political life in New York State, and by 1944 he held the Vice-Chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee. With Truman's approval, Ewing implemented plans that would centralize the FSA to a greater extent, and bring the various constituent units under a stronger administrative control.[10]

John Ward Studebaker, a New Dealer, had served as Commissioner of Education for fourteen years, the second longest tenure in the OE's history. As a progressive educator, Studebaker's management style made the OE a strong example of democracy in education, and there is enough evidence to suggest that the conflict between Ewing and Studebaker was a clash between bureaucratic styles and philosophies.

By February 1948, Ewing began putting feelers out for a new Commissioner of Education. Studebaker had built up many enduring relationships within the educational community and one of these was with the publishers of Senior Scholastic Magazine. The publication was aimed at the high school student and created for use in the classroom in conjunction with both the English and history curriculums. On June 21, 1948, Studebaker sent his letter of resignation to the President of the United States. Citing financial reasons as the main consideration, Studebaker was slated to leave his post on July 15, 1948, to become Senior Executive and Chairman of the Editorial Boards of Scholastic Magazines, a post he would hold for the next twenty years.

On July 30, 1948, Studebaker wrote a rather lengthy letter to Ewing stating the actual reasons for his departure. A copy of the letter was also sent to the Chairmen of the House and Senate Subcommittees on Appropriations, Representative Frank B. Keefe (R-Wisconsin) and Senator William F. Knowland (R-California). The tone of the letter was so accusatory that hearings were scheduled in August and September 1948, in order to investigate the situation.

The timing of Studebaker's letter is interesting because of other events that were capturing the nations attention. Twelve leaders of the American Communist Party had just been indicted under the Smith Act, the Soviets were blockading Berlin, the State Department was moving swiftly ahead with the European Recovery Program, the House On UnAmerican Activities Committee had just begun hearings, concerning communist activity within the Federal Government, and the Presidential Election was only three months away.

The letter, which was read into the Congressional Record by both Knowland and Keefe, focused on several issues: Ewing's reorganization of certain aspects of the FSA and how that reorganization directly effected the OE; how the resources allocated for the ZAD program were being utilized; and the policy of censorship as it related to the language used by the OE in written form describing the totalitarian threat of communism. There was also a disagreement over the primary focus of Zeal for American Democracy. The House Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations conducted its hearing on August 4, 1948, and the Senate Subcommittee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments hearing took place on September 27-28, 1948.

The single most important issue that was considered during the hearings was the FSA's policy of censorship. Under Ewing's direction, the FSA administrative staff insisted on seeing everything the OE presented in written form concerning the ZAD program; this included press releases, speeches and magazines, anything which might be quoted and attributed directly to the OE. Studebaker noted that in its eighty-one year existence the OE had functioned without such policing except, understandably during times of armed conflict.

One of the most sensitive issues facing the Truman Administration had to do with the rhetoric used to describe the Cold War and the government of the Soviet Union. In order to create an impression of strength and unity, the Truman administration wanted its foreign policy rhetoric centralized. Initially the State Department took responsibility for policy statements but there is evidence that suggests, because of the impending Presidential Election, the control of the rhetoric would shifted to the White House. Presidential Advisor, Clark Clifford, recommended that the President, rather than the Secretary of State, make foreign policy announcements, and create the perception that he was a strong, determined and forceful leader.[11] Regardless of where the rhetoric was coming from, government officials within the Executive departments were very cautious about any appearance of overstepping their authority in this area. No one wanted another Madison Square Garden speech, where, in September 1946, the then Secretary of Commerce, Henry A. Wallace, had called for a more conciliatory approach to the Soviet Union in direct contradiction of State Department policy. The speech was delivered while acting Secretary of State James Byrnes was in negotiations with Europe's foreign ministers, and Wallace's speech created the perception that there was a division within the Truman Administration's foreign policy efforts. Byrnes was so angry that he threatened to resign, and rather then lose him Truman fired Wallace.

A little over a year later the Secretary of State, George C. Marshall, noted publicly that at a recent meeting of the U.N. General Assembly there had been criticism of the United States in regard to its verbal hostility toward the Soviet Union. Marshall acknowledged that much of what had been said by way of criticism was probably for propaganda purposes but he stated that some restraint ought to be exercised when discussing international issues.[12]

The strongest example of censorship that Studebaker discussed in his letter to Ewing concerned a speech to be delivered by Earl Hutchinson, Field Representative for Secondary Education, and a member of the ZAD group. This incident seemed to become the focal point in both the House and the Senate, and it demonstrates, rather clearly, the attitudes of the sides involved, the timbre of the hearings and how Cold War rhetoric was used to solidify positions of authority at the Federal level.

The circumstances began simply enough when Earl Hutchinson sent a memo to Edwin H. Miner, and asked for a review of a speech he was scheduled to deliver at a conference in April, 1948. Hutchinson was concerned that the tone of the speech might be considered too sensational, and wouldn't make it past FSA officials. Miner passed the speech through to Zilpha C. Franklin, Director of Publications and Reports for the FSA. She in turn gave it to John L. Thurston, Assistant Administrator for Program, who did not approve certain passages within the speech. Thurston thought that the OE was suggesting that the nation's schools teach students the ways and means of ferreting out communists and fellow travelers, and in effect turn them into a police force. The sentence that had prompted such a response read:

> "Light must be shed on the insidious methods and strategies of hostile forces, so that every citizen, young or old, can clearly discern these threats and recognize them for what they are, barriers across the path of a forward marching American Democracy."[13]

Under Ewing's direction, the staff of the FSA wanted to minimize the emphasis the ZAD program placed on the evils of communism. They wanted a program that would address American ideals and civic responsibility with an emphasis on the greatness of American democracy. But Hutchinson's speech was not a diatribe against totalitarianism and he stated that the ZAD program should not be considered as "...witch hunting on a national scale...this is not a hate program to effect a curtailment of thinking..."[14] The speech continued to explore what American educators could do to strengthen the qualities of citizenship and respect for democracy. If Hutchinson had called on the youth of America to respond to communism much the same way that the Nazi Youth operated in Hitler's Germany, it wasn't in the body of the speech that was presented before the Subcommittees.

The fact that the inflammatory language Thurston had found unacceptable was missing created a great deal of confusion surrounding the speech. Thurston implied several times, before both Subcommittees, that he thought that there was another draft of the speech. When asked directly during the Senate Subcommittee hearing if he was accusing Hutchinson of lying, Thurston backed down.

The Senate tried to determine if the FSA had a written policy of censorship. The response to that probe was negative as Ewing and his staff insisted that they were only implementing an oversight policy that had existed since the creation of the FSA in 1939. The Subcommittee held the response as suspect because of the similarity of action that had taken place in regard to other speeches, and press releases that had come out prior to Hutchinson's speech. During the Senate Subcommittee testimony Edwin H. Miner was asked what the OE personnel thought about the fact that they had to get clearance on the materials for the ZAD program and not for any other. Miner replied that they couldn't make sense of it because there was no clear statement of policy in regard to the matter, and the lack of a stated policy was effecting the productivity of the program in general. There is some evidence which suggests that Zeal for American Democracy had, because of Studebaker's accusations and criticisms, become part of the campaign process, and there could be some damage to Truman's re-election if members of his administration were seen to be soft on communism. Dr. Rall I. Grigsby, Acting Commissioner of Education, said during his testimony that he thought the political implications of communism, particularly as they effected public relations, justified Ewing's actions in regard to censorship. Asked by Senator Homer Ferguson(R-Michigan) if he thought, "...that the political head of your department should review it and see whether or not it is good public relations?"[15] Grigsby answered in the affirmative, and said that it was particularly true when educational matters focused directly on national concerns, such as teaching about communism in the classroom. Ferguson asked "...then as I understand it very little will be done against communism until after election, as far as this program is concerned, because it is a political issue?"[16] Grigsby, as acting head of the OE, concurred.

Internally, the OE continued to pursue the ZAD program even though the House and Senate had not appropriated any funds for the coming fiscal year 1949. Civic education projects were better developed within educational circles outside the government. Between 1947-1954, there were several brought to fruition, such as the Detroit Citizenship Study, and Columbia University Citizen's Education Project, but the ZAD program was the only one of its kind to compare two ideological systems of government in such a forthright manner. The demise of the ZAD program on a national level was part of the trend, within American society, to try and suppress intelligent discourse on the subject of communism. Although educators thought the subject warranted attention, the national security agenda meant that there had to be some control over the perception of the Soviet Union so that public opinion would support United States' military expansion and foreign aid.

Zeal for American Democracy sought to serve national security in its comparative approach, but the educational philosophy behind it encouraged the development of critical thinking, and exploration of controversial issues. This paradox of wanting an informed citizenry that would champion freedom, equality and justice over tyranny and oppression, conflicted with the government's compulsion to control how much freedom, equality and justice were to be meted out to make the world both at home and abroad safe for democracy. If America's youth were going to be inculcated with anti-communism it would not be through the agency of the public schools.

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[1] Studebaker to Knowland April 17, 1947, Office of EducationRecords, Record Group 12, Box 11, National Archives, College Park, MD.

[2] Office of Education Records, Record Group 12, Box 11, National Archives, College Park, MD.

[3] "Description of Proposed Series," pg.2, Office of Education Records, Record Group 12, Box 11, National Archives, College Park, MD.

[4] U.S. Congress, Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, *Labor-Federal Security Appropriation Bill for 1948*, 80th Cong., 1st sess., April 7, 1947, 594.

[5] U.S. Congress, Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, *Operations of the United States Office of Education*, pt. 4, 80th Cong.,2d sess., September 27-28 1948, S.Res. 189, 992-994.

[6] "Definition of Democracy," pg.2 Office of Education Records, Record Group 12, Box 14, National Archives, College Park, MD.

[7] Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, *School Life Special Issue: Zeal for American Democracy: Education to Meet the Challenge of Totalitarianism* 30 #5(February, 1948) 1-39.

[8] One winner was future newsman Charles Kuralt.

[9] Office of Education,"Index to Brief Descriptions of Project," *Reference Book: Conference on the Zeal for American Democracy Program, March 9-10, 1948*, Part II - A. Office of Education Records, Record Group 12, Box 13, National Archives, College Park, MD.

[10] Alonzo Hamby,ed. *Harry S. Truman and the Fair Deal*(D.C. Heath and Company, 1974) 141-142.

[11] Divine,Robert A., "The Cold War and the Election of 1948," *The Journal of American History* (June 1972) 93.

[12] U.S. Congress, Senate Subcommittee of the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, *Operations of the United States Office of Education*, pt. 4, 80th Cong.,2d sess., September 27-28 1948, S.Res. 189, 869.

[13] Ibid., 953.

[14] Ibid., 953

Illich After *Deschooling*: An Analysis of Thought over the Decades

Pat Inman
Northern Illinois University

I met Ivan Illich in one of the first graduate courses I took as part of the doctoral program at Northern Illinois University. Having become concerned about the increasing isolation of individuals in society and the decreasing sense of community, I was particularly attracted to his discussion of the medieval commons as a metaphor for those areas of traditional living that are vital to our individual and collective well-being. These are the areas which provide for human connection and contact with the natural environment. From his works I understood that industrialization and the resulting corporate domination had commodified such spaces making them scarce, I understood that learning was about living as one discovers and develops self in the context of connection and Spirit, and I learned to question ideologies; a process which my education had schooled from me. Over the next several years I read Illich's extensive publications in an attempt to discover the scope of his work. Originally intrigued with his thoughts, I became increasingly attracted to the vibrant soul that is Illich.

Ivan Illich is a Roman Catholic priest who emerged as an uncomfortably powerful voice not only within the Church, but throughout societal discussions in the 1950s. Serving first as a priest in a Puerto Rican parish and later serving as vice-rector or the Catholic University of Puerto Rico he became interested in the problems facing Latin American missionaries. Developing a highly anti-imperialistic stance, Illich started the Institute of Intercultural Communications (later emerging as the Center for Intercultural Documentation in Cuernavaca, Mexico) as an intensive language school for missionaries. Concerned that North Americans were diminishing Latin American culture in their attempt to bring *development* to the many countries they served, Illich tried to dissuade all but the most qualified from serving in such a role and alienated many within the Church's hierarchy with this revolutionary stance which asked all to question institutional ideologies. Moving from the institutional agendas of the Church to the hidden agendas of educational institutions, he is most well known for his admonition to eliminate compulsory education. Illich's orthodox message that we must allow the diversity of actualized selves to surface rather than succumb to an institutionally managed truth was carried in unorthodox rhetoric. His books became highly controversial within and outside the Church.

From 1969-1973 most professors of education in the United States knew the name of Ivan Illich. Today academic educationists, if they recognize the name at all think of him as the distant relic of "deschooling". While Illich has published steadily since the 70's, his books are rarely noticed in academic circles even though his message is even more relevant to today's version of institutionalized diminishment.

Illich's main theme has always been consistent--humanity's hubris in assuming that one can plan life. "Classical man was aware that he could defy fate-nature-environment, but only at his own risk. . . . . Contemporary man goes further: he attempts to create a world in his own image, to build a totally man-made environment, and then discovers that he can do so only on the condition of constantly remaking himself to fit it." (Illich, 1971, 154).

While Illich's message is clear it is not always easy to accept. Our only focus of control in life is the ability to change our perspective. We are in Illich's words, "radically powerless" and in that acceptance lies our "power". Power is actually the relinquishment of control. Our only power is choice. For many years Illich's idealistic message of convivial but austere lives was too painful for a population who seeks to defy limitation and thrives on manipulation. We are a people who are only comfortable with outcomes we have planned and managed rather than anticipating whatever surprise or mystery awaits. We strive for safety, prosperity, comfort, long life and dullness. A people of faith we are not. Our economic focus based on scarcity leads us to view each other as needy rather than gifted as we diagnose deficits rather than celebrate uniqueness. No wonder we look to the future with great cynicism, rather than savoring the present. We don't live; we exist, and considering the manner that we have managed, even that is in doubt. It is for this reason that we must revisit Illich's thought.

I spent the next two years reading as many of Illich's works as I could find, which was not always easy. He is much more extensively published in Europe than in the United States. More importantly, I met with Illich in Bremen, Germany at which time we discussed how his thought had evolved in the field of education over the course of three decades. Our discussion centered around the seven points that Illich felt were topics that had emerged over the years as a result of changing societal conditions. From the beginning of his work on education, Illich had perceived institutionalized education as limiting. His new conceptions of education found it to be increasingly devastating. These included the concept of humanity as needing education--*homo educandus*, the concept of education as prison, the disembedding of life spheres, the separation of learning and doing, the concept of content-sensitive help programs--technology which prevents us from thinking, the loss of sensory experience in learning, the removal of physical manipulation from the development of technological tools used in learning, and the importance of an ethos of friendship as the basis for learning.

Arriving home, I delved further into Illich's works and looked for the evolution of the seven points we had discussed in Bremen. Upon reflection I realized the basically Ivan's thinking had not changed, but rather had deepened and after lengthy deliberation decided that these seven points actually fell into three groups of thought. The concept of "humanity needing education" related to "education as prison" in its discussion of the critical issues in the generation of knowledge. The disembedding of life spheres (particularly the educational sphere), the separation of learning and doing, content-sensitive help programs, loss of sensory experience, and the removal of physical manipulation from the development of tools for learning all spoke to the connection of knowledge to selves and nature. Finally, the importance of an ethos of friendship as the foundation of learning was probably the most radical and foundational.

In rereading many of Illich's seminal works, as well as the newer pieces which were so graciously provided me in the course of our meeting, I realized that these groups reflected Illich's thinking in a chronological sense as well. The first group of publications relating to institutional generation of knowledge emerge in his earliest thought. The second, which reflected a need for an understanding of the connection of knowledge to our sense of self and place represented Illich's thought during the 1980's. The third theme, suggesting that all learning must be guided by friendship is found in his most current work.

Illich's writing, while addressing specific issues, incorporates his all-encompassing focus on the relationship between God and humanity as the central organizer. "As you see, I engage philosophy as *ancilla*, not just to avoid blunders on the path to the good life, but to avoid perverting the Gospel" (Illich, 1996, 4). While Illich's thoughts do progress over the years, a common thread emerges throughout and so a discussion of genesis of thought does not follow strict divisions of publications or time. Nonetheless, it is easier to speak of change in terms of decades: 1968-1978, 1978-1988, and 1988-1998.

1968-1978

During his first decade Illich identified those qualities of education which he felt dilute specialness and in fact imprison one in an economic web of modernized poverty. Defined as needy both in an educational and economic sense, we become dependent upon institutional solutions. Imprisoned through stupefying educational systems we lose our sense of possibility.

Illich introduced the theme of neediness in *Deschooling of Society* with great intensity. In his publication, Illich sees school as an institution which perpetuates the myth of unending consumption (someone produces something and then produces the demand for it). We become addicted to education and must expand schools to feed this addiction.

Since *Deschooling* Illich has carried this concept even further. He historically traces the emergence of *homo educandus* to the time of John Amos Comenius (1592-1670). Comenius was a Czech educator and bishop who pressed for more schools and universities in his promotion of a broad general education which he considered necessary for living. "Education, as the term is now used, means learning under the assumption that this learning is a prerequisite of all human activities, while at the same time, the opportunities for this learning are by their very nature in scarce supply. Thus understood, learning is an aspect of life which can be adequately distinguished from other aspects. Learning precedes, if not temporally at least logically, the competent execution of a socially expected task" (Illich, 1992, p. 115). In other words, through the Comenius construct, learning became disembedded from living.

In a more dramatic analysis, Illich uses the metaphor of prison to explain the current function of schooling. Illich believes that prisons celebrate the ritual of losing the freedom of choice. These institutions are useless, damaging and very costly. In *Toward a History of Needs* Illich delineates three factors involved in education which enslave individuals: enslavement of consumption, enslavement to industrial tools, and the enslavement of impoverishing wealth.

Illich describes schooling as an epoch-specific phenomenon recently invented as a more convenient way of dumbing down individuals to take their appropriate places in a modern consumer society--we can't imagine life without it. Illich implores us to develop research *on* education rather than *in* education. He asks us to question the philosophical foundation upon which the assumption of schooling rests rather than finding ways to make it more efficient. If this were done, comparative education would become one of the rare fields that attempts to clarify one of the least recognized and most characteristics of our age: "the survival, even at the heart of highly developed societies, of fantasies, behavioral rules and patterns of action that have successfully resisted colonization by the regime of scarcity." (Illich, 1992, 118) Illich stated at this time that we have become prisoners to the professionals who create our educational addiction and then charge dearly for detoxification.

1978-1988

During the next decade Illich perceived a change in the way we live, Ever more distanced from the natural world, technology allows one to learn through images. Our sense of self has been distorted. Learning based on what humanity had created rather than Divine creation causes us to view ourselves as a reflection of the machines and constructed images with which we work. Life as system becomes easier to manage, but remote and minimal.

The Thomist lens which Illich uses to view the world asserts that all knowledge, including the spiritual, takes its starting point (and so always remains dependent upon) sense perception. Further, humanity consists of the unity of body and soul. The body belongs to the essence of an individual. The body is not the ultimate bearer of knowledge, but rather *humanity*, composed of body and soul. Therefore, knowledge is approached through the intellect, but has no meaning until one applies it to the task of self-discovery. While the Divine exists in each of us, we discover this self through sensual experience and our groundedness within this experience. Learning takes place within a specific physical presence. From 1978 to 1988 Illich became increasingly concerned with technology which distanced us from such sensory and grounded experience associated with the natural or the *creatura* of the Creator.

Prior to the industrialization revolution life centered around the home. Working, learning, living were an integrated whole. There was an integrity to life as learning and doing were one and the same. Experience was not fragmented. With work moving into factories and workplaces outside the home and education moving into separate facilities, life spheres became disembedded. One worked at a certain location, learned in another, all the while *living* elsewhere. It became difficult, if not impossible to apply knowledge to a sense of an integrated self.

As disturbing, the advent of the computer disembodied learning. One learned from images rather than natural phenomena. One now viewed themself as a system rather than a life. We had moved ourselves further and further from the *real*. Illich's second decade of writing reflected his growing concern with the fragmentation of life experience and disembodiment of learning. Unable to know what is real, individuals apply distorted knowledge to artificially concocted selves.

Computer technology also fostered the destructive trend toward "content-sensitive help". We are encouraged to be passive receptors of information rather than active learners who facilitate connection of knowledge. *In the Mirror of the Past* speaks of the memory of the past which differs from person to person. This is the memory of culture. Illich defines culture as those practices which seek to preserve the commons and its vernacular elements, "What else is culture but the frame within which the shadows come back and are enfleshed? . . . Different ages have used different devices to conjure up what has been. Greeks the lyre, Aztecs the flute, Bushmen the drum, to make the whole body of *mnemosyne* resonate to the rhythms of the past." (Illich, 1992, 186)

In accepting the premise of life as duration of time and the accumulation of experience, one can only learn through the memory of experience and can only make choices through the imagination of possibilities. Creative evolution depends upon the inventiveness of life and mind. Lacking sensual experience and memory, we are unable to imagine. The theme of this catastrophic change was made evident in *H2O and the Waters of Forgetfulness*, published in 1985. In this book Illich wrote about the "historicity of stuff", and reflected on how the natural stuffs of our world were losing their imaginative associations and metaphors. This book resulted in a request for Illich to speak to a group in Dallas, Texas who were planning on constructing a lake, fountains, and waterfalls from recycled sewage water. Illich felt that the industrial solvent Dallas hoped to use in its beautification program might chemically be H2O, but it had lost its ability to mirror the water of dreams.

> I do believe that in this world into which I see the young generation now moving, it is not only their voice they are losing by imagining themselves along the model of the computer, it is also that they are emerging as a generation rid of stuff. . . I am saying the deadness which sets in when people have lost the sense to imagine the substance of water, not in its external appearances, but the substance of water, that deadness might be worse for those who live on than the diseases that set in, the AIDS analogues which will set in because there are too many organic phosphate residues . . . I'm speaking of the deadening of the imagination. (Illich, 1992, 27)

We have so deadened our ways of feeling and doing that we no longer have the ability to create. Moving from an active oral tradition of learning, text had caused us to fatally describe experience. The current concept of life as system, mind as computer, left no space for imagination. Technology has successfully blocked connection.

Just as importantly, the death of imagination precedes the extinction of understanding of *other* so critical to the celebration of diverse beings. It is only by imagining what you as *other* feel or experience can one hope to find common ground for community. Within his writing Illich takes us from the need to detatch for critical generation of knowledge, to the need to integrate and embody human experience, finally reaching the need to respect the individual embodied experience of others through imagination. The more diverse and embodied the experiences the greater the *ability* to imagine how others feel or know. The *desire* to empathize with others is whetted in friendship, and it is through friendship that we arrive to wisdom. During the next decade, friendship would become an extremely important context for knowledge in his writings.

1988-1998

Illich's life continues to be instructive, following those precepts he so ardently espouses. He lives as an independent scholar, with no permanent attachment to any contemporary institution, earning no regular salary. While I visited with Illich in Bremen, he worked closely with small groups of students. Providing the ultimate open door policy, students and friends visited and discussed, came and went, always being greeted with the greatest respect.

Illich currently spends part of his year as visiting professor in the science, technology, and society program at Pennsylvania State University, part of his year in a similar role at the University of Bremen, and part of his year writing in Cuernavaca, Mexico. While Illich possesses a passport from the United States, he does not claim a country. He has a group of friends to whom he is infinitely loyal and they to his. True to his most foundational thoughts, friendship forms the structure of his life.

If technology has successfully separated us from nature, learning becomes disconnected as our senses wither from disuse. According to Illich, the answer to this cataclysmic loss lies in the renewal of friendship as the basis for living and learning, which for Illich are one and the same. Friendship provides the basis for the exchange of Divine gifts as well as for the natural limitation of tools. Always placing the needs of others first we share what is most valuable in our lives (our talents) and defer in our needs to those with whom we live. Both physical space and time must be provided for this exchange. Friendship must be the basis for all learning both as a process and as focus as we re-engage the real and authentic.

> In the study of theology, ecclesiology was my preferred subject; and, within this discipline, liturgy. Liturgy, like ecclesiology, is concerned with sociogenisis. It inquires into the continued embodiment of the Word through rituals. Necessarily, these rituals often center on objects like tables, tombs, and chalices. So, my interest in these so-called *sacral* led me to the theory of instrumentally used objects. I pursued the nature of the artifact in the belief that understanding would deepen my insight into virtue in our epoch, especially the virtue of charity. Therefore, the love of friendship *philia*, as practicable under the social and symbolic conditions engendered by modern artifacts, has been the constant subject of my teaching. For me, philosophy is the *ancillamicitiae*. (Illich, 1973, 7)

Illich discusses friendship throughout his writings, but in his earliest works the importance of austerity in friendship most frequently emerges. In *Tools for Conviviality*, Illich began such a discourse. This volume contains a historical study of tools and tool use. Illich came to the conclusion that the character of tools today has a direct relationship on personal and social possibilities. Illich sees energy and education as such tools. With the first we are moved and the other we are taught. "Because of the way these tools are designed and operate, privilege, power, and prestige necessarily cluster around a few persons. The many--you and I, the individuals we know--are reduced, to stupefication. And there is no way to remedy this situation short of draconian re-structuring of society's tools. (Illich, 1973, 7)

In this case friendship suggests the limitations one should put of the production of tools and their use. One must self-limit out of concern for other. Further, we must unite in a political inversion: "If within the very near future man cannot set limits to the interference of his tools and the environment and practice effective birth control, the next generations will experience the gruesome apocalypse predicted by many ecologists. Faced with these impending disasters, society can stand in wait of survival within limits set and enforced by bureaucratic dictatorship. Or it can engage in a political process by the use of legal and political procedures." (Illich, 1973, 100)

Illich comes to a much more connected and relational concept of friendship in his later works. As I read *In the Vineyard of the Text*, a 1994 publication, I was most impressed with Illich's complete identification with Hugh of St. Victor. Hugh was a Parisian monk who wrote the first book on the reading of text. In this work he attempts to reconcile technology and philosophy. Hugh writes on friendship as wisdom:

> To my dear Brother Ranulph from Hugh, a sinner . . . . Charity never ends. When I first heard this, I knew it was true. But now, Dearest Brother, I have the personal experience of fully knowing that charity never ends. For I was a foreigner and met you in a strange land. But the land was not really strange for I found friends there. I don't know whether I first made friends or was made one. But I found charity there and I loved it; and could not tire of it, for it was sweet to me, and I filled my heart with it, and was sad that my heart could hold so little. I could not take it all there was--but I took as much as I could, and weighed down with this precious gift, I did not feel any burden, because my full heart sustained me. And now, having made the long journey, I find my heart still warmed, and none of the gift has been lost: for charity never ends. (Illich, 1994, 27)

In this passage Hugh reflects the metaphor of seeking wisdom as journey; wisdom residing in a place in one's heart. Friendship assists us in this pilgrimage. Illich reflects the need for friendship in learning throughout the decades, but the emphasis on connection and support becomes especially clear in his latest works: "But my conviction has only deepened: The time of qualification by curricular attendance, the time of schooling which grew out of the idea of seminary and the *ratio studiorum*, is over. Even now, higher learning depends crucially on hospitality and friendship and lifelong personal emulation in those virtues which establish the independent stance of heart and mind on which *studium* . . . . depends." (Illich, 1998, 2)

While allowing for connection in political community has always been an important focus for Illich, I believe that in his later years friendship provided an even greater model for an ethos in learning. Illich had always defined life in terms of the ability to maintain relationship. Now he sees friendship as a guide to wisdom. Friendship provides the human face of truth through which one finds multiple perceptions; fuller perceptions of reality through relationship to others. The world we know cannot speak back to us. We come into a community of mutual knowing through friendships both past and present.

> Each of us can remember his own past. But the older I get the more I treasure the discrepancies between what is uniquely mine in the past and what others can share with me. The past that appears in this interstice is the past that can surprise me. For even when we have grown up together and later on recall the same moment that we lived together, my substance that is recalled is frequently not yours. And, further, the chords which the past strikes when it come to me might jar those that respond in your heart. Only years later I suddenly grasped that when those bells tolled for the wedding, for you they meant death. This is the one reason why I like to reminisce with others: the shoddy evening that made me cringe when I though of it has put on a festive dress since you told me about it. (Illich, 1992, 182)

Conclusion

In the course of the past three decades Ivan Illich has moved from a discussion of the dangers of institutionally generated knowledge, to understanding the connection of knowledge to our sense of self, to the necessity of placing learning in a context of friendship. While all learning was always viewed Thomastically as a means of discovering self, Illich proceeded from a discussion on knowledge, to understanding, to wisdom.

I believe that what Illich abhors in today's compulsory education is the fact that coerced institutional education is planned and packaged for standardized groups. We remove individuals from the ability to be surprised. Educators rarely allow one to find themselves and develop unique talents, but instead ask each to fit into standardized diminished selves--one size fits all.

The Christian truth which Illich advocates is universal but not objective in the sense that it is "out there". Parker Palmer describes such: "Instead, truth is personal, and all truth is known in personal relationships. Jesus is a paradigm, a model of this personal truth. In him, once understood as abstract, principled, propositional, suddenly takes on a human face and human frame . . . . Indeed, if truth is personal, then creeds and institutions are only objectified shells of the truth-seeking life that pulses in every human heart. We will find truth not in the fine points of our theologies or in the organizational alliances, but in the quality of our relationships--with each other and the whole created world." (Parker, 1992, 73) This personal truth of Christianity is not just an epistemology, but rather a way of living. For Illich knowing is based upon intentional living and learning from relational experience to both Spirit and friends.

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Community Schools in Texas: A Failed 19th Century Experiment in School Choice

Alan W. Garrett
Eastern New Mexico University

Community schools were established in post-Reconstruction Texas as a response to a despised, centralized school system created following the Civil War. They were organized in a way unique to Texas. More than a mere historical oddity, community schools exhibited several characteristics that correspond to school choice plans discussed today. Thus, an understanding of the background, organization, problems, and ultimate demise of community schools can inform contemporary school choice debates.

Prior to Reconstruction, public schooling was virtually nonexistent in Texas. Several factors led to this situation. First, the costs of providing public education were too great for a relatively new state. Debt and a general absence of money were constant conditions from the state's earliest settlement, through the Texas Revolution, years of the Republic of Texas, early statehood, and Civil War. Compounding the problem of the unavailability of funding was the fact that the relatively small population tended to settle diffusely in order to pursue agricultural interests. Even had finances not been a problem, the citizenry by and large was not yet prepared to support public education. Most early settlers came from existing Southern states where, unlike in New England and the Midwest, there existed neither traditions of nor expectations for public education. Attitudes in Texas at that time, as well as in other Southern states, regarding public education transcended benign neglect. Many, if not most, citizens regarded state funded and mandated schooling as incompatible with liberty, a form of charity and coercion inappropriate for a free people (Eby 1925).

Substantive efforts to establish public schools did not begin until after the Civil War. Several school laws were passed between 1866 and 1869, but their impact was negligible (White 1969, 170 – 173). A new state constitution written in 1869 addressed education explicitly and provided for free schools for all children between the ages of 6 and 18 years and for compulsory attendance for a minimum of four months each year. The 1869 constitution also created the office of superintendent of public instruction and mandated that counties be divided into school districts with local boards of managers (Eby 1925, 158). Legislation passed in 1870 to implement the constitutional provisions regarding education was largely ignored (Albright 1940, 40).

Incensed, leaders in the Reconstruction government then authored and passed the School Law of 1871. According to Frederick Eby (1925), this law was

> the most imperial system of education known to any American state. It was organized along military lines and assumed absolute authority over the training of children. (159)

Authority for policy and curriculum making was vested in a three member state board of education consisting of the superintendent of public instruction, governor, and attorney general. The responsibilities of this board were:

> To adopt all necessary rules and regulations for the establishment and promotion of public schools.
> To provide for the examination and appointment of all teachers.
> To fix the salaries of all teachers.
> To define the state course of study.
> To select textbooks and apparatus for the schools.
> To prescribe the duties of the boards of directors of the several school districts. (159)

The superintendent of public instruction also was responsible for the collection and dissemination of statistical and other information related to the schools, oversight and distribution of fiscal resources from the school funds, and approval of various appointments, accounts, and contracts. For each of the state's 35 judicial districts, the superintendent of public instruction appointed a district supervisor. Finally, should local boards of directors fail to provide adequate school facilities, the superintendent was authorized "to rent rooms or buildings for school purposes anywhere in the state . . ." (160). Immense discretionary powers were given to the three men who constituted the state school board. They controlled practically every aspect of the newly formed school system.

The 35 district supervisors appointed by the superintendent of public instruction divided each of their regions "into convenient school districts" and appointed a five-member board of directors for each district. As agents of the state board of education, these supervisors were responsible for enforcement of state board directives as well as reporting to the superintendent of public instruction and state board those students who did not abide by the state's compulsory attendance laws. They also examined teachers and prospective teachers who might be appointed by the state school board to teach in local schools (Eby 1925, 160).

Finally, each of the local districts created under the School Law of 1871 was overseen by an appointed local board of directors. These directors had only two real powers. First, they were to decide whether to have integrated or segregated schools, essentially a nonissue in 1870s Texas. Second, they were allowed to select the locations for school buildings. In addition to these two decision making opportunities, the local boards were delegated the enforcement of the two most hated provisions of the 1871 law. They were to levy and collect a tax to fund the school buildings within their districts and to enforce state compulsory attendance laws (Eby 1925, 161).

To describe the educational system established under the School Law of 1871 as unpopular with Texans would be an understatement. Commonly known as "the radical school system" due to its creation during that phase of Reconstruction in Texas, it also was referred to as "the infamous school system" by those familiar with it (Eby 1925, 162). Although no compulsory education system imposed by the Reconstruction state government, and perhaps no compulsory system at all, likely would have found favor with Texans during those years, three characteristics of the radical system were especially unpopular. A one per cent property tax for the building and support of schools was the most hated aspect of the radical school system (Eby 1925, 162 – 163; White 1969, 203 – 204). Compulsory attendance, too, proved highly distasteful to the citizenry (Eby 1925, 164; White 1969, 205). This first attempt in the state to impose compulsory attendance, especially by a government viewed by most as illegitimate and alien was bound to meet vigorous opposition. Such government intrusion into what many people viewed as a personal responsibility violated their long-held traditions and mores. Finally, the appointment of teachers by the distant state board of education without consultation of those people in the localities involved as opposed to appointment by the local boards not only resulted in anger, but also invited speculation and accusations of "graft and favoritism" (Eby 1925, 162 – 166).

Despite widespread intrastate dissatisfaction with the radical school system, its benefits must not be overlooked. This was Texas's first significant attempt at public education, and it was begun on a statewide basis. In 1870, on the eve of this great experiment, there were no public schools in the state (Albright 1940, 39). The School Law of 1871 provided free schools for both races, assured that teachers in schools were, on the whole, more competent than either their few predecessors or immediate followers, and offered a degree of efficiency through its highly centralized operation. Worthy of note is that the radical school system tended to be viewed favorably by people who lived outside of the state, especially those from regions that had a tradition of compulsory public schooling (Eby 1925, 167).

Texans, however, were not impressed with the educational benefits afforded by the radical school system and sought to dismantle it as soon as possible. They had that opportunity only four years after the system was established, in September of 1875, when a new state constitution was written following the end of Reconstruction in Texas (Eby 1925, 169 – 170). The School Law of 1876 that enacted the educational provisions of the new constitution provided for a state board of education with "general oversight" authority only and an appointed secretary to the board who merely collected and disseminated information (171). Unlike his predecessor, the superintendent of public instruction, the secretary held no supervisory powers. Alienated by the almost military hierarchy of the radical school system, Texans sought to establish an educational system that afforded maximum local control and gave parents a wide latitude of choice when making educational decisions for their children. Community schools were the outcome of those desires.

Community schools were organized on an annual basis by interested parents, and state funding was provided based on the number of students that parents forming the community school asserted would attend for that academic year. Frederick Eby (1925) best described the community school system and how it worked:

> [T]he parents and guardians were permitted to unite and organize themselves into school communities, embracing such population as might agree to take advantage of the benefits of the available school fund. The parents submitted to the county judge, who was ex officio county superintendent, a list of the children whom they wished to send to the school. This officer was required to appoint three trustees to act for the term in which the school was to be in operation. These trustees were charged with the employment of the teacher, and the general oversight of the school. This entire process had to be repeated yearly. There were no definite boundaries for the

> school communities, and the patronage of schools shifted from year to year. Any group of children, however few there might be, could form a school. The "community" was a purely voluntary district in the exact sense of the term, having a legal existence for one year only. (172)

Thus was formed on a statewide basis a public school system exhibiting characteristics very much like some educational choice plans discussed today. Before pursuing these similarities in greater detail, an understanding of the decline and ultimate demise of community schools is helpful.

Community schools offered a Reconstruction-weary populace several perceived advantages over the radical school system. Parental discretion was maximized and state regulation minimized. With no lower limit on the number of students required to form a school community, access to state educational funding for all students, even those who lived in sparsely populated areas, became readily available (Eby 1925, 172). Schools could be located near students and not confined to fixed locations in permanent districts, a definite advantage for a mobile population always seeking better opportunities. Unfortunately, community schools' disadvantages far outweighed their advantages.

With no provision for the local collection of taxes, schools depended solely on the state for their support. Localities could not have used local tax efforts to improve the educational opportunities for their students, had they desired to do so, and remained within the state's public school system. School communities could not construct permanent buildings nor could they amass from one year to the next collections of instructional materials due to their statutory life of one year. This lack of continuity compounded by ever-changing trustees and school locations adversely impacted public support for local schools (Eby 1925, 173; Hodnett 1935, 20). Without the state oversight and regulation of the radical school system, community schools tended to employ less qualified teachers (Hodnett 1935, 32), perhaps engaging in more "favoritism" than had existed under "the infamous school system." Finally, the community plan not only promoted the creation of many small school districts each year that squandered public funds in inefficient attempts at schooling, but, more importantly, it was organized in such a way that the "graft" associated with the radical school system could be practiced on a statewide basis. Parents could affiliate with any school community, no matter how distant. Given the limitations of transportation at that time, students legally could become members of communities that they had neither the ability nor the intention to attend. Nevertheless, state funding for such students would follow their purported enrollments (Eby 1925, 173). The problems precipitated by the community school system in the names of parental autonomy and local school control were great.

In fact, by June of 1879, just three years after the creation of community schools in 1876, the legislature undertook its first tentative steps toward the reform of this unsustainable system. Among the potential improvements suggested were the hiring of better qualified teachers, increasing state and local supervision of schools, the formation of permanent school districts, and the development of more stable sources of funding (Eby 1925, 176). Unfortunately, remembrance of the hated radical school system remained too great, and, ultimately, the legislature only could reduce school appropriations and require that each community school maintain an attendance rate of at least 75% if its teacher was to be paid (175). Reducing appropriations indicated the degree of dissatisfaction with the ways in which state funds were being expended, a recognition of the ineffectiveness of the system. Establishing a mandatory minimum attendance requirement demonstrated that many students, in fact, joined school communities without serious intentions of attending school and, either inadvertently or with forethought, caused state education funds to be expended for other than their benefit.

Eight years after the establishment of community schools and five years after the state's first attempt to reform them, the legislature began to dismantle the community school system. The Peabody Commission's work for the improvement of education in Texas as well as adequate temporal distance from the radical school system allowed the legislature to pass the School Law of 1884. This law contained five significant provisions to reform and improve public education:

1. A state superintendent was to be elected to have general supervision over all the schools of the common school system.
2. All counties except fifty-three which were especially exempted were to divided into school districts. The fifty-three exempted were mainly in east Texas and in the Rio Grande Valley. They were to retain the old form of annual reorganization of schools, now known as the community plan.

3. District or local taxation was authorized up to 20 cents on the $100 valuation, provided two thirds of the property owners who paid taxes voted in favor of such a tax.
4. A state tax up to 20 cents on the $100 valuation was to be collected on all property or as much as was necessary with other sources of income to maintain the schools for a term of six months each year.
5. The school fund was to be invested in county or other bonds, thus enlarging the means of steady investment of the permanent fund. (Eby 1925, 195)

Forty-eight years after independence and 39 years after statehood, Texans realized the importance of a stable, adequately funded system of public education and began to establish one. Community schools, however, persisted. Their numbers in the counties in which they were allowed varied from year to year, as was their very nature, but, by 1893, community schools began a constant numerical decline as many counties exempted from the permanent districts called for in the School Law of 1884 recognized the superiority of such districts and accepted the provisions of that law. By 1909, the legislature mandated that the 12 counties then still using the community system abandon it and form permanent districts (211).

Thus ended a chapter of educational history written only in Texas. Community schools and their problems, however, should not be relegated to the forgotten memories of the irrelevant past. Their parallels with contemporary school choice plans offer insights unavailable elsewhere.

Although late 19th century Texans did not employ vouchers in their community school system, the funding mechanism employed was surprisingly similar. Peter Cookson (1994) defined a voucher as "any system of certificates or cash payments by the government that enables public school students to attend schools of their choice, public or private" (16). Two differences emerge. First, payments under the community system were made to the school's trustees, not directly to parents. Second, all community schools, by definition, were public. Features inherent in the organization of community schools, however, provided parents a great deal of educational choice, at public expense, as that term is understood today. Since community schools had a legal existence of only one year, parents were not merely able to make decisions about the school of their children's attendance each year; they were forced to do so. Parents annually determined the nature of the school their children would attend when they voluntarily formed their school communities. In all probability, the petition process could have been used not only to include certain students but also to exclude others. School choice under the community school model also transcended limited selection between established alternatives. Parents actually "created" their own schools to their own likings.

Affording parents this degree of latitude in educational decision making was a primary intent of the School Law of 1876. Shifting power and responsibility away from a handful of individuals perceived as remote must have seemed to be an improvement to post-Reconstruction Texans. No longer would educational decisions be made by "outsiders" who often viewed the world far differently than most parents. This line of reasoning is very much akin to the "community-power rationale" for educational choice that asserts, among other tenets, that schools are useful for "reinforcing and transmitting local values" (Henig 1995, 17).

Today's most commonly asserted rationale for school choice is that of the market. Parents, free to choose from among competing alternatives, presumably will make informed, studied decisions, in effect "buying" the best educational "product" for their children. John E. Chubb and Terry E. Moe (1990) are two of the most prominent apostles of this viewpoint. They proffer that choice, in fact, is the long sought educational "panacea" (217), claiming that market control will lead to academically superior schools (190).

Chubb and Moe, along with numerous other educational choice advocates, view the market as the ultimate determinant of good and bad, of right and wrong. This simplistic view is reminiscent of another "panacea" foisted upon educators and the public during the early years of the 20th century. Franklin Bobbitt (1918), too, believed that there existed "certain general principles of management and supervision that have universal applicability" (8). To improve schools, Bobbitt contended, educators should emulate successful manufacturers and businesses. In a sense, Chubb and Moe's work merely is an extension of Bobbitt's earlier efforts. Bobbitt sought to impose on individual schools and school districts the models of individual plants or companies. Chubb and Moe seek to reform the entire system of American education through the application of a general economic principle.

The appeal of the market rationale is strong, but that alone does not account for its current prominence. One reason for its regular assertion is the perception that it cannot be contested, at least not without great difficulty (Davis

1995, 16). Many people will not argue against a basic tenet of much of the American economic system. Yet, while the market rationale is invoked often, its use tends to obscure the primary reasons for which many, if not most, educational choice advocates assumed their positions.

Cookson (1994) noted the philosophical diversity of those individuals who support educational choice, noting that often they have "little in common except deep contempt for public education as we know it" (6). The market rationale becomes a convenient banner for such a group to rally around, although it is not one that always defines members accurately. Cookson also observed that a common characteristic of choice advocates is their "loss of faith in public institutions and democracy" (5), a situation not unlike the one that led to the creation of community schools following Reconstruction. Thus, behind the façade of the free market, may be attitudes and beliefs about schools not so very much unlike those held by most Texans immediately following Reconstruction.

The Carnegie Foundation's objective 1992 report, *School Choice*, pointed out that many school choice decisions are made for "nonacademic reasons" (12). This fact calls into question the appropriateness of the market rationale and the validity of Chubb and Moe's (1990) claim that market control, of necessity, leads to academically superior schools. In fact, the Carnegie Foundation (1992) determined that "the educational impact of school choice is ambiguous at best" (20). Ernest Boyer observed in the foreword of *School Choice* that "little effort has been made to report, in a systematic way, on the problems as well as the progress in the 'choice' programs now in place" (xv). To that can be added "or the choice programs of the past."

While community schools do not offer precise parallels to modern educational choice issues, no present situation ever perfectly duplicates its historical precedents. Community schools do offer a good approximation of a modern educational issue of significant importance, and they merit further study. Records of community schools, their teachers' papers and remembrances, and their students' recollections could provide valuable insights into this largely forgotten chapter in educational history. Unfortunately, no such documentary evidence, if it has been preserved, has been located to date.

Lacking such primary source material, this work relied heavily on Frederick Eby's 1925 *The Development of Education in Texas*, as have most others that have addressed community schools since that date. Any reading of Eby should take into account Bailyn's (1960) warning, "Implicit in all of these writings is the professional purpose they were meant to serve" (56). As Tyack (1970) clarified a decade later, "educational historians often wrote to unite and inspire their co-workers in the schools" (22). Any complete reading of Eby's history of education in Texas makes clear that, intended or not, he was influenced by this bias.

Nevertheless, these facts remain clear. First, the educational system established in Texas during Reconstruction, although despised within the state, offered the promise of free education to all children and was among the most comprehensive and efficient of its era. Second, at the first available opportunity, citizens dismantled that system and instituted in its place one that gave parents choice, the right and obligation to determine on an annual basis which schools their children would attend at public expense. They took this action based on political and philosophical beliefs that superseded their support for quality education. Third, problems with the community school model became apparent almost immediately after its implementation. The education offered students did not improve. Finally, a third of a century elapsed before community schools could be eliminated entirely. In the case of community schools, the "cure" was at least as bad, if not worse, than the problem they were intended to solve. This lesson is worthy of recall whenever any peddler of educational reforms offers a panacea.

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Hanna and Stanford: Saving the University by Throwing it to the Wolves

Jared Stallones
The University of Texas at Austin

The Great Depression posed a challenge to the academic and financial integrity of many private colleges and universities. Hard times imposed financial strictures that forced administrators to rethink their fundamental philosophy of academic independence. From the vantage point of today's academy and its relentless quest for grants, the hand-ringing of university presidents and trustees sixty years ago seems quaint. Nevertheless, theirs was an honest dilemma over how to preserve the unique identities of their institutions. Into this milieu stepped a new breed of academic, skilled in both scholarship and entrepreneurship. Stanford education professor Paul Hanna exemplified the new, indispensable academic entrepreneur. As much as anyone, he helped move the University from an attitude of distrust of big government and an unwillingness to receive its help to that of open-armed acceptance of and active search for government grants and contracts. In the process, he helped obscure the distinction between public and private institutions.

Hanna's entrepreneurial qualities surfaced early in his life. By the time he arrived at Stanford University as an assistant professor of education in 1935, he held a patent on an arithmetic calculating machine for children, he had begun successful textbook projects with both the Scott-Foresman and Houghton-Mifflin companies, he had developed and launched the *Building America* series of issue-based curriculum supplements, and he had cultivated a truly amazing network of collegial contacts. At the same time, Stanford was in desperate need of new approaches to funding its growing academic and research programs. Perhaps no story better illustrates Hanna's drive, his ambition, and his ability to marshal resources for a productive end than does the tale of Frank Lloyd Wright's Hanna-Honeycomb House.

Paul and Jean Hanna had first become acquainted with the work of Frank Lloyd Wright while they were still in New York. Columbia University contemplated employing Wright to design married faculty housing. The Hannas were enthusiastic about purchasing one of the units. They had studied Wright's philosophy on home design in the volume *Modern Architecture*. Wright's ideas resonated with the Hannas and they decided that, "There could be no other architect for us" (Hanna n.d., 1). Columbia eventually shelved its plan, but the Hannas did not.

Upon coming to Stanford, with the relative financial security of promising textbook projects in the works, the Hannas announced their intention to ask Frank Lloyd Wright to design their home. The idea of a junior faculty member contracting with the world's most famous architect for his private residence was audacious. The plan was alternately referred to as 'Hanna's Folly' and "A dream castle come true" (*Stanford Daily*, 10 February 1938).

The Hannas' first hurdle was to select a location for their house. They hoped to lease a plot from Stanford University in a previously undeveloped tract known as Frenchman hills. The *Stanford Daily* called the site "Stanford's most romantic spot." Wright enthusiastically approved it, but Paul Hanna was told by the university's comptroller that Stanford planned to keep that tract as open space for all time. Hanna and his colleague, Grayson Kefauver, then embarked on a strategy designed to weaken the administration's resolve. Each week, one of the men would meet with the comptroller and the other would meet with President Ray Lyman Wilbur and make a particular case for leasing them the sites. The next week, they would switch and each would meet with the opposite official. After several months, Wilbur decided to grant the two their request. Hanna was indeed persistent, but the proposition of the first Frank Lloyd Wright house on the west coast being built on Stanford land certainly helped sway President Wilbur.

Stanford's Crisis

Stanford University in 1935 had a mixed reputation. Its nickname was "the Harvard of the West," but the appellation was not entirely complimentary. In addition to academic excellence, the name connoted social elitism. The Depression accelerated the narrowing of the student demographics. The university served an increasingly homogeneous conservative, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon student body drawn from middle and upper socio-economic backgrounds. The student tuitions imposed in 1920 to support university expansion had become a necessary funding source that limited the diversity of the campus population. Stanford's academic reputation suffered a blow in 1934 when the Academic Council decided that students unable to maintain an adequate level of scholarship would not be dismissed, but the university would rely instead on their common sense to know when to withdraw themselves. Critics suggested that this change in policy demonstrated that tuition was more important than scholarship.

The relaxing of academic standards added to the mild climate and beautiful setting of the Stanford campus, gained the school a reputation as California's 'country club university'. This image was carried to the nation in a 1931 article in *Time* magazine touting Stanford as "predominantly a rich man's college." The article emphasized the upscale facilities of the university, including "one of the finest Pacific Coast golf courses, two lakes, a polo field . . ." Regarding the student body, the article claimed that "more than half own automobiles. Some fly their own planes" (*Time*, 8 June 1931, 40). A national survey ranked Stanford twelfth academically, while it put the University of California at Berkeley, Stanford's arch-rival, at fourth in the country. Adding to this humiliation was a note accompanying Stanford's rating, "When we are considering scholarly eminence of universities, the country club aspects of undergraduate life are not relevant" (Embree 1935, 652).

Despite the impression that all Stanford students were well-heeled swells, the decade of the Great Depression showed how vulnerable the school had become to the vicissitudes of the market cycle. By the middle of the decade, Stanford students were receiving support from the California State Emergency Relief Administration and about 12 percent of the student body were enrolled in federal work relief programs (*Report of the President of Stanford University*, 1934).

Some private institutions in similar straits sought direct federal aid, but others found federal support for private higher education unpalatable and suspect. It seemed to blur the traditional distinction between public and private education and threaten the independence of the private university. For Stanford, though, the issue was more visceral. Both President Wilbur and trustee Herbert Hoover intensely disliked and distrusted President Franklin Roosevelt. They looked with disdain on his New Deal initiatives, and especially on those that threatened to bring private colleges into the orbit of the federal government. They were intent on heeding James Conant's admonition that, "[I]f and when private institutions pass under government control, [it will be] because they were forced there as a result of their begging policy for money" (Conant 1937). Instead of begging for government handouts, Stanford sought funds elsewhere.

The Search for Private Funding

A promising source of private funds was the licensing of technological innovations to industry. Although some at Stanford saw peril in becoming too closely allied with industry, others welcomed the opportunity. Notably, Robert Swain, chairman of the chemistry department, and Frederick Terman, Chairman of electrical engineering, actively courted industrial support. The result was mixed. Stanford signed an agreement with the Sperry Gyroscope Company concerning a navigational device developed by Stanford scientists, but the arrangement fell apart. Although potentially profitable for all parties, the contract did not address questions of faculty autonomy, control of university research facilities, and university promotion policies.

Paul Hanna entered the search for private funding early in his tenure at Stanford. In 1936, Paul H. Davis, a 1923 graduate of Stanford and newly-named General Secretary of the University, prevailed on Paul and Jean Hanna to join the Stanford Associates in their fund-raising efforts. The Hannas were asked to cultivate two wealthy sisters, Margaret Jacks and Mary Jacks Thomas. They developed close friendships with both women, serving as their escorts to Stanford events, visiting in each others' homes, and even traveling together. In 1958, Margaret Jacks willed her estate to Stanford. At $10 million valuation, it was the largest gift to the University since the original Stanford family endowment. Other personal friendships developed by the Hannas resulted in substantial gifts to various departments and units of the University.

Few stones were left unturned in the search for private support for Stanford. A 1944 memo from Hanna to University President Donald Tressider describes Hanna's strategies for getting financial help from the Ford Foundation. Hanna detailed a scheme to induce Edsel Ford's son, William, to enroll at Stanford in advance of approaching the Foundation. Hanna recommended that, ". . . we get former Hotchkiss boys who are at Stanford, or who have gone to Stanford, to work on this possibility. Also, the Hoover boys appear to be rather close to the Ford boys and might be of assistance" (Hanna 1944). Although these schemes helped prop up Stanford's balance sheet, neither support from industry nor from private sources provided the steady income stream Stanford needed. By the end of the 1930's, the University was again in severe financial straits.

A Crack in the Wall

By this time, though, a new model of government support had evolved. Instead of distributing funds through grants to private institutions, the National Advisory Committee on Aeronautics had pioneered the use of contracts with individual researchers. Contracts gave the illusion that agreements between the government and universities were arm's length transaction for the mutual benefit of each. Moreover, the generous provisions for the university's overhead expenses in these contracts smacked of 'profit' for Stanford.

World War II marked the philosophical watershed for Stanford, as it did for many private institutions. The growing conviction that war might be unavoidable made alliances with the government seem a patriotic duty. Indeed, many in the Stanford community were frustrated by President Wilbur's reluctance to aggressively seek out government research contracts in the days before Pearl Harbor. Hanna and nearly twenty other faculty members took out a full page advertisement in the local paper arguing that Stanford should prepare to take part in the war against National Socialism. As he recalled, "This was serious, this was survival- we knew we had to defeat the Germans." In response, Hanna received a "most devastating letter from [Herbert] Hoover, as a member of the Board of Trustees, telling me to shut up" (Hanna 1974) Hoover's violent opposition to any alliance between Stanford and the Roosevelt administration helps explain President Wilbur's reticence on the issue, but Hanna was adamant about the need to gear up for war. As a member of the National Resources Planning Board from 1937-39, he had come to believe that U.S. involvement in the war was inevitable. Hanna met with President Wilbur and recalled Wilbur telling him, "'I just don't want anything to do with this, but I wouldn't restrict you'" (ibid). Hanna took him at his word and met with Donald Tressider, president of Stanford's Board of Trustees. As a result of their meeting, Tressider appointed Hanna chairman of the Committee on University Services to investigate further opportunities for the University to contribute to wartime research. Tressider was a businessman rather than an academic. He did not share the view that Stanford must maintain a pristine separation from government, and saw qualities in Hanna that he recognized from the business world.

In the days before the U.S. declaration of war, the National Defense Research Council and the Office of Scientific Research and Development were organized to coordinate federal government contracts for war-related research and training. The NDRC panel that let contracts was a clubby group of academicians, and personal and professional contacts were as important as merit in their decisions. The primary recipients of NDRC-OSRD contracts included M.I.T. and Harvard, both of which had officers serving on the NDRC-OSRD review board. Stanford officials felt some urgency to get in the game, especially since their west coast rivals Caltech and the University of California were also key recipients of NDRC-OSRD contracts. Demonstrating that they understood the politics involved, when President Wilbur's retirement approached, the Stanford trustees offered the University presidency to the head of the NDRC-OSRD Board, Vannevar Bush. Unfortunately, the offer was made on December 5, 1941. Events of the following days rendered Bush's consideration of the offer impossible.

The U.S. declaration of war posed other setbacks for Stanford, as well. Students left the university to enlist in the armed services, once more cutting into revenue from tuitions. This despite President Wilbur's advice to, "Be reluctant to drop out of the University. The government will pull you out if it wants you. An engineering student who can get a new idea that will make an airplane go twenty miles faster per hour is worth a hundred thousand men in uniform" (*Stanford Daily*, 10 December 1941). Just as ominous for the long-term health of the University was the defection of professors to schools with more prestigious, better funded war research contracts. Frederick Terman left to head up the Radio Research Laboratory at Harvard. By January 1942, Stanford had lost forty professors to war work at other sites. With the defection of top faculty members and fewer opportunities for research, Stanford's graduate programs also threatened to fold. Whatever scruples Stanford officials still held about federal funding of private universities was overwhelmed by the winds of war.

Hanna Goes to War

Hanna's University Services Committee geared up quickly. It recommended that the University send representatives to Washington, D.C. to offer Stanford facilities for war-related research. This smacked of begging the federal government for financial assistance to President Wilbur, and he was reluctant to commit precious funds to the effort, but the committee argued that success in Washington could enhance the university's prestige, stem the flight of faculty and graduate students, and provide needed revenue. The fact that it could be seen as a patriotic act made it philosophically acceptable even to trustee Herbert Hoover. Hanna and Paul Davis left for Washington in late 1942.

Once there, the two realized that their task would be more complex than they had anticipated. They were in competition with dozens of other institutions. Davis minimized the intensity of the competition in a letter in which he assured Wilbur that he and Hanna were not like the "desperate university presidents [who]...sat on every doorstep and with trembling voices pleaded for a handout" (Davis 1943). Hanna and Davis realized that a permanent office in Washington was needed to cultivate the personal contacts upon which the enterprise depended, and set up shop in the American Council Building on Lafayette Square.

Hanna was in his element. His tremendous energy and his entrepreneurial skills formed a powerful combination on Stanford's behalf. His schedule was grueling. He typically spent two weeks in Washington and two weeks in California. In Washington, he approached government officials through high level contacts, like those made through his membership in the exclusive Cosmos Club. He recalled, "Most of the leaders of the war effort would gather for lunch. I would listen and ask questions and find out where research or training needs...were...And then I would come back and write up a proposition and take it back [to the appropriate officials]" (Hanna 1986). He and Davis even hosted a luncheon for Stanford alumni holding high government positions to gain information and plan strategies for approaching various government agencies. In addition, the two asked Hoover and Terman for introductions to important officials. Terman was especially helpful. Hanna recalled that his name was "an open sesame to all the scientific research groups" (ibid).

Aggressively courting the Washington bureaucrats paid off for the University. By the end of the war, Stanford had inked twenty-five contracts with the NDRC-OSRD, worth over $500,000. In addition, the Office of Strategic Services enlisted Stanford to study German food production and distribution capabilities. Hanna and Davis were directly responsible for these contracts. A 1943, *Time* magazine article labeled Hanna, "Stanford's ambassador to the U.S. Government" (November 15, 1943)

As Director of University Services, Hanna also oversaw training programs for military personnel at Stanford. These included the Army Specialized Training Program, programs run by the Signal Corps, the Women's Army Corps, language and cultural training, training in military government, and others. The war with Japan caused new departments to be created as Stanford exploited its traditional role as a center for research in the natural and socio-cultural environments of the Pacific Basin. Stanford ultimately ranked second among American universities in the total number of military personnel on campus. Its enrollment numbers reached an all-time high. Donald Tressider attributed Stanford's strong financial position at the end of the war to the work of Hanna and University Services. Interestingly, Hanna quantified his contribution by claiming, "The overhead payments to Stanford amounted to more than two million dollars" (Hanna 1982).

Stanford's location also provided Paul Hanna the unique wartime role of influencing the curriculum for schools in the War Relocation Authority's internment camps for issei and nisei. In July 1942, twenty-five graduate students in Hanna's summer session Education 299b course, "Curriculum Development", undertook the study of educational problems at the Relocation Centers to ensure that the Japanese-American children and youth, "continue their growth toward American ideals during the war." The study began with a review of background materials concerning "the problem of cultural absorption of an alien minority group" (Hanna et al 1942). Officials from the Western Regional Office of the Relocation Authority met with students on the Stanford campus, and together they decided to focus on the Tulelake Center in northern California as representative of the educational challenges throughout the system of camps. Seventeen members of the class then visited the Center for a two-day period. In a series of subsequent meetings and conferences with W.R A. officials, Hanna's class sketched out a sample curriculum for camp schools. The model developed by Hanna's class was adopted for the Center schools in the Western Region of the W.R.A.

His experience with government work during the war, "...broadened my horizons tremendously," Hanna recalled (Hanna 1974). A key event in the broadening of his view was his war-related travel on behalf of the Coordinator for Inter-American Affairs. The CIAA was established under the authority of the Council on National Defense to coordinate the cultural and economic activities of U.S. Government agencies in Latin America. By 1940, growing U.S. concern over Nazi infiltration of Latin American economies brought the Coordinator under the direct purview of the President. On August 16, 1940, Franklin Roosevelt appointed Nelson Rockefeller head of CIAA. Rockefeller, in turn, called on Otis Caldwell to help him in Washington.

In late 1940, Paul Hanna met Caldwell at a dinner party for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. During the course of the evening, Hanna described his upcoming trip to Peru to visit Inca sites. The CIAA had been collecting first-hand information on Nazi incursions into South American culture, politics, and economies, so Caldwell asked Hanna to keep his eyes open and report on his impressions when he returned. Hanna's trip became one of at least nine fact-finding missions authorized by the CIAA that year.

Hanna enjoyed the cloak and dagger mission. He characterized himself and his mission as "a first counter-espionage agent to find out what in hell Germany was doing and how they had captured the drug market-well, the whole thing, transportation, communication, etc" (Hanna 1974). Upon his return, he made a full report of German influences in the schools in the countries he had visited. Partly as a result of the report, the thrust of CIAA efforts in Latin America shifted from parrying Nazi propaganda to aiding economic development in the region, with education as a significant component. Hanna followed this trip with another in 1941-42, from which Stanford benefited by landing a small contract to update the Latin American edition of *Who's Who*.

Hanna Goes Global

Out of his travels Hanna developed the conviction that the wider world should be included in his conception of expanding communities and that education played a pivotal role in national and international development. Hanna's growing interest in international education coincided with the growing realization among policymakers and average Americans alike that the postwar world would not be one in which the United States could isolate itself. International cooperation would be the commonplace. Hanna took steps to position Stanford as a leader in international education studies. Even before the war ended, Hanna planned a conference bringing together at Stanford top figures from universities, corporations, foundations, and government to discuss programs of training, research, and service for the Pacific, Asia, and Latin American regions. The conference never took place due to lack of funds, but its planning laid the foundation for future developments.

In May 1945, Hanna proposed forming a "Stanford Pacific Institute." Its five-fold purpose included, "teaching and training personnel for duties in Far Eastern countries; [research to make] relations with the Orient more effective and productive; collection of materials on the Far East; dissemination of information; and promotion of international cultural relations." The effect of his wartime activities on Hanna's thinking about education is seen in the proposal's text. Part of the value in such an Institute, Hanna wrote, would be, "An effective impact of American educational ideals and methods with their emphasis on democracy and equality of opportunity." He felt that these ideals, "can prove one of the great molding forces in the future of the Pacific" (ibid). Hanna's pursuit of this goal continued to benefit the University through government contracts and private fund-raising in the following decades.

The major vehicle for Hanna's postwar entrepreneurial work on behalf of Stanford was a series of contracts among the University, the United States Government, and the Republic of the Philippines. Under the aegis of the Agency for International Development, Hanna administered multimillion dollar contracts using Stanford resources to help develop Philippine universities and schools. From 1951-1966, the overhead payments amounted to over two million dollars.

Hanna's interest in international development also resulted in the creation of the Stanford International Development Education Center. He served as the Center's Director from 1952-1967. It trained hundreds of leaders from many countries and brought the University U.S. Office of Education and UNESCO grants.

Hanna's Personal Philanthropy

The Hannas' private fund-raising continued, as well. Paul Hanna's prestige grew in the postwar period, and this opened more doors for him to approach individuals and corporations. In addition to the substantial donations by the Jacks family, the Hannas' personal touch resulted in a nearly $400,000 gift from Mrs. Myrna B. Martindale-Freeman. The Hannas were music lovers, and in 1967 they hosted a series of musical evenings at the Hanna-Honeycomb House to raise funds for a new organ for Stanford's Memorial Church. One guest eventually donated $500,000 for the project. Another $500,000 was given to Stanford in 1977 by the Nissan Motor Company for the maintenance of Hanna-Honeycomb House.

Paul Hanna recalled fondly the dedication soon after his arrival at Stanford of the Cubberly School of Education Building. Elwood P. Cubberly had retired as Dean of the School of Education in 1933. During his long career, he had published a number of professional books that sold well. He invested the royalties shrewdly, and was able to donate funds enough for Stanford to build the new education building and create a library fund, as well. Hanna took this act as his model, and eventually donated to various units of the University over $1.8 million, including deeding the Hanna-Honeycomb House to Stanford in 1974. Over their long association with Stanford, the Hannas were responsible for an estimated $18 million in gifts of various kinds.

Lessons for Today

A stroll across the modern university campus illustrates the changed relationship between academia and business and government. At the University of Texas at Austin, the buildings in the center of campus are named for revered professors and university presidents. Few of these gave the school great sums of money. Instead, they are honored as great teachers and scholars. The Board of Regents of the Texas University System once had a policy that University buildings could not be named for living individuals. In the sections of the Austin campus developed since that policy was changed, visitors find the McCombs Softball Stadium, named for one of the biggest car dealers in Central Texas, the Moffett Cellular and Molecular Biology Building, named for the Chairman of Freeport-McMoran Corporation, or the Jamail Swim Center, named for one of Texas' original million-dollar lawyers. The list could go on. Not coincidentally, each of these individuals is a major contributor to the University. None has much to do with what goes on in the building that bears his name

Perhaps Stanford's leaders of the 1930's were right to be cautious about protecting the independence of their institution. The university, government, and the corporation form a triad of power centers in society, each with its own unique ethic and purpose. The university's traditional role is to develop knowledge which business and government use. Vital to this function is intellectual independence, but partnerships between these institutions can threaten that independence. When the force of money and prestige from business and government enter the decision-making processes of the university, it alters how scholarship is rewarded, research facilities are used, and knowledge is disseminated. In his recent book, *The University in Ruins*, Bill Readings suggests that universities have become corporate training camps and research arms of government and business. Too close an association between the developers of knowledge and its consumers may affect the nature of that knowledge. Perhaps the members of the triad function best when they remain distinct from one another. Academic entrepreneurs, those who move easily among universities, government, and business, serve to blur the separation between the institutions. They are not to blame, for the modern university is a costly proposition, but evaluating things in academia with the same measure used in government and business can warp the institution. David Harvey of Johns Hopkins University complains that, "the traditional university culture, with its odd sense of community, has been penetrated, disputed, and reconfigured by raw money power" (1998, 112). Academic entrepreneurship brings the university needed revenue and prestige, but in the process its unique identity and its important role in society becomes a bit more obscured.

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The Civil Rights Movement and Special Education

Joseph Watras
University of Dayton

Special education occupies a large and growing part of public education. This prominence is due to the work of advocacy groups that borrowed the rationale and imitated the strategies used by such organizations as the NAACP to advance the racial desegregation of schools. However, there was an important difference. Resistance to the civil rights movement blunted the effort to racially desegregate schools. On the other hand, when supporters of federal legislation for disabled citizens met resistance, the resulting controversies advanced federal regulation and increased the number of programs.

Special education grew rapidly in a short period. In 1965, there were five to seven million children needing special education services, but only 25 percent of them attended appropriate private or public school programs staffed by a total of about 71,000 teachers (Senate, 1965). In 1977, the number of public school students classified as disabled increased to 3.7 million and by 1990 that number increased to 4.6 million. Interestingly, from 1977 to 1990, public school enrollments declined by three million students. Consequently, the percentage of all public school students classified as disabled grew from 8.5 percent in 1977 to 11.4 percent in 1990. The number of special education teachers grew even faster rising by more than 50 percent between 1978 and 1990 (Hanushek et al. 1994, 35). Most important, this growth took place after advocates for special education imitated the more adversarial style of the NAACP.

Until the late 1960s, organizations to advance the care and education of disabled persons tried to advance their positions in a cooperative manner. For example, in 1962, the U. S. President's Commission on Mental Retardation called attention to the needs of handicapped children. However, in its message, the panel cautioned against using legal means to force a community to provide adequate care for the mentally retarded. Legal means, such as the courts and the legislature, the report went on, should be a last resort (149). Instead, the panel called for such federal agencies as the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) to exercise national leadership in developing educational services for retarded children. These agencies of the federal government, the panel added, could act in partnership with state agencies, local governments, and voluntary organizations (178-180).

Not long after the special education advocates made this call for cooperation with and among governmental agencies, the NAACP and the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC) proved to other advocacy groups that they could pressure the federal government to make changes in local school policies. In 1963, tired of the slow pace of the racial desegregation of schools, the SCLC coordinated a demonstration in Birmingham, Alabama. Headed by Martin Luther King, Jr., the SCLC called for a march on Washington, D.C. that led to the 1964 U.S. Civil Rights Act (King, 1964). Under the authority of this law, from 1964 until 1970, the U.S. Office of Civil Rights (OCR) moved more than 600 school districts toward racial desegregation (Salomone 1986, 65).

Imitating the civil rights movement, advocates for handicapped people linked their campaigns with the then current drive for human rights for the underprivileged. For example, in 1968 the International League of Societies for the Mentally Handicapped adopted A Declaration of General and Specific Rights of the Mentally Retarded asserting that mentally retarded people have the rights accorded to more fortunate people. In addition, it added, each mentally retarded child had a right to proper medical care and "to such education as will enable him to develop his ability and potential to the fullest possible extent" (Lippman and Goldberg 1973, 7). Other groups soon adopted similar statements.

When advocacy groups for special education adopted the language and the strategies of the civil rights movement, they grew rapidly. For example, the Council of Exceptional Children (CEC) grew from 5,000 members in 1950 to 70,000 by 1980. Similarly, in 1950, the National Association of Retarded Citizens (NARC) had 23 member organizations, by 1960, NARC had 681 state and local chapters and 62,000 members. In 1975, NARC grew to 1,700 state and local chapters and 218,000 members (Levine and Wexler 1981, 15-16).

Once the national advocacy groups had recruited teachers and parents to form local organizations and state coalitions, these groups pressured school districts to change. Claiming that local officials violated the rights of the handicapped, coalitions of advocates for special education asked the federal government to make changes in local or state affairs. However, professional elites led these apparently popular uprisings. Vermont offers an example of such state level pressure from special educators.

Special Education Advocates at the State Level

In 1970, Vermont State Senator John Alden submitted S.98, a bill modeled on an Illinois education for handicapped law reputed to be the best in the nation. Jean Garvin, the state director of special education and pupil personnel services; Sister Janice Ryan, from Trinity College; and, Hugh McKenzie, head of special education at the University of Vermont, began raising support for the bill from members of such interest groups as the Vermont chapter of Association of Retarded Children and the Vermont Association for Children with Learning Disabilities (Riley 1976, 312-313).

Trinity College sponsored a Political Action Day in September 1971 with representatives from such national organizations as Council of Exceptional Children. Participants at this meeting formed the Vermont Committee for the Handicapped (VCH). Employees of the University of Vermont special education area began developing county organizations and asked everyone to contact members of the Education and Appropriations Committees in the state legislature. On 4 November 1971, the VCH organized a demonstration of more that 250 people at a meeting of the state senate education committee. At Garvin's urging, the state board of education voted during November 1971 to lend its support to S.98. And, in January 1972, county groups of parents and special educators who had formed to pass Alden's bill began publishing a newsletter to circulate among themselves (Riley 1976, 315-317).

The strongest opposition came from the Governor of Vermont, Deane Davis, who, on 5 January 1972, complained that the special education legislation would be too expensive and incite unnecessary litigation. When Vermont's senate education committee reviewed an amended version of Alden's S. 98 in January 1972, Garvin, Ryan, and McKenzie testified that the Governor's objections were unfounded. Although the VCH members asked the senate not to compromise, the committee approved a mild version of S.98 (Riley 1976, 317).

Fortunately, for the special education advocates, in 1973, the House appropriations committee discovered more than $400, 000 the governor had placed in an unused budget account. With the public aware of the existence of this money, the legislature could use it to fund the special education bill (Riley 1976, 320).

Other interest groups began to support the special education legislation including the American Civil Liberties union, the Vermont Diocesan Council, the Vermont Superintendent's Association and the National Association of Social Workers. When committee deliberations threatened to kill the bill, a newspaper reporter wrote an article accusing the governor of holding S.98 ransom to obtain approval for legislation concerning campaign expenses. Suffering public criticism, the committees released the bill, and it came to the house for a vote just before the Easter holidays. In one morning, Vermont's house and the senate approved the legislation (Riley 1976, 318-322).

Lobbying the Federal Government

The case of Vermont described above illustrates how special educators worked at local and state levels. At the same time, national organizations lobbied the U.S. Congress calling for legislation to help states in educating the handicapped. As early as 1958, the CEC and the NARC had joined to support enactment of Public law 85-926, Expansion of Teaching in the Education of the Mentally Retarded. Further, the CEC cooperated with the National Education Association to promote passage of Public Law 89-10, Elementary and Secondary Education Act, (ESEA) (Colachio 1985, 51-52). Federal funds supporting education rose from $890,685,000 to $2,408,209,000 (Bailey and Mosher, 1968, pp. vii-viii). However, special educators did not benefit as they might have. Although Title I of ESEA could have directed money to handicapped children, the staff in the U.S. Office of Education decided to use it only for low income children (Salomone 1986, 143-144).

When the U.S. Congress had to renew ESEA in 1966, the CEC took the lead and lobbied such people as Wayne Morse chair of the Senate Committee on Labor and Welfare. Within a short period an extensive array of interest groups such as the American Psychological Association, the National Association of Mental Health, and the Association for children with Learning Disabilities joined to ask for three things. First, they called for federal funds for the states to educate the handicapped children. Second, they wanted an explicit bureau within the Office of Education to administer programs for the handicapped. Third, they claimed each child should have a free, appropriate public education (Levine and Wexler 1981, 20-28)

With surprisingly little debate about the special education sections, the U.S. Congress approved and President Johnson signed in 1966 a bill that became Public Law 89-750. While this renewed ESEA, it contained a new Title VI that authorized $50 billion for 1967 and $150 Million for 1968 to help in the education of the handicapped. Most important, Title VI created the Bureau of Education for the Handicapped (BEH) in the Office of Education. It also mandated formation of the National Advisory Committee to act as a consultative body to the BEH and to congress. As a result, advocates for the many different types of handicaps had a single position from which to exert combined influence. Not surprisingly, in 1970, the U.S. Congress replaced Title VI with the Education of the Handicapped Act, added a category of special or learning disabled to the list of handicaps, and authorized $630 million to be spent for the education of the handicapped (Levine and Wexler 1981, 29-41). The U.S. Congress also added to ESEA the opportunity to provide services to gifted and talented children (La Vor 1976).

Litigation to Influence Policy

In order to make its appeals to congress appear reasonable, the organizations for special education pointed to federal court decisions that seemed to establish a right to education for handicapped children. At first, the legal cases came from extensions racial desegregation suits. For example, Hobsen v. Hansen concerned the use of tracking systems to promote racial segregation (267 F. Supp. 401).

The first case demanding access to public schools for retarded children began on 7 January 1971 when the Pennsylvania Association for Retard Citizens (PARC), a state affiliate of NARC, filed a case in U.S. District Court. The American Association of Mental Deficiency, the Council of Exceptional Children, and the National Association for Retarded Children joined as friends of the court. This case began in 1969 when members of PARC complained during an annual meeting about conditions at the Pennhurst State School and Hospital that was one of the nine residence facilities for mentally retarded people under the supervision of the Pennsylvania State Department of Public Welfare. At that time, the facility had 3,013 residents and a bed capacity of 2,126. Although newspapers had published reports of overcrowding and inhumane treatment, the state legislature had not acted. Parents and members of PARC called upon the organization to stimulate reform. As a result, PARC resolved to retain counsel and file any necessary legal action against the Department of Public Welfare to close or improve Pennhurst. At the same convention, the PARC members adopted A Bill of Rights for Pennsylvania's Retarded Citizens that was similar to the one adopted a year earlier by the International League of Societies for the Mentally Handicapped (Lippman and Goldberg 1973, 16-22).

PARC's bill of rights had no legal bearing on the case. Instead, imitating Brown v. Board of Education, the PARC case rested on the claim that Pennsylvania statutes violated the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. Represented by Thomas K. Gilhool, an attorney who had previously worked in civil rights cases, PARC contended retarded children did not have equal access to an education. Official exclusions, postponements, waiting lists, and excusals kept retarded children out of public schools (Lippman and Goldberg 1973, 22-24).

There was no contest. After testimony by four witnesses for the plaintiffs, the officials of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania consented to enroll the mentally retarded children in publicly supported educational programs. These were to be as similar as possible to that available in most public schools and supervised by state department of education personnel (Lippman and Goldberg 1973, 31-32).

In the consent agreement, the state of Pennsylvania agreed to search out and find all children requiring special education. As part of this effort, agencies such as county mental health and program offices notified parents through public news releases, messages to professional groups, and civic and neighborhood organizations of the services available to the children. Radio and television spot announcements broadcast these messages through the state. State senators and representatives included notices in their letters to constituents. Even the Liquor Control Board enclosed announcements of the search for retarded children in consumer packages. At the same time, the Pennsylvania Department of Education began to plan ways to educate the expected increase of 53,000 disabled children. In these actions, the state department of education worked under the supervision of a court master just as school districts did when ordered to racially desegregate pupils and faculty (Lippman and Goldberg 1973, 37-44).

In 1972, advocates of special education won a second major victory in Mills v. Board of Education of the District of Columbia (348 F. Supp. 866). A year earlier, the board of education of the District of Columbia Public Schools admitted that it had an affirmative duty to provide an appropriate education to several children who suffered from behavioral problems, hyperactivity, emotional disturbances, or mental retardation. When the board failed to comply, the plaintiffs filed again in January. In his decision, U.S. District Court Justice Joseph Waddy quoted several cases that concerned racial segregation. He argued these showed that a child has a right to an education on equal terms with the education a state provides to other children. Waddy forbade the public schools of Washington, D.C. to exclude a child unless the board of education provided adequate alternative education, a prior hearing, and a periodic review of the child's progress.

In Mills case, Paul R. Dimond was a lawyer for the plaintiffs. As in the PARC case where Mr. Gilhool, lawyer for the plaintiffs, had worked in civil rights law, Mr. Dimond had worked with Nathaniel Jones and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund to racially desegregate schools and public housing in Dayton and Columbus, Ohio; Detroit, Michigan; and Wilmington, Delaware. In 1973, he summarized the ways that civil rights law and previous decisions enhanced the education of the handicapped.

For Dimond, such litigation as Larry P. v. Riles (343 F. Supp. 1306) that contested the incorrect assignment of minority children to classes for the educable mentally retarded did not point out the disadvantage minority children have taking the verbal portion of the I.Q. test. He felt the cases called for a complete reform of placement procedures because they implied that school authorities excluded the children from public education by arbitrary and capricious processes (1973, 1091-1108)

Since justices could not decide what education is appropriate, Dimond thought the court cases should seek a fair procedure for assigning children to various educational programs. Looking at other cases where decisions could impose a stigma on the person, Dimond found several steps outlined in these decisions. The child must have an opportunity for a hearing. There must be a timely evaluation and public notification of the opportunity for special education. There had to be full expert evaluation of the child's needs and development of a specific educational plan. Finally, the officials had to give the plan to the family and notify them of their right to appeal the decision to a hearing officer. If requested, school officials would call the meeting promptly and prove the appropriateness of the proposed placement. The hearing officer had to be independent of the school and all records made available to the parents. In this way, Dimond argued, if school officials chose not serve the best interests of the child, parents could follow the proper avenues of appeal resulting in a decision that helped everyone (1973, 1108-1127).

What is important is the steps for deciding the appropriate education that Dimond noted appeared in the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, Public Law 94-142 of 1975. These included such points as the requirement from the PARC case that school districts advise all parents of special opportunities and the right to a prior hearing and periodic review from the Mills case.

Resistance and Results

Although P.L. 94-142 allowed the federal government to define the way special educators could plan lessons for children, this engendered less resistance than when the HEW began monitoring racial desegregation of schools. This is odd because the central arguments against racial desegregation concerned federal intrusion into local affairs (Freyer 1984).

A simple way to measure the lack of resistance that advocates for disabled children met is to compare the number of cases concerning special education that traveled to the U.S. Supreme Court compared to the number of cases concerning racial desegregation that went to this highest level of appeal. By 1994, the U.S. Supreme Court heard only seven cases involving special education (Thomas and Russo 1995, 50). However, between 1954 and 1994, the U.S. Supreme Court rendered decisions in more than three dozen cases involving racial desegregation of public schools (Russo 1994). While such a measure does not compare how many cases could have started on this journey, many of the cases that set the precedents for the treatment of handicapped children ended with accords made at U.S. District Courts. As a result, it is safe to say that special education cases were not as controversial as were racial desegregation cases.

More important, the public reactions about special education legislation seemed to take opposite directions to the public reactions about racial desegregation. For example, in 1965, the U.S. Department of Health Education and Welfare (HEW) promulgated guidelines for Title VI of the 1964 U.S. Civil Rights Act. HEW warned that school districts had to show progress toward racial desegregation to receive federal funds. By 1968, HEW forced more than 200 rural southern school districts to racially integrate. However, when the HEW officials tried to enforce these guidelines on Chicago schools, the outcry was so great that HEW backed down immediately (Orfield 1969, 157-206).

On the other hand, the public reaction about special education legislation was to seek the enforcement of federal guidelines. For example, following the Mills decision, U.S. Representative Charles Vanik and U.S. Senator Hubert Humphrey introduced an amendment to a bill that became the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. Modeled after Title VI of the 1964 U.S. Civil Rights Act, their amendment became section 504 that prohibited discrimination against handicapped individuals in any program that received federal funds. This brief amendment passed with little discussion, but the adoption of regulations enforcing it was two years and eight months in the making. In May 1976, the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) invited comments. After receiving hundreds, HEW officials wrote a draft of the final rules. HEW Secretary, David Mathews refused to sign them. A U.S. District judge ordered him to do so; however, Mathews left the rules for Jimmy Carter's appointee, Joseph Califano, to sign in January. When Califano called for more study of the proposed regulations, handicapped people gathered in his offices to protest. In April 1977, Califano approved the regulations for Section 504 (Levine and Wexler 1981, 110-112; Salomone 1986, 140-142).

Furthermore, public protests about special education seemed to run counter to the perceived political moods of the times. In 1983, then Secretary of Education, Terrel Bell, announced his intention to narrow the restrictive regulations found in P.L. 94-142. He suggested such changes as reducing the reporting the federal agencies required from states to every three years instead of annually, and releasing school districts from the requirement of reevaluating children every three years. Although such changes were in keeping with the generally popular Reagan ideal of allowing school districts local autonomy, Bell dropped this proposal and retained the original restrictions when more than 23,000 parents and special education advocates protested (Salomone 1986, 164-165).

Reactions Among Recipients

While the public reaction to federal support for special education differed from the public reaction to federal support for racial desegregation, the groups that would be served reacted similarly. That is, they wanted to control their own affairs but asked the federal government to aid them in that effort.

In the case of racial integration, some African Americans protested against federal pressure for cross district busing. However, they sought federal support for community control of the schools. While the civil rights movement seemed unwilling to tolerate racial segregation, by 1967, the black power movement sought community control of schools to help black children develop pride in their culture and to tailor compensatory of education to the children's needs. At least two authors argued that such community control was necessary because professional educators proved insensitive to Black children (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967, 166-167).

To some extent, the federal government aided this form of community control through the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act. Through this act, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development offered citizens in as many as seventy-five cities the opportunity to submit proposals to receive millions of dollars for comprehensive plans to transform blighted areas into useful ones. In Dayton, Ohio, the Model Cities program that came from that federal development act served as a focus of black resistance to racial integration from 1966 until it ended in 1975. Some of the members of Dayton's Model Cities planning council joined a largely white conservative political party that controlled the school board and enacted anti busing policies. These black separatists, as they were then called, complained that busing for racial balance would disturb the compensatory programs they had initiated (Watras 1997).

Similar controversies existed among special education advocates. For example, in the middle 1980s, the National Federation of the Blind, an organization of blind people wrote model legislation requiring that Braille be taught to blind children. They encountered considerable opposition from groups of sighted people who were responsible for the education of blind people; they countered that new technology made Braille unnecessary and the requirement was onerous to special education teachers. Even teachers at residential schools opposed it. However, this opposition did not stop the regulations because by 1995 twenty-five states had passed such bills (Ferguson 1995).

Resistance at the Federal Level

In general, special education advocates agreed that federal control was necessary to . For example, in March 1973, U.S. President Richard Nixon introduced the Better Schools Act that consolidated many different grant proposals into a single revenue sharing program to replace ESEA and the Education for Handicapped Act. Interest groups from within the federal government led by HEW's Assistant Secretary for Legislation argued that all educational assistance should be consolidated into block grants to allow people closest to the schools to decide how to use the money. Witnesses representing more than twenty handicapped interest groups testified at congressional hearings. They complained that, without the restrictions found in the Education for Handicapped Act, local and state authorities would ignore the needs of handicapped children (Levine and Wexler 1981, 63-69).

In the same way, during the hearings for bills that became P.L. 94-142, at least four different groups expressed conflicting views but they found ways to design the federal control to serve their interests. First, special education advocacy groups expressed the desire for funds to go to the local schools and for the federal government to carefully monitor the local school districts and state agencies. Second, officials in local school districts also wanted the federal government to give money directly to them with little supervision from a state agency. These officials feared that the state departments would use the money for their own administrative costs. Third, state officials wanted the money to come to them without federal supervision. The state agencies held that they had to direct such aspects as teacher training, program evaluation, and monitoring of due process procedures. Fourth, representatives from President Ford's administration warned that school districts might seek excessive federal funding by counting too many children as handicapped (Levine and Wexler 1981, 90-100).

During congressional conferences, participants agreed upon compromises that met many of the objections. The maximum amount of a state grant equaled the average number of children receiving special education services from October 1 to February 1 of the preceding year times a percentage of the national average per pupil expenditure for the nation. To limit the size of handicapped programs, no state could label more 12 percent of its students handicapped. As far as which agency would receive the funds, 25 percent of the federal money could go to the state agency and 75 percent would go to the local school districts. Finally, to reduce federal intrusion into local school affairs, they agreed that appeals would proceed from local education agencies to state education agencies ending in U.S. District Courts (Levine and Wexler 1981, 101-103).

Cost as a Problem or a Trend

In the cases of racial desegregation and special education, critics often complain about the cost and let those expenses rise dramatically. For example, In Dayton, Ohio opponents of racial desegregation contended that busing for racial balance reduced the money available for other quality programs. However, these same conservative school board members chose twice as much as they would have spent on district wide busing in order to retain neighborhood schools with some enrichment programs (Watras1997, 186).

The most frequently heard complaint about special education is that it costs too much. However, boards of education seemed to initiate and fund special education programs without external imposition. For example, researchers for the Economic Policy Institute analyzed expenditures from 1967 until to 1991. As a result, they could measure the impact of the Education for All Handicapped Children Act (PL. 94-142) in 1975. What they found was that, while federal legislation prodded expansion, special education expenses were growing before the U.S. Congress enacted the law. That is, P.L. 94-142 may have regulated an emerging trend; it did not create it (Rothstein and Miles 1995, 50).

Interestingly, researchers disagree if the increase in special education services accounts for increased school expenditures. One group of researchers asserted that special education was roughly twice as expensive as that of regular children. From this estimate, they concluded that the increase of special education students and teachers from 1980 to 1988 must have cost $3 billion out of an aggregate of $54 billion for all school expenditures (Hanushek et al. 1994, 36). However, researchers from the Economic Policy Institute estimated the cost to be much higher. In a detailed study of nine typical U.S. school districts, they collected data on total spending for special education and calculated its share of the total spending for K-12 programs. From this analysis, they concluded that the biggest share of new funds coming into school budgets went to special education. They wrote, "Special education growth consumed 38% of net new funds in 1991"(Rothstein and Miles 1995, 49).

Conclusion

The trend is away from racial desegregation. Resegregation took place so rapidly that the proportion of black students in schools with more than half minority students rose from 1986 to 1991 to the level that had existed before 1971 (Orfield 1996, 54).

While pleas to increase racial integration sound out of date, special education advocates remind parents that federal requirements serve them. For example, in You your child, and "special" education, Barbara Coyne Cutler warned parents that school officials would ignore the needs of a special child if the superintendent wanted to reduce educational costs. Thus, she urged parents to learn about the obligations federal laws placed on school districts and become a parent advocate to makes sure the districts fulfilled these requirements. She said, as Dimond concluded in 1973, "The full implementation of the law depends on parents" (1993, 2).

The point is simple. Until researchers understand why similar rationales, strategies, and policies have different effects in special education than in racial integration, the hopes for developing public policies to encourage racial mixing in schools and neighborhoods are slim.

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Comparative Analysis of Foundational and Transformative Approaches to Teaching History of Education

Lee S. Duemer
The University of Iowa

The purpose of this study is to investigate the implications of foundational and transformative approaches to teaching the history of education. This explores the strengths and weaknesses of each approach and how they can each be best used to teach the history of education. The purpose of this inquiry is not to engage in an examination of the overall limitations or deficits of foundational and transformative approaches to teaching history of education or issues surrounding pedagogy. The literature is already abundant with attacks and counterattacks. Too often, such scholarship on this and related issues is couched in terms of one side amassing evidence to support its case while ignoring benefits other perspectives bring to the discussion. Often, the debate has consisted of each side building a case for its position (or against the other) and presenting the findings to a sympathetic forum where the information presented will not likely be seriously scrutinized (Banks 1993, 4). Though the debate over the traditional Western curriculum and multiculturalism has generated considerable scholarship, in many cases little good has come out of it (Banks 1993, 4). This study is not intended to comprehensively detail every strength and limitation of the foundational and transformative perspectives. The purpose of this paper is to examine the appropriateness and implications of foundational and transformative approaches while acknowledging strengths and limitations of each perspective in with respect to the teaching of educational history in hope of moving the discussion toward application and away from polemics. Existing scholarship is drawn together to form a larger, more comprehensive and comparative examination of the foundational and transformative approaches and their implications for teaching history of education.

Foundational and transformative epistemologies represent different perspectives about the nature of knowledge, how knowledge is constructed, and the purpose of knowledge (Banks 1996). Transformative is better suited to this study than the term multicultural. There is less agreement to the aims, boundaries and specifics of multicultural education. There is a looseness in the core concept of "culture" which can refer to anything concerning a group (Zorn 1995). Multiculturalism tends to understate the degree to which values, knowledge and lifestyles are shared among cultures who live in the same geographic area (Zorn 1995). Furthermore, it does not take into account differences within a group, and is open to the criticism that it overgeneralizes group characteristics (Zorn 1995). Some scholars interpret it as a means to understand non-White groups, while others focus on issues of class or gender, a broader interpretation refers to any group that has been historically under represented or unacknowledged (Banks 1996). For purposes of clarity, and to keep this inquiry centered on the epistemological level, foundational and transformative epistemologies are used as the focus of this study.

For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on a comparison between the foundational and transformative perspectives on teaching history. Epistemology refers to the study of knowledge, including its structure, validity and creation of knowledge (Samuelson and Markowitz 1987, 178). For the purpose of this inquiry, epistemology is more narrowly defined as the implications of knowledge manifested through the teaching/learning process.

Certainly, there is a wide body of interpretation over what constitutes foundational knowledge for any discipline or profession (Alexander, Murphy and Woods 1997). The foundational knowledge approach is designed to develop an understanding in students of the essential knowledge of history of education. The goal of this approach is to provide students with a core of essential knowledge, and the thinking skills to be able to apply that knowledge to investigate areas of educational history on their own. One of the criticisms of contemporary higher education is that it fails to provide students with a body of foundational knowledge that prepares students to be lifelong learners or to communicate within a profession or field of study (Bennett 1992; Bloom 1987). Advocates of foundational knowledge support a curriculum that emphasizes a common culture and history through the study of seminal literature (Rorty 1979). Often, advocates of foundational knowledge are defenders of the Western canon who advocate a curriculum based on the continued dominance and cultural superiority of Western civilization (Banks 1993, 4). The foundational knowledge perspective addresses the issue of cultural relevance by relying on the cultural superiority of Western civilization. Because the contributions of Western civilization in areas of art, literature, science, government, etc., transcend cultural boundaries, there is no need for historical perspectives which emphasize or isolate particular groups. Western traditionalists claim that the Western canon is indispensable and must be preserved because it represents the most advanced state of human development and is essential to maintaining our cultural, historical and national identity. The goals of scholarship in traditional knowledge are accuracy, analysis and objectivity in reconstruction of the past. However, even supporters of the traditional knowledge approach acknowledge how historical interpretations are misshaped by individual prejudices or preconceptions (Schlesinger 1992, 45-46).

A different perspective supports the idea that education has historically marginalized the intellectual, social and cultural history of non-White racial groups (Alexander, Murphy and Woods 1997). Transformative knowledge is defined as: "concepts, paradigms, themes, and explanations that challenge mainstream academic knowledge and that expand the historical and literary canon" (Banks 1996). The transformative agenda understands knowledge in terms of how it is constructed and how it reflects the social context in which it was created (Banks 1996, 22). For transformative knowledge to be effective at its mission to include representation of excluded groups, it must be framed in a manner that identifies the weaknesses of the traditional curriculum (Minnich 1990, 12).

Transformative academic knowledge refers to ideas or ways of thinking that challenge traditional views. The purpose of transformative knowledge is to add to the body of knowledge that composes the curricular cannon. Transformative and foundational knowledge are based on two different frameworks about the nature of knowledge and its purpose (Banks 1993, 9). Transformative scholars take the position that no knowledge is objective and value free, but is subject to the power of human interests and changing values (Minnich 1990). One of the goals of transformative knowledge is to teach students how knowledge is constructed (Banks 1993, 11).

Advocates of the transformative approach to teaching the history of education claim the traditional Western curriculum marginalizes the accomplishments of women and non-Whites (Banks 1993, 4). Transformative education seeks curricular change as a means of achieving equitable representation of the accomplishments that developed our culture and nation. The transformative approach seeks to develop an understanding of the ways in which American education has responded to race and gender and the diverse experiences of various racial and ethnic groups from the perspectives of dominant and minority groups.

Implications for Teaching

Understanding of Foundational Knowledge

One of the goals of the foundational knowledge approach to teaching history is to impart on students a set of objective truths that cannot be mutated by human biases (Kaplan 1964). The historical knowledge that composes a foundational knowledge base is intended to be part of a curriculum which all students should be exposed. While the majority of the information contained in the traditional curriculum reflects Western civilization, it is considered to be relevant across cultural boundaries because of its centrality to the human experience.

The foundational knowledge approach enables one to make meaningful and useful interpretations about historical events and trends (Bauer 1988). Foundational knowledge is intended to give structure to what we know, so that instead of merely knowing, we can interpret and add meaning to facts (Bauer 1988). One difficulty with this approach is that historical interpretation, even as it pertains to foundational knowledge, is guided by the prevailing societal standards (Bauer, 1988). In light of this criticism, it is important to note that foundational knowledge is not static, but in a constant state of change and renewal. Past ideas have been reinvestigated to be revealed as false or inaccurate. Some of these have been historical representations of 19th century slaves as essentially content with their lot, or that the history of America has been of continually improving progress toward democracy and participation (Banks 1993, 9).

A foundational knowledge base is vital for the educator or educational practitioner to engage themselves in their profession. A 1997 study by Alexander, Murphy and Woods surveyed foundational knowledge of undergraduate and graduate students in education. The purpose of the study was to gauge what preservice teachers and practicing professionals knew about "particular individuals, movements, writings, and terms associated with their root disciplines" (Alexander, Murphy and Woods 1997, 172). Their findings indicated the foundational knowledge of respondents was low, and suggested a greater emphasis on the foundations of education and the basic elements of education. Their findings cast doubt on whether educational programs support the development of foundational knowledge among students. A deficiency in foundational knowledge has implications with respect to one's command of expert knowledge, private language and the ability to develop coherent and organized learning experiences (Alexander, Murphy and Woods 1997, 185). Studies fitting into this pattern also stressed the importance of foundational knowledge in engaging in dialogue with people in or out of the educational/historical field, and its value in developing a clear understanding of the nature of educational/historical phenomenon.

Experiences of Diverse Groups

While the foundational knowledge emphasis has been found to increase understanding of the underpinnings of education, such as history of education, the foundational knowledge focus has not adequately represented the experiences of diverse groups in educational history. If it does, it seems to do so in a manner that can be compared to "social lag" in terms of curricular change. Flexner addresses the issue of social influence using the term "social lag" to describe how institutions or curricula change in such a way that they lag behind society (Flexner 1968). While he felt that curriculum should reflect social need, he and Kliebard cautioned that curriculum should not be a weather vane, responsive to every variation of the public whim, and must at times give society not what society wants but what it needs (Flexner 1968; Kliebard 1986).

Traditional knowledge, like transformative knowledge, is fluid and in a state of continual change. The criticism that traditional knowledge represents a static body impervious and resistant to change or inclusion is a misrepresentation of reality. The canon and paradigms that constitute traditional knowledge are in a continual state of challenge and revision from internal and external scholarship. Challenges to old knowledge and the inclusion of new knowledge result in new paradigms and interpretations (Kuhn 1970).

Consistent with a transformative perspective, Clifton Conrad argues that since education is largely a function of society, and is paid for by society, it only stands to reason that the focus of higher education ought to be based on societal problems (Conrad 1978). In *The Undergraduate Curriculum: A Guide to Innovation and Reform*, he argues that a curriculum using this approach would be characterized by a problem orientation and concern for social responsibility. Out of this orientation comes an emphasis on the present and future rather than the past. Consequently, this type of curriculum is likely to be more flexible than a foundationally based curriculum (Conrad 1978).

Rather than being static, curriculum is not fixed in an unchangeable form, but is rather a dynamic form of knowledge that is always under change and construction (Gumport 1988; Short 1993). Because knowledge is continually evolving, legitimacy is relative and contingent on the historical context (Gumport 1988). Curricula, therefore, are in a constant state of fluctuation in response to social demands. It is one of the strengths of curriculum that it has the ability to reflect the interest of groups in society (Kliebard 1992).

Schlesinger compares history to a nation as memory to an individual (Schlesinger 1992, 45). As a type of collective memory, the understanding of cultural or ethnic history is invaluable for a group if they are to understand themselves and situate themselves in the larger world history (Schlesinger 1992, 48). Certainly, history has been used in the past to justify actions of the ruling class (Schlesinger 1992, 48). History was often used as a means for stabilizing or minimizing class conflict. Schlesinger readily admits the failures of the traditional history curriculum. He admits that women and non-Whites were deliberately excluded and considers the Anglo centric control of history to have been an undeniable fact (Schlesinger 1992, 53).

Spring finds that for many generations minority groups looked toward education for hope to improve their condition. He also concludes that some majority groups looked toward education as a means to control or restrict the advancement of minority groups (Spring 1986, x). The study of educational history is inseparable from issues of diversity and representation in American history through the history of restricted access to education of excluded groups. To understand how educational history has meant different things to different people at the same point in history, we must examine it from the standpoint of minorities (Fass 1989, 4).

Intermittent Focus on Educational History

A recurrent criticism of transformative education has been its narrow, intermittent focus on educational history. Such criticism is grounded in the idea that a race or gender based approach has little sense of connection to demonstrate an identifiable pattern of educational change over time. A weakness inherent in a race or gender focus is that it defines educational history in a manner that marginalizes many of the essential elements necessary for a broad based understanding. Scholarly efforts to document the history of education have left the majority of educational history largely unwritten (Davis and Mehaffey 1989). Rather than seeking to expand the knowledge base in a manner relevant across gender and racial lines, the transformative perspective seeks to develop new knowledge relevant only to certain segments of society. The result is an educational history which focuses on experiences of diverse groups, rather than larger social/political/economic factors that impacted all groups.

One of the criticisms of the recent inclusion of race in historical curricula has been the political nature of its use. Schlesinger refers to the use of history to boost the self esteem or position of "underdog" groups as compensatory history (Schlesinger 1992, 49). Educational history framed in transformative knowledge has declared its purpose to be to educate specific groups by exposing them to a curricula which appeals to their ascribed group membership. Compensatory history accomplished its aim by inspiring a sense of pride in the targeted group, or uniting the group through the development of a shared sense of anger directed at an outside group (Schlesinger 1992, 55). In doing so, the transformative perspective has opened itself to the same criticism it has leveled at the foundational canon for its political role in preserving the status quo.

Efforts to boost group self esteem increase the likelihood of excluding events or episodes that reflect poorly on group identity. Such omissions result in a historical review that pretermit negative events but emphasize positive or even neutral events (Zorn 1995). An example of this is found in *Empowerment Through Multicultural Education* (Christine Sleeter, editor), in an article by Kathleen Bennett. Bennett writes:

> Appalachian people share a rich cultural heritage which includes a strong sense of kinship, a love of the land, a rich oral tradition, and a commitment to personal freedom and self reliance (p. 27).

As Zorn (1995) points out, Bennett's remarks are framed in such an ambiguous manner that a variety of interpretations can be attached to them. "Rich oral tradition" could refer to widespread illiteracy among the population; "self reliance" could refer to a lifestyle based around subsistence farming and chronic poverty; "strong sense of kinship" could mean that the population is distrustful of non-family to the point of xenophobia; and "commitment to personal freedom" could refer to anything from a general lack of regard for personal responsibility to total anarchy (Zorn 1995).

The transformative approach to teaching informs us that the experiences of ethnic groups are intertwined with each other (Webster 1997, 54). If this is indeed true, then a race or gender based examination of educational history raises some problematic questions if the goal is to provide students with a foundational knowledge base. Because the histories of different ethnic groups share common connections, how do we go about presenting an ethnicity based focus on educational history? Two equally problematic responses to that question come to mind. We can present a historically isolated representation of a particular group. However, this opens us to the same criticism that transformative advocated have directed toward foundational history, that we intentionally and systematically exclude the contributions and histories of other related groups. In addition, such an approach would present students with an understanding of educational history which would be intermittent and unconnected to historical trends and their impact on the larger population.

Conclusions

To understand the contradictory implications manifest in foundational and transformative perspectives, one need only comprehend the current criticisms directed toward contemporary education. Critics who find fault with the "pitifully meager results in the intellectual and cultural training of our children" are often the same who suggest the remedy to the problem is that students need to study an objective body of knowledge relevant to Western civilization (Dobay 1988, vii).

When we engage in a debate over the implications of foundational and transformative approaches to teaching history of education we are really discussing the meaning of knowledge. Much about what educational historians of the foundational and transformative approaches disagree about focuses directly on meaning. Historians may be in agreement over dates and events, such as when Harvard College was founded. However, they may forcefully disagree over the meaning of its founding. Was it to educate clergy for the Puritan society that was essentially theocratic? Or, was it to perpetuate economically based social stratification and gender supremacy by ensuring that the sons of wealthy families could benefit from higher education that would lead them into positions of social control and influence? The answer depends on who you ask and the epistemological framework they apply to answer the question.

One of the findings of this study is that both the foundational and transformative perspectives have something of value to offer the way in which we teach the history of education. If we frame foundational and transformative perspectives in terms of "generalized" and "specialized" knowledge, each can be fixed in a specific role in teaching history. A foundational approach is best suited to convey important subject matter that all students should apprehend (Hirsch 1996). Such generalized knowledge serves as the fundament for later challenges or interpellation of foundational knowledge. Students can hardly be expected to question the legitimacy or relevance of the foundational knowledge base if they have not first been exposed to it. The contrast between generalized and specialized knowledge is based on the understanding that in order to learn critical thinking skills central to transformative scholarship, students must principally learn subject area content.

Transformative knowledge is unsuitable for imparting on students a foundational knowledge of the history of education. The wide body of interpretations and perceived applications of transformative knowledge limits its ability to provide students a foundational base of knowledge. Definitions about the purpose of transformative knowledge have included understanding the social realities of racism, sexism and poverty; giving voice to historically excluded groups; empowering the oppressed; and the eradication of educational inequalities and inequities (Webster 1997, 14).

Transformative knowledge plays an important role in fostering critical thinking and knowledge development skills of scholars. While the goal of foundational knowledge is that everybody is exposed to the same knowledge base, the goal of transformative knowledge is to question how that knowledge based was developed. In specialized educational history courses, students are more often required to examine conflicting explanations for historical trends. Such intellectual exercises serve several purposes. Academic exercises that encourage students to question how knowledge was created lay the foundation for knowledge development skills.

Because of the long lag time it takes for new knowledge to be included in the foundational perspective on history, the transformative route for the inclusion of knowledge is most appealing for many scholars. This is particularly important for historical perspectives based on gender or ethnicity. The transformative perspective of educational history is essential to the inclusion of issues of diversity and representation in educational history. To understand how educational history has meant different things to different people at the same point in history, we must examine it from the perspectives of those it represents (Fass 1989, 4).

To bridge the gap between foundational and transformative epistemologies scholars must conceive the two in relative terms. Assertions that a crystallized Western canon exists are inaccurate and misleading. The foundational knowledge base indeed changes with the inclusion of new knowledge, though admittedly too slowly for the satisfaction of many transformative scholars. Furthermore, the foundational perspective advocates the learning of a common body of knowledge, though few foundationalists would suggest reliance on rote memorization and verbatim regurgitation, or claim that an understanding of core knowledge is itself sufficient to develop higher level thinking skills (Hirsch 1996).

Further inquiries into the implications of foundational and transformative epistemologies will be necessary to better gauge their application in providing students with an understanding of the history of education. Many contemporary educational initiatives have origins that reach back to the previous century. Alexander and Knight remind us that education has been handicapped in its ability to influence meaningful change because of the profession's lack of understanding about its own history (Alexander and Knight 1993). The detailed study of our past is vital if we expect to be productive in the future (Cuban 1990).

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Indigenous Peoples in National History: A Comparison Study of the United States and Australia

Donna Mau
Loyola University at Chicago

The study of national history is an important part of the curriculum. What we teach young people about their country's history tells a story not only of our collective past but also of our present; our values, ideals and our sense of history. The history of both the United States and Australia has involved the displacement and mistreatment of the native populations. The encounters between the Native Americans and Aborigines and European settlers includes all of the possible reactions when two very different cultures meet: segregation, accommodation, assimilation and annihilation. The history of relations between these two groups often contained a mixture of more than one reaction through any historical period of time.

Unlike other European colonists the English came to America in great numbers with the intent on permanent settlement. They had a great interest in owning and occupying the land. As their numbers grew, so did the need for land, which directly affected their encounters with the Indians. The English crown had given land rights and trading prerogatives to individuals and groups in the form of charters. Each of these settlements could and would deal differently with the natives they encountered. Each colony in time developed its own rules and procedures."[1] There would be great changes in the twentieth century Following such a philosophy, the early years of the United States were a period of treaty-making, westward expansion, and Indian uprisings as the native tribes were pushed further from their homelands. Each state was left to deal with its own tribes, while the central government could deal with the Indians in the territories. The 1787 Northwest Ordinance which provided for governance and settlement in the territories held that the Indians should be treated in "good faith". Treaties should be made with the tribes, and they should be compensated for their land.

The Constitution of 1789 excluded the Indians from taxation and representation, by implication denying them citizenship. Indians were regarded as a foreign nation, with whom Congress could regulate commerce. The Congress attempted to do just that by passing laws to regulate trade with the Indians and setting a Proclamation Line in 1796 which marked Indian Territory under federal jurisdiction. Such a line was difficult to enforce and as settlers pressed westward and occupied Indian lands. The tribes fought back in numerous Indian uprisings and wars which opposed white encroachment on Indian territories.

With the Louisiana Purchase in 1893, Thomas Jefferson attempted to negotiate treaties to move the tribes west of the Mississippi but would not force them to leave. He had hoped that Indians would take up agriculture since, as he stated, "household manufacture..will enable them to live on much smaller portions of land."[2] But the Indians fought to maintain their own way of life. The period of 1816-1860 was marked by the forcible westward movement of these tribes. The Indian Removal Act of 1830 removed tribes to land west of the Mississippi. It rejected, in principal, the conditions of earlier treaties, which had recognized the rights of the Indian tribes to their land and in fact, nullified the legal understanding that the Indians were independent nations. In the cases of *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* and *Worcest v. Georgia,* the Supreme Court ruled that the Indians were a "domestic, dependent nation" subject to federal not state authority. As such, they should have been protected by the federal government and their rights could not be disregarded by the states. President Andrew Jackson, however, refused to enforce the ruling.

Jackson instead pressured Indian leaders to sign new treaties, most of which were signed under intimidation, threats or bribery. Indians could remain on their land only if they gave up allegiance to their tribe and accepted that of the state. In reality, few Indian land claims were accepted by whites. Eventually their lands were taken over by whites, and these Indians were landless and poor. The tribes who accepted the treaties were moved westward.

The period of the American Civil War (1861-65) saw an increase of open conflict between the white settlers and the Native Americans. Having abandoned military forts in the west, settlers and natives fought each other in bitter battles, with atrocities on both sides. Settlers wanted protection, new lands opened up for settlements and Indian tribes forced onto reservations. Indians, confined to reservations, on land that was unsuitable for farming, could not survive. Some hunting parties left the reservations and did not return. When the government annuities were delayed, their very existence was threatened.

The bloodshed on the frontier during the Civil War period did alert the federal government to the failure and a much needed reevaluation of Indian policy. A Congressional report issued in 1867 blamed the whites for the violence on the frontier, much of which was attributed to the depletion of the buffalo herds. With the destruction of the buffalo and their livelihood, Indian life was severely threatened. The report recommended that for their survival, the Indians should all be placed on reservations and be protected by the federal government. The reservation system became the accepted policy to satisfactorily meet the problem of violence between the two cultures.[3]

No longer a military threat, in 1869 the Department of the Interior instead of the War Department was given control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Board of Indian Commissioners recommended a threefold policy: that the Indians be considered wards of the government, that the tribal practice of communal landownership be ended and lastly that the Indians be "civilized" to western culture. The implementation of such policy was begun. By 1885, the Major Crimes Act gave the federal government jurisdiction over Indians. Indians, however were not considered members of the individual states. A Supreme Court decision, *Elk v. Wilkins* denied Native Americans citizenship under the Fourteenth Amendment, which had recognized former slaves as citizens of the United States.

It had become apparent that the Indians were not being assimilated into the Anglo-American culture quickly enough. "The alternatives were cruel and undesirable, either death of parasitical existence upon reservations."[4] The Allotment Act of 1887, also known as the Dawes Act, attempted to bring Indians into the mainstream of American culture by making them individual landowners. The act authorized the president to break up reservations into individual parcels of land. Any Indian who left the reservation and became a landowner would automatically become a citizen. With the closing of the frontier, the destruction of the buffalo herds, whites believed that it was time for the "Indians to settle down and live on farms like other Americans."[5]

The Dawes Act was a failure. As noted, historian D'Arcy McNickle explained, "It would not have occurred to any of the debaters to inquire of the Indians what ideas they had of home, family, and of property. It would have assumed, in any case, that the ideas, whatever, they were without merit since they were Indian."[6] The Act had, in essence, attempted to exterminate Indian culture. Opponents of the act had warned that to destroy Indian culture in the name of humanity was far worse than destruction in the name of greed.[7] Treated as individuals, rather than as tribal entities, groups lost their independence and became subject to state and territorial laws. The Indians lost most of the land that had been theirs under treaties. Land ownership by Indian tribes was reduced from 138 million acres to a mere 48 million acres.[8] Most of the Indians had little interest in farming.

By the beginning of the twentieth century Indian tribal culture had been all but wiped out by the provisions of federal policy and laws. Tribal affiliation was dealt a further blow when Indians were enrolled in public schools in the 1920s. Reformers believed that public education would further detach Indians from their native culture. Truant officers made sure Indian children attended public schools or were forced to go to boarding schools away from their homes. Poor, often ridiculed at school, discriminated against by others, few Indians remained in school.

The reform move to provide education also brought to light the problems of poor health care, nutrition and living conditions. of the Indians. Awarding citizenship in 1924 did nothing to improve living conditions of Indians. The Meriam Report did bring about changes in Indian policy. It emphasized the need to improve Indian welfare by involving Indians themselves in finding solutions to the problems they faced. It brought about an end to allotment and saw freedom of choice as essential in the development of Indian policy.

Among the poorest during the Great Depression were the American Indian tribes. By 1933, President Roosevelt had "accepted the radical thesis that the Indian race was not headed for extinction. The population trend had already begun an up-swing, and a growing body of ethnological studies offered evidence that cultural survival of the Indians was indeed extensive.[9]

The Bureau of Indian Affairs, under the New Deal, was headed by John Collier. Collier respected Indian culture and was dedicated to improving their treatment. Many of his goals were realized in the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The Act repealed the allotment of the Dawes Act, extended the trust system for land and provided an annual budget of two million dollars to buy up additional land for Indians and established a rehabilitation program. It also granted tribes limited self-government and power over its members.[10] The act, however, did not preserve or revitalize Indian culture, or establish special courts for Indian concerns, or return allotted lands to tribal control.

At the conclusion of the World War II, Indian servicemen returned home. Many better equipped to earn a living, left the reservation. Providing special services for Indians, as different from other citizens, came under attack. Congressmen from the western states began endorsing a policy of "terminating" Indian tribes and reservations from federal responsibility. The many Indian claims against the federal government were given financial settlements (totally more than eight hundred million dollars)[11] Congress absolved itself from further economic and legal responsibility for the Indians, arguing that they were now financially able to take care of themselves.

Federal programs to aid minorities, the war on poverty program, and the civil rights movement brought larger funding to Indian reservations in the areas of health education and welfare. The National Congress of American Indians with representatives from fifty tribes which met in November of 1944 had the expressed purpose to "enlighten the public, preserve Indian cultural values, seek an equitable adjustment of tribal affairs, and serve and preserve their rights under treaty."[12]

This sense of purpose was nurtured by the protest movements of the 1960s and served to heighten awareness of Indian problems. National awareness that Indians had been unfairly treated throughout history called for redress. The American Indian Civil Rights Act, returned control of Indian affairs to the tribes. Protests at Alcatraz, the Trail of Broken Treaties Protest in Washington, D.C. in 1972 and the widely publicized protest at Wounded Knee heightened public and government awareness to the mistreatment of Indians throughout the course of U.S. history.

In 1970, the government "enshrined the concept of tribal sovereignty at the center of its policy toward the nation's more than three hundred tribes."[13] Renouncing the policy of termination, returning of sacred lands, and administering programs of education and health by the tribes were some of its primary concerns. Political autonomy provided many legal victories for Indian rights. The U.S. Supreme Court and Congress upheld Indian claims of treaty violations and the unlawful succession of land in many states. Indians received damages, land claims and significant rights in the areas of water and fishing. Indians have won some mastery over the land and resources which were once entirely in their domain. While they have won rights to their reservation land, there are many economic problems of supporting themselves on this land.

Though the land and settlement of Australia was very different from the colonization of the Atlantic seaboard, the same prejudices towards indigenous peoples played an important role in the treatment of Aborigines. Undisturbed and "undiscovered," the early Aborigines survived in the harsh environment. Linked by common spiritual beliefs, a variety of Aboriginal languages arose from their tight social structure of family groupings. An estimated five hundred different groups existed before the European arrival. Though they had no concept of private property, leaders or councils, they were intensely territorial, linked to the ancestral area by hunting customs and totemism.[14]

European exploration changed the continent and the life of the Aborigines forever. Captain James Cook, who landed at Botany Bay (later renamed Sydney) in 1770 brought back glowing reports of the land. The First Fleet sailed into Botany Bay in 1788 with 776 convicts who would become the first settlers of the new colony. The settlers, however, did not find the rich soil of their expectations. Instead, the harsh, barren land was difficult to farm, and supplies were short.

Life was difficult in the small colony. When a prisoner's sentence expired, however, few returned to the unemployment and poverty they had known in England. At the end of their sentences, these emancipists, outfitted with provisions and clothing for eighteen months, set off on their own and attempted to farm the vast expanses of land.[15]

Governor Philip estimated that there were only about fifteen hundred Aborigines in the area of first settlement. This sparse population of three per square mile presented no threat to early settlement. His instructions from England had been to "live in harmony with the natives and to punish anyone who harmed them."[16]

The British soldiers and prisoners, however, carried with them the attitudes and prejudices of the early explorers descriptions of the native Aborigines. Based on the former derogatory descriptions, stone-age stereotypes, the absence of agriculture and political organization, as well as the low population density of the natives, the British government declared its new colony Australia, *terra nulliu* s, empty land. This meant that the land was uninhabited and, therefore, the property of the crown.

Captain Philip had little difficulty in getting along with the natives. His journal reveals that "the 'Indians' showed no signs of aggression and their primitive lifestyles made them the objects of curiosity and sometimes amusement."[17] The early colony often relied on the Aborigines knowledge of the bush for their survival. Problems arose, however, as settlement continued outside the small confines of the Sydney colony.

The root cause of conflict between the settlers and the Aborigines was one of land and the right of Aborigines to exist as a people. The early pioneers "regarded the aboriginal people as vermin to be exterminated or as potential serfs to be exploited."[18] While the British government issued proclamations of equality before the law and threatened punishment of settlers who mistreated the natives, very little could be done to stop white aggression.

Finding passage through the Blue Mountains west of Sydney in 1813 led to the settlement of the interior. Sheep and cattlemen were an invasion that killed the necessary game and restricted Aboriginal movements across the land. The Aborigines, whose very existence depended on the land and water, fought back. Greedy for land, the whites started the 'dispersal' a bland euphemism for massacre. In 1828, martial law was proclaimed against the Aborigines in Van Dimens Land (Tasmania) and in 1830 a full-scaled, yet unsuccessful campaign, sometimes called the "Black Drive" was organized to round up the Aborigines.

The massacres of the Aborigines became the subject of British Parliamentary debate. 1837 began a new government policy, which was to remain in force for a hundred years, that of 'protection.' With the help of missionaries, Aborigines were to be assigned to safe reserves. Despite the protection of the British government, hostilities continued. The great expanse of colonial territory made the British enforcement of the protection policy often irrelevant.

The discovery of gold in 1851 changed and intensified the course of settlement. Miners confined to their diggings and small settlements had little contact with the Aborigines but ranching also continued to increase. Needing great expanses of land for grazing sheep and cattle, ranching presented a greater threat to the Aboriginal lifestyle. Law enforcement in remote parts was non-existent, and whites often took the law into their own hands. The Aborigines, simply fled into the bush, the unsettled interior.

Violence continued. The Protection policy failed to eliminate conflicts and while reserves separated the Aborigines from the pastoralists, it did not accommodate the Aboriginal lifestyle of hunting and gatherings.[19] It did, however, usher in a period of attempted assimilation. Missionaries tried to teach Aborigines to live like the white settlers. The Aborigines Protection Act legislated in 1869 in Victoria and subsequent acts excluded Aboriginal peoples from all aspects of modern Australian life. Those who remained religiously and culturally Aboriginal were not allowed to live or work off the reserves.

There would be great changes in the twentieth century. In 1901 the new nation of Australia, independent of Britain, began to establish its own policies. Migration to Australia increased though the government directed its efforts to preserve "White Australia" through its immigration restrictions. The Constitution gave the Commonwealth the power to make laws for only Aborigines who lived in federal territories. Each state could decide government policy towards its native Aboriginal population. In no state were Aborigines given voting rights or counted in the census.

With the 1911 Aborigines Ordinance Act, an attempt was being made to preserve the records and the culture of what most taught was a dying race. This law was followed by individual states issuing similar acts to determine Aboriginal status, rights of protection and settlement on reserves and employment. Assimilation was an anticipated end of the Aboriginal issue.

Among the Aboriginal community, there was a continued resistance to assimilation. The Aboriginal Manifesto of 1938 signaled an awareness of Aboriginal identity that would have to be recognized in a new Australia. By this time in was becoming apparent that the Aborigines were not dying out as anticipated, in fact, there was a growing population of Australians who were Aboriginal or part-Aboriginal who were becoming increasingly active, particularly in the area of political and economic rights. Aboriginal organizations began to appear throughout the 1940s to promote cultural awareness and champion civil rights. The official government policy of both the states and federal government, however, continued to be one of assimilation. In a joint statement in 1961 this policy was explained that all Aborigines and part-Aborigines are expected eventually "to live as members of a single Australian community."[20]

Aborigines, long excluded from the political life of the nation, continued their struggle for rights and opportunities. In 1962, they were finally given the right to vote. Economic as well as social concerns were being brought to public attention. Poverty, poor health conditions and the isolation of Aborigines as fringe-dwellers in modern society had made it obvious that assimilation had not been successful. At the same time, census figures began to show a growth in native population. The national debate on how best to achieve equal rights for Aboriginal peoples led to the 1967 referendum which amended the constitution to give the Commonwealth government the power to make special laws for Aboriginal people. While political rights were ensured by the national referendum, land rights became the pivotal and still unresolved issue. In the case of *Milirrpum and Others v. Nabalco Pty Ltd and the Commonwealth of Australia* the decision found against the plaintiffs, who claimed that under native title the Arnhem land belonged to them and not to the mining company which was developing it.

The unfavorable ruling helped end a policy of assimilation and began an era which would be marked by movement towards the self-determination of Aboriginal people. Indigenous peoples established the Aboriginal Tent Embassy on the lawns in front of the Parliament House in Canberra. Aboriginal protests against government continued. A majority of Australians saw the Aboriginal cause as legitimate; the government was toppled.

The new Labor government emphasized the rights of the Aborigines to be "a distinctive people with a special attachment to the land."[21] The last twenty-five years have seen greater attention paid to Aboriginal concerns and certainly increased legislation on their behalf. With the Aboriginal Land Rights Act (1976) the government established land councils to act as custodians of the land granted to Aboriginal peoples. It also incorporated town councils to administer the land. Such claims were further protected by the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Bill (1984).

Strides were made in overturning the protection of past legislation.. Freed from any legislative review by British authority the way was cleared to nullify the historical claim of the British crown to all the land of Australia. The implications for Aboriginal Rights were monumental. The 1992 *Mabo v Queensland 2.* was the most important legal decision in the area of Aboriginal Land Rights. The decision nullified the historical *terra nullius* claim on which the Crown had colonized Australia. The argument of the plaintiffs in the case, which was accepted by the court was that the indigenous people did, in fact, have an organized social group and a system of laws. The land, therefore, was not empty when it was colonized. The concept of *terra nullius* was found to seriously offend our modern concepts of civil rights and justice. This decision opened the courts for a plethora of suits regarding native title to lands which will undoubtedly fill the courts for years to come.

It is evident from this brief history that the relationship between indigenous people and European settlers has gone through many turbulent times and great changes in both the United States and Australia. Most significantly it has been a history of survival. The early curiosity each group had about the other was replaced by open hostility with competition for land and resources. The larger numbers and organization of Native Americans assured their recognition by the Europeans. This was not true of the Aborigines in Australia who disappeared into the bush and survived in the outback.

Both groups were belatedly "protected" on land reserves set aside for them and administered by the government or missionaries. Assimilation and the dismantlement of native culture was the official government policy in both the United States and Australia. While some indigenous peoples were assimilated, many attempted to preserve their culture and way of life. It was not until recent history, as a result of civil rights and protests, that indigenous peoples have been recognized as citizens and ensured self-determination. This recent policy has made it possible for native peoples to take charge of their own lands and revitalize their culture. Assimilation has finally been replaced by a policy which recognizes the cultural diversity. An attempt is being made to understand the culture of the people who were once considered of little consequence. It also recognizes that Native Americans and Aborigines are an important part of the history and culture of their respective countries.

The future, it seems, will depend upon how much we can learn about these indigenous people and how well their culture can be preserved and appreciated in their national histories. As John Gunther, Australian commentator, notes modern society needs a more comfortable give and take "between Western cultures and the cultures that we perhaps quite wrongly call primitive."[22]

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Clean Shirts and Creased Trousers: The Summer Teaching Institute of 1915 and the Influence of Booker T. Washington on Negro Teacher Education in Alabama

Karen L. Riley,
Auburn University at Montgomery

The faces of black and white men and women stare back from the sepia-colored pages of the past. These images, set between the pages of a tattered black photograph album, are a record of a bygone era. Men and women, blacks and whites, all gathered together to record their experiences of the summer of 1915: the setting, rural Alabama, the participants, Negro teachers, white supervisors, and a special category of educators known as Jeanes Teachers, named after the philanthropic fund which supported their activities. The story of the summer of 1915 is one of learning, dedication, and achievement. It represents a piece of Negro history in Alabama which has all but been forgotten–Negro self-help, white involvement in Negro education, and the nature of black rural communities. The Civil Rights rhetoric and highly-profiled achievements of Blacks during the 1950s and 1960s has likely eclipsed the story of the slow-but-steady progress made by a handful of Negro leaders and scores of Negro followers, especially in the rural South, decades earlier. This paper, then, seeks to illuminate a small piece of their struggles and successes.

However, in order to understand the "Summer of 1915" and its meaning to Negro teacher education as well as rural Negro education, one must first understand the education path rural southern Negroes followed, that of industrial education. The course of southern Negro education was set when Booker T. Washington graduated from the Hampton Institute in 1875 (Bond, 1934). Washington, born into slavery, came under the influence of General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, founder of the Hampton Institute, and former military commander during the Civil War (Bullock, 1967, 76). Washington, who, decades after his work on behalf of rural Negro education, has been much maligned by both whites and blacks for not seeking an intellectual vision for Black Americans, but rather confining his vision to that of industry and labor. However, his vision for black Americans had less to do with either blue or white-collar economics and everything to do with a moral vision. After all, at the Hampton Institute, Washington studied moral philosophy, not vocational education. Accordingly, one of Washington's biographers (Bond, 1934) wrote that Washington's "first duty at Tuskegee was not to erect a formidable catalogue of technical 'courses:' [rather] on his first school day, he noted every missing student, every dirty collar, every filthy shirt or uncreased trouser. [Thus,] his first assignment was to request that these defects be repaired by the next day" (p. 119).

The Great Vision and the Great Fear

Likely, more than a few Tuskegee graduates who heard Washington's messages of cleanliness and attention to duty, were captured on film, and are represented in the photographs contained in the black tattered album. These images give sharp testimony to the scores of Negro teachers and students, who embraced Washington's approach to the uplifting of the Negro race–pride in self, and pride in work. His directives of cleanliness, orderliness, and personal hygiene are evidenced in every photograph (Alabama State Archives, Jeanes Teachers, SPP28). Yet, as dynamic as Washington was, his ability to generate funds within the Black community for Black education was limited. However, his great vision for Tuskegee, some 30 miles east of Montgomery, Alabama, the state capitol, came at a time when northern philanthropy was at its peak. Thus, individuals such as Julius Rosenwald, one of the principals of Sears Roebuck, Anna T. Jeanes, a wealthy Quaker, George Peabody, and John F. Slater, from the Slater textile family, played a pivotal role in southern rural Negro education, albeit their work was often viewed with skepticism by those who feared that they would unduly influence southern Negroes (Bond, 1934). To be sure, white fear often focused on the Negro's assertion of individual rights, along with the perceived attempt by some that Negroes might place themselves, through education, on the same plane as southern whites.

In 1906, W.E.B. DuBois delivered a speech at the Hampton Institute in which he eloquently outlined the ideas behind this white fear. On the one hand claimed DuBois, the voices which comprise the "Great Fear," as he called it, experienced saner moments in which Negroes were accepted to some extent as human brothers. On the other, the voices cautioned that Negroes must be dealt with in a careful manner. One way to accomplish this "carefulness" was to emphasize duty and minimize the rhetoric of rights. As DuBois succinctly stated, "take the eyes of these millions off the stars and fasten them in the soil; and if their young men will dream dreams, let them be dreams of cornbread and molasses" (Aptheker, editor, 1973, 9). Thus, the industrial training schools promoted by DuBois' counterpoint, Booker T. Washington, and then later by the philanthropists who supported Washington's ideas, seemed to quell the Great Fear and perhaps redirected the gaze of some from the stars to the soil. In any event, Washington's industrial model seemed less of a threat to the "old order," and thus met with less white resistance.

The idea that the South needed many hands to help it rise from its failed attempt at nationhood contributed to the energy and vitality which Washington and others brought to the educational endeavor of building up industrial programs. More to the point, as a former slave Washington himself had witnessed the brief ascent of his people during the Reconstruction period when the "Yankee occupiers" thrust scores of former slaves or northern Negroes into political offices in the South, only to be turned out once Reconstruction ended. Thus, Negro aspirations were confronted, at the close of Reconstruction, with growing resentment by southern whites. This resentment resulted not only in acts of violence, but also in institutional endorsements of white racial superiority. In one revisionist account of Reconstruction (Stampp, 1965, 198), the author outlines southern white sentiment:

> To prevent the 'Africanization' of the South, they demanded: 'A white man in a white man's place. A black man in a black man's place. Each according to the eternal fitness of things.' [Additionally,] an appeal of South Carolina Democrats on behalf of 'the proud Caucasian race, whose sovereignty on earth God has ordained' protested against the 'subversion of the great social law, whereby an ignorant and depraved race is placed in power and influence above the virtuous, the educated and the refined' (Ibid).

In the face of such extreme opposition, Washington's conciliatory approach to education and the Negro acted as a salve upon an inflamation. Yet, the intellectual dream refused to die. The irony is that Washington did not advocate industry without intellect nor did DuBois advocate intellect without industry. These two endeavors according to both men were not mutually exclusive. However, at the turn of the century, it likely seemed that both approaches to Negro education were locked in a winner-take-all combat. In 1895, while United States Commissioner of Education, William T. Harris, continued his advocacy of a classical-style education for Negroes before audiences at Atlanta University, Washington campaigned at the Atlanta Exposition that same year for Negroes to abandon the lofty ideals of the classics and cast down their buckets where they were (Bullock, 1967, 87). At the Exposition meeting Washington put the following before his audience: 'Ignorant and inexperienced, it is not strange that in the first years of our new life we began at the top instead of the bottom; that a seat in Congress or the state legislature was more sought than real estate or industrial skill; that the political convention or stump speaking had more attractions than starting a dairy farm or being a truck driver' (Ibid). He went on to admonish his fellow Negroes to 'cast down in agriculture, mechanics, commerce, domestic service, and in the professions' (Ibid). Thus, his response to Harris and others who were like-minded, was immediate and profound; it resounded around the nation and the world.

With enthusiasm, white northern philanthropists lined up behind Washington and his Tuskegee experiment, a program whose core was comprised of moral teachings and industrial know-how. However, rather than simply handing over sums of money for Negro education, the approach taken by some northern philanthropists, like Julius Rosenwald, included an insistence on the participation from both the white and black community. For example, the terms of the Rosenwald school building program involved contributions by both white and black communities. By 1932, some 5,300 Rosenwald schools had been erected in fifteen southern states (Embree and Waxman, 1949), with Alabama serving as the birthplace of the Rosenwald schools. The vision of both Washington and Rosenwald regarding the school building program was to offer community grants of one-third the cost of construction with the other monies emanating from the local black community, public support, and the local white community. According to one writer and critic, however, the reality failed to meet the vision--"the attitudes of southern whites were little changed by Rosenwald grants and few whites were induced to contribute to the building fund" (Rosenwald School Building Fund, Alabama Historical Commission, 1997). Yet, the enduring stories of community successes refuse to slip into obscurity. For example,

> In Mississippi, John H. Culkin, superintendent of Warren County, having learned of the Rosenwald buildings in other states, became disturbed because there were not decent schools for blacks in his county. He became determined to erect a new building in each of the twenty-five black communities in Warren County. Disliked by the local Ku Klux Klan because he was Catholic and because two of his board members were Jews, Culkin ordered that the entire program be begun in each community and in the utmost secrecy. Complete bills of material and specifications of all the schools were given to large lumber mills with orders to deliver the goods on a specific day in Vicksburg. White citizens

> not only gave money, but provided mule teams and wagons to carry the materials to the sites. Workmen had already laid the foundations and women and children organized by Jeanes teachers, cleaned and graded play areas and walkways and the women served hot lunches to the laborers. Within a week all twenty-five schools were enclosed and roofed and within a month, all had been completed, painted and equipped. By the time the Klan had convinced the courts to issue an injunction to stop the building, the superintendent had completed his plan (Embree and Waxman, 45-46).

Despite the massive amount of funding Rosenwald administrators poured into the rural school building program–$4,071,463 for school house construction alone--the philanthropic effort was later viewed as a crutch rather than a stimulus (Rosenwald Building Fund, Alabama Historical Commission). Both Washington and Rosenwald had envisioned a "public-private partnership, believing that a shift in southern white attitudes toward blacks could be achieved by retaining the goodwill of southern whites and working with the South's social system" (Werner, 1939, 366). However, far from being a failure, other money funneled into programs like Negro teacher education by philanthropies such as the Jeanes Foundation, was largely considered a success.

In 1907, Miss Anna T. Jeanes initiated a fund of one-million dollars, consisting of income-bearing securities for 'the furthering and fostering of rudimentary education in small Negro rural schools' (Rosenwald School Building Fund, Alabama Historical Commission, sec.E, p. 16). By 1915, the Jeanes Fund had placed supervisors in 134 counties with the majority of these counties accepting responsibility for some percentage of their salaries. The largest recipient of Jeanes teachers was the state of Alabama. Jeanes Teachers seem to defy definition. Their own motto was "the next needed thing" (video tape of Jeanes Supervisors, Alabama Historical Society). By their own accounts, they would go into communities and "do what ever needed doing." In Alabama, at the turn-of-the-century, 40% of the state's population was Negro, and 90% of that figure lived in rural communities throughout the state. Thus, the role of the Jeanes Teachers, often referred to as Jeanes Supervisors, was pivotal in organizing schools for Negro children in rural Alabama. In 1917, the state's Rural School Agent, James L. Sibley, published his report on the work of the Jeanes Supervisors. In it, he wrote "the South is dependent upon agriculture for a great deal of its prosperity and upon the [N]egro farmer and laborer for a large part of its industrial development. There should be some method to train [N]egro children while attending rural schools to become intelligent, thrifty, and skillful workers" (Sibley, 1917, 4-6).

According to Sibley, Jeanes teachers "visit the [N]egro rural schools, teach the industrial work in the classes, supervise the schools under the direction of the county superintendent, and hold patrons' meetings for the improvement of schools. During the winter months, their time is largely devoted to actual work in connection with the schools. In the summer they devote their time to club work and community affairs" (Ibid). His strong and approving words are testimony of the extent to which not only the communities valued the services of the Jeanes Teachers, but also white superintendents and the Rural State Agent himself, Sibley. His report is filled with their accomplishments such as agents of the then popular "Homemakers' Clubs," (443 clubs in 541 communities in 1916), and their work with community folk in planting home gardens, growing their own supplies, saving and storing food for winter months, and improving their homes.

Other duties filled by these Jeanes supervisors included, meeting with trustees, organizing improvement clubs, and sponsoring fund-raising rallies. Some even personally raised money for school building programs. One Jeanes supervisor, Mary Sanifer, serves as an example of the type of individual who exhibited the level of perseverance Jeanes Teachers were noted for.

> One day while reading a copy of the Christian Index, I noticed a headline "Better Rural Schools." With much interest I read the notice that Mr. Julius Rosenwald was deeply interested in better Negro school buildings and would give dollar for dollar in the erection of modern Negro school buildings. I wrote to him immediately for further information. He referred me to Mr. C.J. Calloway, Rosenwald's Agent, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama. From him I received all needed information. Filled with encouragement I began to advertise my project. It seemed impossible to make the people believe a man would give dollar for dollar to erect a school building. I tried to organize a school improvement association. I succeeded with three men and four women. The men were afraid to venture, so I had to assume all the responsibility. I bought two acres of land at a cost of $50.00.

> With my school improvement association we planned a school rally and raised $62.00. This paid for the land, which was encouraging. I began then to raise money and subscriptions for money to qualify. When I covered the amount in subscriptions, I suggested that we borrow the money paying as much as possible in labor. The three men secured subscriptions and immediately afterwards during my absence, had their signature abolished from security. When I found it out, I did not know what to do. Trusting God, I continued. I went to the man who was lending us the money and offered my name as security. Seeing my anxiety for the building he accepted me alone. I deposited the money and the county superintendent sent in the application. It was accepted and the work began. The community was convinced that the work would be done. I employed a contractor and the community joined in. As a result we succeeded with a beautiful two-teacher Rosenwald building (Rosenwald School Building Fund, Alabama Historical Commission, p45-46).

Sanifer's story is one of many. Her work in raising money for Washington's industrial school model was echoed throughout the South as Negro leaders and parents sought to educate their children "up from slavery," toward self-determination, despite protests by some leaders and citizens who argued against the education of Negroes. However, by the summer of 1915, Jeanes Teachers were familiar faces and a welcome presence in many rural black communities.

The Summer Teaching Institute of 1915

The participant record by county for the Summer Institute of 1915 for rural black teachers and Jeanes Supervisors stretches from Mobile County in the far south of the state of Alabama to Calhoun County in the far eastern part of the state and Tuscaloosa County to the north. More than 1,600 educators were enrolled in the institute, which ran from July 12 to September 29, owing to the fact that the school term for most Negroes began in October after the harvest. The reports which accompany the photographs were written by the in-service institute's "Conductor," and generally contained the following information: enrollment figures; a note on the character of attendance; work stressed by the conductor; role of the Assistant; list of visitors; spirit of work, and distinctive features (Alabama State Archives, Jeanes Teachers, SPP28). Although not richly detailed, these brief reports offer us, in synopsis form, a glimpse at this turn-of-the-century teacher in-service institute.

Booker T. Washington, his wife, and James Sibley, the State of Alabama Rural Agent Among were among those present at the opening week of the institute, held in Tuscumbia, Decatur, and Huntsville, located in the northern-most part of Alabama. The goals stressed by the Conductors ranged from arithmetic in grammar grades to the removal of illiteracy. Of seemingly high interest during the entire summer institute was a model of a sanitary toilet, as it was mentioned in nearly every Conductor's report. The role of the Assistant at Huntsville, for example, was to discuss work in the Primary grades, demonstrate games and the use of a sand table, plus a discussion of the vocational work of girls. The Huntsville institute was visited by the Honorable E.B. Almon, Congressman, who spoke on the "Advantages of present over past system of Schools" (Alabama State Archives, Jeanes Teachers, SPP28).

The Superintendent, S.R. Butler also spoke to attendees on the importance of the institute, while Sibley addressed the group on Agriculture and Sanitation. Superintendent A.A. Persons discussed the "Proper Use of Fertilizers," while Dr. L.B. Moore, Dean of Howard University, spoke on "the Need of Correlation and continued preparation." P.C. Parks discussed Colored school farms, while Miss Nixon lectured on Primary Hand work and Mrs. Gordon demonstrated how to prepare a "wholesome meal on the farm (Alabama State Archives, Jeanes Teachers, SPP28). The "spirit of work" described by the Conductor included his assessment that "teachers showed a determination to be of service to their communities." The distinctive features of the Huntsville institute included a demonstration on how to make a fireless cooker, the evening social and Dr. Moore's address.

The County Superintendent wrote a brief report about the institute's Conductor, H.C. Binford, in which he described his work "as being beyond the average for negro instructors. He is willing and seems to have a fair knowledge of what the negro needs." Likely, the county superintendent would not in any way consider his remarks about Binford to be biased or negative, yet they underscore the then current attitude prevalent among many whites, that the level at which Negroes function is inferior to that of whites. A more telling remark from a white superintendent about Negro educators came from the Clarke County superintendent who described his Conductor as "a typical African: a smart man and a most excellent institute conductor. Can't be beat for his place." Other such remarks emanated from the county superintendent of Morgan County, Decatur, Alabama, when he wrote that the Conductor of his institute, G.W. Trenholm, was "a capable Negro."

At the Decatur institute, the conductor stressed community clubs and industrial work. Like the Huntsville meeting, the fireless cooker demonstration received special mention, and stamping out illiteracy was a collective goal. In Tuscumbia County, the conductor reported that the "spirit of work" was excellent and that "teachers worked over time each day, once till dark on making the sanitary toilet." These demonstrations and "hands on" projects were indicative of the type of work and curriculum developed for the 1915 summer teachers' institute. The distinctive features outlined by the Tuscumbia Conductor included an Illiteracy parade with about 50 placards, flags, and pennants, "mending for men," "chair caning," sanitation, and the fireless cooker, while the county superintendent reported the distinctive features as "construction work in the way of manual training and domestic art." Although the enrollment for Tuscumbia was 56, the country superintendent believed that it was light owing to the early date of the institute.

While the institutes organized in most counties resembled one another, each offered a unique curriculum, although the universal attendance of James Sibley and A.A. Persons seemed to provide continuity. For example, when the institute moved from the northern part of the state to the central, the week of July 26, Conductors and Superintendents focused on the scholarship of teachers; however, they also stressed the industrial model which included a dose of Washington's moral philosophy through lectures on punctuality and sanitation. In Tuscaloosa, attendees heard lectures on issues such as agriculture, improvement of teachers, school improvement, health and cooperation with patrons. The usual demonstrations of canning and lessons on whitewashing were part of the curriculum. The county superintendent's assessment of the spirit of the institute included the following: "Those in attendance, I feel satisfied were greatly benefitted as I have never attended a negro institute where a more marked spirit of determination has been shown to do better work among their people than was evinced at the closing hour of this institute" (Alabama State Archives, Jeanes Teachers, SPP28). In Pickens County, the attendees were so proud of the sanitary toilet they built during the institute, that they placed it "in the middle of the court house square for inspection" (Ibid).

In Dallas County, Selma, Alabama, during the week of August 2, community uplift and gardens were topics on the agenda. The Assistant emphasized primary methods, sewing, domestic science, and the need for good teachers. Guest speakers spoke on topics such as sanitation, personal cleanliness, care of babies, and training of hand, head, and heart, while the attendees in Hale County listened to lectures on "Better Rural Schools," "Making Farm Life Happy," and "Correlating Rural School and Country Life." One "distinctive feature" of interest was how to study "geography in local grocery and dry goods stores" (Ibid).

Clarke County's program was slightly different. It stressed academic subjects and content such as English and Arithmetic and methods of teaching in the "advanced grades." The Conductor spoke on the need to organize reading circles and school improvement leagues. Interestingly enough, these leagues were gender distinctive: one for men and one for women. At the Clarke County meeting, the Conductor reported that a number of local white people attended the sessions and "large crowds of colored." In fact, the Conductor stated that there was "hearty cooperation on the part of the teachers in attendance and the people of the community both white and colored" (Alabama State Archives, Jeanes Teachers, SPP28).

In South Alabama, in the town of Brewton, which is located in one of the most rural sections of the state, teachers went into neighboring homes and gave domestic science lessons to residents. Other notable demonstrations included pine needle baskets and "shuck work." Only an hour away in Monroeville, home of two of America's most well-known writers, Truman Capote, *In Cold Blood*, and Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, the Conductor stressed "kindness to children," "teachers living in the community," and "clean-up day," among other topics. The County Superintendent was enthusiastic when he remarked that "I consider the institute a success in that it evoked the approbation and commendation of the best people of the town" (Ibid). Lee County's Superintendent also made positive remarks about his institute when he said, "the negroes of Lee county are loyal and cooperate in progressive measures" (Ibid). One interesting feature of the Barbour County institute was the use of a former slave in teaching craft work. According to the Conductor's report, "an old negro basket weaver who had learned his trade in slavery days was employed to give the teachers lessons in basket making, bottoming chairs and shuck work" (Ibid).

Conclusion:

While an examination of each county's report on the success or lack of success of the 1915 summer institute is a worthwhile endeavor, this analysis and summary of events demonstrates several unique aspects of Alabama's Summer Teaching Institute for rural Negro teachers at the turn-of-the century. One, the curriculum clearly embraced Washington's industrial model of practical crafts such as sewing, cooking, canning, and other domestic arts and sciences. Two, the curriculum also focused on agricultural science, including planting and raising livestock. However, one of the most distinctive features of Washington's educational plan was what Bond (1934) referred to as moral philosophy. Throughout the 1915 summer institute, for example, one can find references to punctuality, sanitation, cleanliness, and health. These personal qualities were as important to Washington as learning a trade because to him they spoke of character building. He had learned well from his mentor, General Armstrong, at the Hampton Institute, who once remarked that his desire for Colored Americans was to 'go out and teach their people, first by example, by getting land and homes; to give them not a dollar that they can earn for themselves; to teach respect for labor; to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands and to these ends to build up an industrial system for the sake of characters' (Rosenwald School Building Fund, Alabama Historical Commission, sed. E, p. 12).

However, what can be said in retrospect about Washington's influence on the Summer Teaching Institute of 1915? To begin with, the scores of Negroes who followed the agricultural and industrial dream quickly realized that in the areas of agriculture and industry, southern Negroes failed to fit White expectations. The scientific approach to farming was based upon the concept of land ownership and directly competed with White notions of Negro farming: Negroes as tenants not competing land owners. In industry, skilled Negro labor rapidly deteriorated. As both avenues narrowed, their followers sought relief in the professions. Some turned from farming to farm agent; others turned from farming or industry to teaching, while females trained in domestic sciences looked to teaching as a profession rather than business. Thus, the photographs contained in this 1915 album show nearly an equal number of men and women engaged in the profession of teaching. In the end, teaching, not agriculture or industry became an equalizing force for many black Americans, which assured them the prestige within their community that agriculture, industry, or domestic science had promised, but not delivered. As William E. Hutchins so succinctly posed the question nearly a century ago when he argued for a liberal education for Negroes instead of industrial education, "what can you teach colored women about washing clothes?"

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Cultural Archeology and School Leadership: The Eternal City and the Educational Present

Robert E. Roemer and Janis B. Fine
Loyola University at Chicago

The 1990 Carnegie Foundation report, *Scholarship Reconsidered* (Boyer), called for a broader view of scholarship that included the scholarships of integration and application in addition to that which has been usually expected of faculty in higher education, the scholarship of discovery. This paper falls under the scholarship of integration, in this instance between cultural history, especially as this can be exemplified in the ruins and cultural artifacts found in Rome, and the need of principals in Chicago Public Schools to make informed policy decisions. In this case, the urgency of present educational crises and issues motivates a digging into their cultural past.

Beginning with an explanation of the scholarship of integration and application, this paper then argues for the importance of providing educational leaders with a deep understanding of the cultural history that surrounds present crises and issues faced in operating a school. The paper then presents a methodology employed to make cultural history relevant and understandable to educational leaders so that the educational historian enters into the dialog of educational decision making. Finally, the paper shows how this methodology can be used in a particular historical setting, in this case the city of Rome.

Scholarship of integration and application

The concept of an "applied academic discipline" refers to a discipline that has, through its content and methodology, the ability to explain related aspects of the larger culture. The use of "applied" means that these disciplines can be focused to examine the institution of education both as a cultural agency and as a process. Having general explanatory powers, these disciplines illuminate education within the cultural context in a particular way. When used in an interdisciplinary approach, they provide an integrated perspective on education which is highly useful for educational leaders who are involved in administrative decision-making. Since educational structures exist to serve students in particular socio-cultural situations within the broader cultural context, these applied academic disciplines are foundational to the analysis of these educational settings. Thus, the scholarship of integration has as its purpose the identification and analysis of the elements of continuity and change in the institutions of education within a general cultural context. For educational leaders who are to act as agents of change, these perspectives on both continuity and change provide needed professional competencies.

The scholarship of application is manifest in a professional development workshop developed for Chicago school principals that involved a week-long stay in Rome with daily visits to important historical sites and discussion of contemporary educational issues and controversies. Commentary at the sites in Rome displayed the central components of Western civilization which in turn provided a basis for more deeply understanding what is fundamentally at stake in the decisions a leader of a Chicago Public School is called upon to make. The same applied academic disciplines that examined the broad cultural or macro context were also used to examine particular educational settings (schools and classrooms) in a micro and/or phenomenological context.

Basis for decision making and school reform

This practical application of historical resources to the professional development of those who run our urban schools has long been needed. David Tyack (1967) in his book, *Turning Points in American History* , observed that perhaps no institution in our society is more constricted by unexamined tradition and unconscious ritual than the school. He argued that in order to either attack or defend tradition intelligently, one first needs to understand it. One reason, says Tyack, that education is subject to monotonous cycles of reform and reaction is that few recognize that "today's headache is the result of last night's binge"(p.xii). Our educational institutions have been most responsive to community and societal needs. No longer rulers of small kingdoms, urban principals are called upon to be responsive to teachers, parent groups, locally controlled school advisory boards, and a tightly controlled central governing agency. What effect has this responsiveness or vulnerability had at different times in our history?

The issue of reform is complex. It is especially complex when we examine and interpret the message behind such terms as restructuring, and site-based management. These terms have become, for some, the panacea for finding quick-fixes and short-term solutions for complex issues that paradoxically transcend the boundaries of the school but are also inherent to the school's structure. For others, these terms have become the mantra to connote the phenomenon Sarason (1990) describes in the book, *The Predictable Failure of Educational Reform*.

Golarz and Golarz (1995) in *The Power of Participation: Improving Schools in a Democratic Society*, indicate that historically schools have been a reflection of the larger society of which they are part. As such, schools reflect and experience turmoil and stress which places unprecedented demands and challenges on the role of the principal. Like the intersection of society to school, the causes of these demands and challenges often reside outside the purview of the principal, the superintendent, and even the board of education at the local level. According to Murphy (1993) in *Preparing Tomorrow's School Leaders: Alternative Designs*, training programs for school administrators must change to meet the evolving demands placed on educational leaders, the context of the principalship must be changed, and traditional leadership programs must be transformed. As Tyack notes, by examining our educational history, the individual and group decisions, the social conditions that restricted or expanded choices, educators may become aware of actual opportunities and the necessity for wise decisions in the present. Otherwise, he warned, we may be perpetuating an unexamined relation of schools and society by default or in utopian daydreaming. According to Tyack, "History as embodied in institutions and attitudes has a momentum which deflects naive attempts at reform, but history perceptively grasped can assist needed innovation and conservations" (1967 p.xiii).

Fundamental Principle

The basic principle underlying this program of integrative scholarship is that sound decision making in schools depends on getting beyond the particular details of an educational crisis to its underlying cultural configuration. Present educational crises and issues are not random events. The decisions an educational leader needs to make have in a very real sense been pre-selected by history and by the particular ideologies shaped in the previous experience of Western civilization. The events in schools that call for policy decisions are constituted in a significant way by the distinctive cultural configuration within which the school exists, and as such the essential elements that challenge educational leaders have long been argued, pondered, and deliberated, although perhaps with different words and different details. The reflective educational leader who wishes to leverage, rather than be shoved about by, today's educational issues and crises to attain excellence needs to understand the cultural tradition which has brought this event to the present. In short, the present needs to be contextualized by the past.

The Chicago Context

During the last decade, a series of reform measures have combined to present principals in Chicago Public Schools with a drastic imperative: perform or be replaced. The implementation of the Illinois School Reform Act of 1988 shifted responsibility for governance of individual schools from a centralized board of education to Local School Councils for each of the city's 550 schools with authority to hire the school principal. By 1995, however, citing insignificant academic improvement, the Illinois Legislature enacted the Amendatory Reform Act which abolished the existing Chicago Board of Education, and created a Chicago School Reform Board of Trustees with Paul Vallas as CEO.

Under the Amendatory Reform Act, while the Local School Councils maintained authority to hire principals, outside interventions of various levels of aggressiveness were put in place to limit or replace the authority of the Local School Councils and school principals: state watch list, remediation, and finally probation. For a school placed on probation, a team appointed by the central office assesses the school's academic plan and institutes curricular and educational change. All probationary schools are assigned a probation manager by the school board who imposes a "corrective action plan" for the school. Failing significant academic improvement, the probationary team may move to dissolve school councils, and make top-to-bottom personnel changes including firing principals and teachers, and calling for new local school council elections. While probation is an extreme measure, in practice it is not extraordinary; last year Vallas placed 71 elementary and 38 high schools on probation.

Clearly, the probationary act is a take-over by the school board which removes educational leadership from the principal. The consequences, then, for a principal who fails to produce education excellence in a Chicago school are drastic: loss of authority to the school board or eventual firing by the local school council. Looking for new ways to help sitting principals meet the leadership imperative, the officers of the Chicago Principals and Administrators Association asked the authors to develop an innovative and intensive program of professional development that would help principals acquire a deep understanding of the educational issues they faced. The intent was to explore educational issues and current crises beyond their present urgency and thereby to lessen the temptation for principals to respond to daily challenges with the latest quick-fix panaceas. The professional development program was planned, then, to examine the complexities of the current socio-cultural crises impacting educational achievement in Chicago Public Schools as events deeply rooted in the central characteristics of Western Civilization, thereby developing a reflective principal who understands what is fundamentally at stake in educational decisions regarding purposes of schooling and appropriate programs to meet those purposes.

This road leads to Rome

In the years 1895-1900, Sigmund Freud worked with the questions that were resolved in his *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1955). During that period Rome came to occupy a crucial place in his life. In fact, Freud found an analogy between depth psychology and archaeology, and these came together in Rome (Schorske, 36). A similar, albeit completely non-Freudian, use is made of Rome in the workshop developed for Chicago school principals. In many ways, Rome enjoys a privileged position as a repository of our culture. Located on a peninsula jutting into the Mediterranean, Rome absorbed an combined the cultural forces that shaped the western tradition: the literature and philosophy of Greece, the spiritual traditions of the Jews and other near-eastern peoples, the mysteries and monuments of Egypt, the economic forces of North Africa. As these traditions were crystallized and moved through the transformations of the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Enlightenment, they were expressed in the buildings and art that endure as part of the Eternal City. Rome, arguably the central city of Western Civilization as it was for Freud, stands today as a magnificent repository of the past ages out of which our present world emerges and within which educational leaders work our education destinies.

In the workshop that was developed, the sites of Rome became a means to discover the cultural components of what has come to be called Western civilization and through them to interpret the fundamental issues at stake in the current operation of Chicago Public Schools. In Rome, the cultural past that gave rise to the educational present is visible and palpable, to be seen and touched. Witnessing our cultural memorialized, as it were, in the sites of Rome provides an educational leader with the basis of reflecting on why the current educational events that consume time and energy in Chicago represent long standing issues deeply embedded in our culture and for that reason are to be expected.

Using Rome

How, though, practically speaking does one use the cultural riches of Rome to enlighten educational decisions made in a contemporary urban school? The protocol developed for this workshop featured five separate phases:

1. Visits to important locations in Rome which display the way in which Western civilization conceives of the world and the role of human beings within it.
2. Reflection on current educational crises to understand them as part of the fabric of Western civilization.
3. Pro-con debates about these issues.
4. Examination of Chicago Public Schools in general and one's own school in particular in terms of how the issues raised are manifested in the school's explicit, implicit and null curricula.
5. Determination of implications for educational change, enlightened by knowledge of the cultural heritage of an issue and its current manifestation.

Using this five-phase approach moves the examination of current educational crises beyond their present urgency by displaying their roots deeply embedded in the Western tradition. This in turn lessens the temptation felt by principals who are on the firing line to get past a present problem by adopting a quick-fix solution using the latest panacea. Rome, with its monuments and artifacts, is the text for demonstrating that the current moment of educational crisis is in many ways to be expected because it reflects the culture within which we live and work. A particular aspect of our cultural past is first examined, then a related educational crisis is examined, and only after that is there a movement toward decision-making within the context of a particular school.

Example: The Roman Forum

The Roman Forum, where human habitation has been recorded for almost 3,000 years, the center of the Roman Republic, and venerated deep into the Empire as central to Rome's permanence, today remains as a magnificent visual aid displaying cultural elements central to the Western tradition. Kieran Egan writes that our tradition of educational thought has only three basic educational ideas: that we must shape the young to the current norms and conventions of adult society, that we must teach them the knowledge that will ensure their thinking conforms with what is real and true about the world, and that we must encourage the development of each student's individual potential (Egan, 3). Each of these can be easily demonstrated in the Roman Forum:

- **Norms and conventions**: through the institutionalization of censorship, every five years the more public citizens were humiliated in front of their fellows when not only their economic status but their morality was written up for all to see by the censors. These notices were displayed in the comitium area of the forum.
- **Development of potential**: when the Romans began to conquer the Hellenized part of the Mediterranean, they in turn were conquered by Greek culture: Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agresti Latio…[Captive Greece captured the victor and brought the arts to rustic Latium.] (Horace *Epodes* 2.1.156). This new cultural influx was almost flamboyant in its celebration of personal excellence, something foreign to the frugality and restraint of the ancient Romans. This cultural conflict and enrichment is reflected in new architectural forms brought from Greece as evident in the forum's Basilica Aemelia.
- **Reality and truth of the world**: at least in terms of brick and mortar and concrete the Roman knew the way the world worked. Their engineering competence shows that at least in this realm their thinking conformed with reality. The magnificent remains of the Basilica Maxentius, with its still-standing cavernous vaults, vividly demonstrates that the Romans knew well the way the world worked.

After these themes are explored as part of our cultural heritage, various school issues easily emerge, now not as topical crises but rather as enduring tensions within our cultural heritage. Some of these are:

- Should the curriculum be standardized for all or should there be either explicit or implicit tracks it the curriculum?
- How are the diverse goals to be met of teaching social norms, developing individual potential, and imparting understanding of how to get things done?
- To what extent do students have to prepared to live in different cultural frameworks, the cultural of mainstream capitalism and the culture of one's personal identity?

The final moment in dealing with these issues is to generate policy statements, in the form "A does X whenever C to achieve P" (an agent does some action whenever particular conditions prevail to achieve some purpose) that concretely specify courses of action. But this is only done after exploratory debate in which opposing sides of an issue are displayed. The debate attempts to lay out as completely as possible how a particular position can be supported. Then, assuming that the argument is sound, the general principle of action recommended in the debate is converted to a statement of action. The action specified is now put forward in its cultural context so that it is more than a way to get rid of a problem but is instead an attempt to cope with part of our cultural heritage.

Rome and diversity

One benefit of seeking to understand present educational crises in terms of their cultural past is that by understanding our culture we understand the boundaries of diversity. Rome provides a particularly important entry into this understanding. By an ancient tradition, the world was given a tri-partite division: Europe, Asia, and Africa. The Romans accepted this division and made it a permanent feature of what later became the unified culture of Europe. Rome, then, stands as a witness to the definition of citizen and barbarian, to the declaration of who is ones fellow and who is Other. This ancient determination of difference remains in our cultural present and still gives rise to life-and-death struggles.

Rome provides another approach to diversity. By understanding our cultural tradition, we particularize it and delineate its limitations. In understanding what it is to be members of the Western tradition, we also come to understand what we are not and therefore where diversity begins. "Know thyself" is also a command to know who is other. The more the components of western civilization become understood, the more clearly the boundaries of this cultural complex are discerned. Only when the limits of the cultural universe are recognized does it become possible to recognize other universes. An educational leader who thoroughly understands the characteristics of the western way of thinking is able to appreciate its particularity and to render it less absolute. This, then, is the basis for genuine rather than merely polite encounter with diversity.

Sound decision-making

The education reform movement of the 1980s and 1990s has produced disappointing results. Policy makers who have labored over federal, state, and local reform initiatives blame these results on the reluctance or incompetence of school leaders. It is important to provide principals with a sense of continuity that integrates our cultural past with the present. Too often, leadership training, in its enthusiasm for change, yields too quickly to an overeager presentism. Often, novelty is confused with significance. Principals who are prepared for the profession in strictly presentist manner lack the needed insight to examine the present in view of the past. As Chicago's principals engage in sound decision- making they will, through this workshop, link present day problems with an historical treatment of our cultural past.

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Clementine Anna Skinner: Tapestry of an African American Educator

H. Michele Soria
The University of Texas at Austin

Clementine Skinner's womanhood and ethnicity are facts that shaped the course of events in her life. She was born at a time when it was not beneficial to be Black. Her birthday occurred just before the United States entered World War I. She grew up amidst the rapidly changing nature of a dual American scenery: a time of immense prosperity (the Roaring and indulgent Twenties) and a time of great hardship (Depression). Later, Clementine would remember participating in both the Second World War as an enlisted soldier and the Civil Rights Movement as an activist.

How did this woman maneuver through the turbulent Twentieth Century and still manage to make a positive impact in the lives of so many throughout her life? Somehow, against this backdrop, a woman had to forge a place for herself. As an African American woman growing up during watershed moments in United States history, Dr. Clementine Skinner's experiences are unique.

Childhood in the Roaring Twenties

Clementine was born on February 9th, 1916 in Birmingham, Alabama. She was the oldest of seven children (two children died in infancy). Her mother's parents were both born into and raised under the mantel of slavery. Freed by a benevolent master before slavery ended, Clementine's grandmother was the first real generation of "freedmen". Thus, the McConico family (Clementine's parents) were direct descendants from slave stock. Clementine's grandfather, John Burnett, had even enlisted in the Army and served during the Civil War from 1863 till 1865 (Skinner 1998, Summer). Later, he met, wooed, and married Annie and together they had five children, of which Clementine's mother, Alice, was one. Clementine's father's past is much more ambiguous. He was an orphan raised by an elderly couple who died when John McConico was only twelve years old. He refused to ever talk about his past with his family. When she was just eighteen months old, the family made the trek to the large, industrial, northern city of Chicago. Clementine's siblings were all born in Chicago and all were raised in the south side area of the city (Skinner 1998, Summer).

Clementine John McConico was a strict disciplinarian. He demanded a great deal from his children: obedience, respect, industriousness, and reliability. The family was the strongest unit and was together at all times. The children were restricted to playing among themselves. Clementine remembers that she and her siblings could not participate in after-school activities in either elementary or high school years. The McConico children had few playmates as a consequence. When the family went out on the town or to a picnic in the park, friends and neighbors saw the family together at all times. John McConico's control seemed absolute.

The family was not staunchly religious. Father was Christian but not a member of any organized church; mother rarely went to church because of young ones to tend to at home. Even so, the children were duly enrolled in the Olivet Baptist Church Children's Sunday school program. And father made sure that everyone gathered together every morning to recite the Lord's Prayer. The children also read and memorized Bible verses and sang religious songs before starting the day. Everyone had to participate for father McConico would brook no excuses.

As a result of the tight reign of control the parents wielded over their children, Clementine's earliest role models were her own parents. There were no close friends and the only other role models were schoolteachers, of course, and live theater shows and film. Clementine remembers that during the late Twenties through the Great Depression, she frequently ran errands at her mother's direction in downtown Chicago. Clementine's errands took several hours every day because she had to stop in each theater and take in the show and vaudeville act before she returned home (Skinner1998, October 31). Clementine remembers this time with laughter. Her tardiness was infamous.

The Working Girl in the Great Depression

Clementine remembers how her father, John Federick Anthony McConico, had a difficult time providing the daily necessities for his family during the Great Depression. He was a good provider, nevertheless. He managed to keep his children fed, clothed, and sheltered—without resorting to welfare or handouts. Clementine's mother, Alice Burnett McConico worked in the family bookstore where her father housed rare books including books about African Americans and their history. Her father was too proud to ask for or accept help from anyone, even relatives. His fierce independence made an important impression on young Clementine.

Education was very important and something they had to do. Father McConico expected his children to do well in school. Consequently, all of the McConico children were good students. They did what was expected of them and received good grades. This was true even though the children often had to wait to get school supplies at the beginning of school since the family did not have the money. By high school, Clementine had learned thrifty shortcuts. To extend the life of her shoes for instance, she would hit the dime store and purchase cement-on-soles. She also visited the Salvation Army to buy clothing. A testament to their parents and children's hard work was that every child graduated from high school. Clementine was the only one to go on to college later in her life.

1934 was the first year of employment. Her burning desire was to work for a bank or utility company. Yet, the answer was always the same. There were no jobs for Negroes except as cafeteria workers. Instead, Clementine worked as a temporary fountain helper for six months at Walgreen Drug Company. Her duties included peeling potatoes and washing dishes. She also had to travel all over Chicago to work in those stores that needed help. Clementine found it highly ironic that as fountain help, she could not serve customers although she prepared the food and most of the clients were African American.

Times were changing, slowly to be sure, but they were changing. As a result of the Negro Labor League's work for better employment opportunity of the Black community, Clementine was the third person of color hired at the Woolworth Company as a salesclerk six months after her temporary work (Skinner 1998, May 12). She remained with the company for almost ten years leaving Woolworth's in 1943 to work for M.S. Stotland (owner of a clothing and furniture store) as a bookkeeper.

Clementine was never allowed to forget her race or gender by the way people reacted to her. She remembers when she and other Blacks had to watch how differently white store managers treated them. One day, while Chicago suffered through a terribly harsh winter, Clementine and other Black women arrived for work (work hours were often from nine till ten or eleven each night). The lack of customers prompted one manager to advise that all of the colored girls return home for four hours. After four hours, the women could work an eight or nine hour shift. The women did not know what to do. None of the Black women lived anywhere close to the store; there was nowhere to go. Clementine noticed that the White salesgirls were not asked to leave for those same four hours. Clementine then made a bold decision (as she was to make many over her lifetime). She approached her superior and announced that she would stay and work until six. The manager thought that was a better idea, so he informed all of the women, both Black and White, that they were all working till six! He had neatly solved the problem of cutting work hours and all because of one bold suggestion made by a young Black lady (Skinner 1998, Fall).

The young White salesgirls were given first choice and advanced quickly through the stages of employment, even though a Negro woman may have had seniority. Clementine remembers another incident vividly. An opening occurred for a higher position within the Woolworth Company store and Clementine's co-worker, another Black woman, had seniority. Logically, she should have been advanced. Instead, one of the new hires, who just happened to be Caucasian, received the promotion. Clementine watched disappointed. It was a situation that really bothered her. She bided her time till her turn came to be promoted. Again, management wanted to pass her over and advance a White person with less experience and time on the same job. Clementine was not going to allow them to take away her hard-earned promotion. She confronted her immediate superior and told him in no uncertain terms that she should get the job. Management offered her the position; even so, Clementine was not through yet. She wrote a letter to Company officers complaining of unjust treatment. The result was that officials came into the store and took management to task. Positive changes began to occur. When Clementine Skinner left her job as the first Negro Floor Manager and Buyer at her store, she was proud to hand over the store keys to another woman of color. In her own take-charge way, Clementine had assured equal opportunity for other Negro saleswomen who would follow in her footsteps. Thus began Clementine's life long work for Civil Rights.

A Soldier during World War II

In July of 1943, in the midst of World War Two, Clementine enlisted in the Women Army Auxiliary Corps which later in September of that same year became the Women's Army Corps (WAC). Clementine was assigned to the First WAC Training Center in Des Moines, Iowa. After basic training, she was assigned to an all Negro band (WAC band #2). She thought she was going to learn accounting. Instead, she, along with other women of color from all over the United States, played the trumpet/French horn for Bond Drives and Recruiting Drives to aid the war effort by raising funds and attracting volunteers.

Clementine was forced to acknowledge rigid race relations while in the army. Besides the all-Black band, the WAC already had an all-White band commissioned the 400th. This White band was recognized as the official military band while no recognition was given to the Black counterpart. Eventually, through a secret petition drive to stave off being disbanded, the Black band was given the respect and recognition it deserved as the 402nd Band (Chicago Tribune 1985, August 25). Meanwhile, Clementine remembers the positive interaction between White and Black band members. At a time when most of the African-American women could not play any instrument, many of the White women from the 400th worked to train and drill the Black band. Despite general army disapproval and interference to keep the bands of women apart, the ladies continued a very successful and rewarding interchange (Skinner 1994, May 26).

Clementine finished her duty in August 1945 and was honorably discharged from Sheridan, Illinois. She went home with a Good Conduct Medal for her service as a tech/Cpl (Chicago Tribune 1985, August 25). Why volunteer in the first place? Said Clementine Skinner, "There were those of us who felt that if you're going to demand things of your country, then you must give too" (Skinner1998, 12 May). Clementine's strict upbringing and sense of responsibility as instilled by parents and teachers never faulted her. She gives all the credit to her teachers who made her believe she could and would do everything.

In 1941, something of great significance for Blacks happened. In order to stave off the planned 1941 March on Washington, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order #8802, The Fair Employment Practices Act, which required all businesses that had a contract with the Federal Government to hire Negroes. When Clementine returned home, she found new doors were opened where they had once been firmly closed. She successfully passed a number of Civil Service examinations and went to work for various federal and state administrations. Clementine's last official federal job, as Library Clerk at Manley Vocational High School in 1950, was her entry into the field of education.

Belated Education

It was not part of her plan to become an educator. She had always envisioned herself as a player on the business stage. During the Great Depression, Clementine took commercial courses with aspirations of becoming a secretary or accountant. She would not enter the educational sphere till some twenty-five years after her graduation from Wendell Phillips High School in 1933.

Clementine's achievements have come later in her life. She married in 1947 and gave birth to the first of two sons a year later at the age of thirty-two. Beginning with her latent social development as a teenager because of a very closed family life, Clementine has taken her time about accomplishing some of the most memorable moments in her life. This is especially true when it comes to education.

Around the time that son Kenneth was ready to start school, his mother enrolled in college. She earned an Associate in Arts degree at what is now Kennedy-King College. She then enrolled in Chicago Teachers College where she earned a Bachelor's of Education with a minor in library science in 1961. Reading was more than an interest stemming from childhood or a job. Reading was the hobby of her lifetime.

Clementine Skinner continued with her education by receiving a Masters of Education degree in librarianship and was the first library science major to receive the honor key in 1963. For the next nine years, Clementine completed more than fifty hours of graduate study at Chicago Teachers College, University of Chicago, and Loyola University. She received her doctorate in education from Nova University (Ft. Lauderdale, Florida) in 1976 at the age of sixty (Skinner resume). She was truly a lifelong learner.

Civil Rights and Diminishing Returns

Clementine actively participated in the movement of Civil Rights as a marcher, an organizer, a financial supporter, and NAACP member. Though she marched with Mr. A. Philip Randolph to Washington in 1963, she was content with working behind the scenes more often than not. She had always sought equality even in employment, but she advocated for rights not just by picketing or marching but through petition, letter, and conversations with managers and superintendents. In her own words:

> There is a time to protest, march, et cetera, but, there comes a time when such activities result in diminishing returns…All of my life, I have worked for equal rights for all people, regardless of race,

> creed, color, religious persuasion, or whatever. Working for equality has always been my avocation and not my vocation. Too many people use working for civil rights as their vocation (Skinner 1998, Fall).

Clementine would add that integration was more of a reality *before* desegregation in Chicago public schools. She does remember that many Black teachers were displaced by desegregation in the South and were invited to teach in Chicago schools by the superintendent at that time, Dr. Benjamin Willis. Though many of the problems within schools remain essentially the same from the Sixties and Seventies such as crowded, oversized classes, limited budgets, and student mobility, Dr. Skinner does see increasing challenges within education in the Nineties. For example, students come more mentally and physically unprepared. There are many children with disabilities. There is also a predominant amount of "babies making babies" resulting in limited parental knowledge and participation. In today's world, race seems to be a growing problem (Skinner 1998, Fall).

Educator Extraordinaire

Clementine earned her degrees while working full time as a mother, a wife, and an employee in the Chicago school district. While she worked on her first college degree, she was invited to become part of the Kappa Delta Pi Society. She was elected into Theta Rho Chapter in 1958 from the Dean's List. Her involvement in Society functions led her to earn prominence in this prestigious educational institution. She served two terms as Alumni Counselor and was then nominated for president-elect in the early seventies. She later became President in 1976. Her term as Society President lasted from 1976-78. Clementine Skinner is honored by the fact that her appointment as Kappa Delta Pi President makes her the first African American and the fourth woman to ever serve as President in the history of the Society (Skinner 1994, March 26).

Dr. Skinner's memories with the Society are warm and positive. Her presidency marked some more "firsts" for a woman who was known for many "firsts". But her most personal and gratifying work was done with children at the public school level. Clementine became involved in various aspects of the school community. She held positions as librarian, teacher, assistant principal, dean of students, and curriculum coordinator. She loved to design and implement programs that would help children. She initiated a photography program which achieved national acclaim, introduced and coordinated the "Living Witness" Program of the Chicago Task Force on Youth Motivation, and assisted in the development of reading laboratories and reading programs. Clementine Skinner never stopped transferring her love for reading to those around her. As a librarian, she revamped the system and added many more books, particularly books about and by African Americans, to the shelves. She began a literacy program at her school and became a curriculum specialist where she developed the first Closed Circuit Television System in any Chicago Public School and implemented a prize-winning Photography Program. Clementine remained involved with young children's literacy efforts all her life. Even today, as of May 1998, Clementine Skinner continues to be involved with two schools as a consultant (Skinner 1998, October 31). Her calling still leads her to work with Chicago's children. Clementine also developed a keen interest in teacher education. She conducted workshops in the Race Desegregation Training Institute at Northeastern University from 1979-1981. She taught "Discipline Techniques and Desegregation" and " Equitable Discipline Policies in the High School". One of her speeches details her belief in the educator's responsibility to provide quality education. Indeed, the most important requisite for the quality education is the teacher first and foremost. She makes strong statements in her speech about the teacher's role in the educational life of every child:

> A school may be small in size, possess limited facilities, finances, and resources, and still provide quality education. The teachers make the difference. A school may be large, possess elaborate facilities, have countless resources, and unlimited finances, and provide quality education. The teachers make the difference. Teachers who settle for mediocrity are not the kind of teachers who make that difference. Quality teachers do not settle for mediocrity (Skinner 1973).

She then spells out ten strategies for the quality teacher. Clementine both admonished and praised teachers in holding them accountable for quality education for all children. Her involvement in every phase of education (from librarian to teacher to administrator to national and international appointments) proves her dedication and interests went much farther than the classroom.

An Honored Woman

Clementine Skinner has been the recipient of many awards over her lifetime. Too numerous to list here, Clementine remembers her most cherished honors. She is most proud of her induction into the City of Chicago's Senior Citizens Hall of Fame in 1983. Following that would have to be her election to her high school's (Wendell Phillips) Hall of Fame. In 1982, Dr. Skinner received a letter from Jane M. Byrne, Chicago Mayor, to accept an appointment to the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity. Recently, Dr. Skinner was named the AARP's Retired Educator of the Year, and she was surprised and pleased by the tribute. Every award, certificate, plaque, and ceremony to honor her has been deeply appreciated (Phelps 1998-99, 10:1368). The high-esteem fellow Chicago citizens have for this remarkable African American woman is well documented.

Unfinished Chapter

Eight years ago, Clementine found an unfamiliar lump in her breast. She reported the condition to her physician, and, after testing, she was diagnosed with breast cancer at the ripe age of seventy-four. Instead of panicking or feeling depressed, Clementine reacted predictably by facing every challenge and obstacle with calm courage. She gave an account of her ordeal in her 1990 holiday letters that she sent out that same year. She was featured by an article in the *Chicago Defender* by Ada Phillips on the 26th of December, "Skinner tells how she underwent a major three and a half hour surgery in January, yet about two hours later, she chowed down 1,800 calories. Then during her six months of treatments afterwards, she still keeps on eating. And most importantly, after surgery she never had to take any medication for pain!" What could surely have been a personal tragedy turned into a heart-warming tale of triumph over cancer. Clementine is the first to admit that she is "funny like that". Her verve, her vitality, and her boundless energy are part and parcel of the woman named Clementine.

Clementine Anna Skinner's life is woven throughout the fabric of American moments. Her travels have taken her from prosperous times in American history to perilous times. She has witnessed segregation, desegregation, and resegregation. She has watched curriculum and classrooms change over the years. She is amazed by the advances and worried by the increasing challenges. Through all of the periodic stages, Dr. Clementine Skinner has remained optimistic and active through her roles as an involved, reform-minded educator, a devoted mother, a faithful and loving wife, a model Chicago citizen who worked actively in and out of educational circles in the hopes of making that difference. When asked the question: What do you want people to remember about your life and your accomplishments? Clementine never hesitated. "I hope that I have made a little bit of difference in those lives I've touched…I've always been available. I try to deliver. I try to give back something that was given to me. I hope somebody remembers I passed this way one time" (Skinner1998, May 12).

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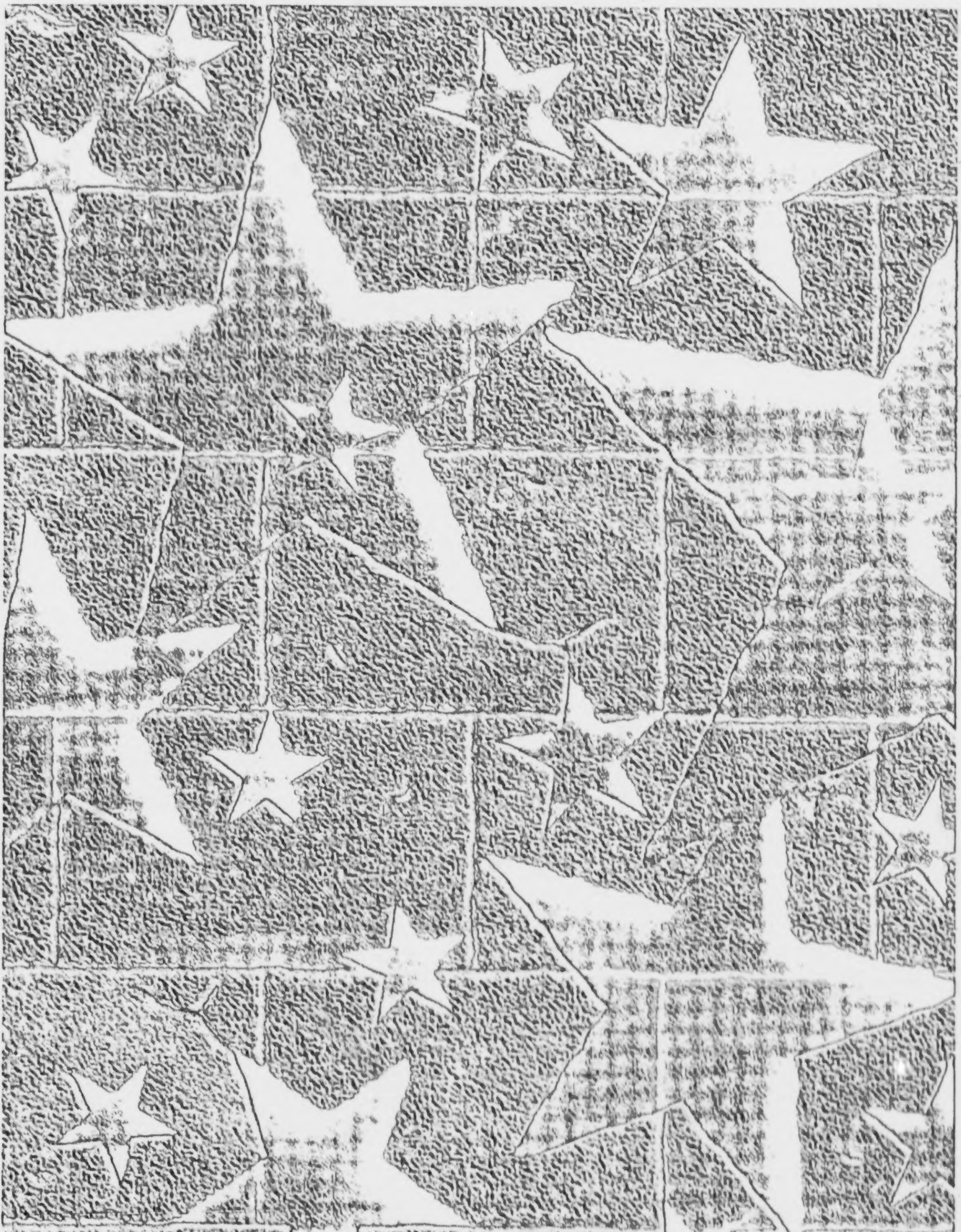

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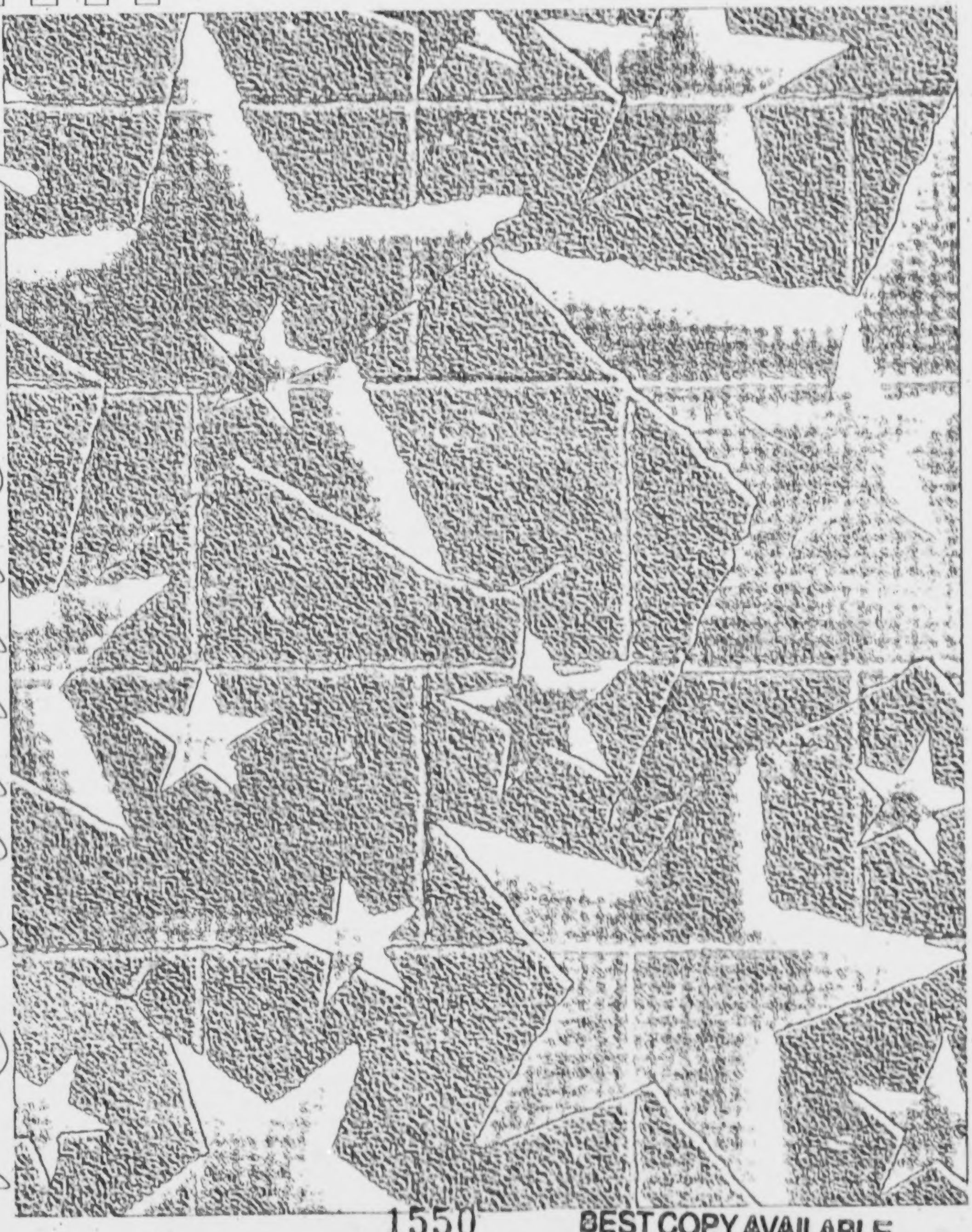
Volume 27



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North Carolina State University

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The *Journal* has published authors from disciplines ranging from political science to philosophy to marketing to instructional technology to adult education. Its editorial board consists of a diverse group of professionals who referee articles according to their expertise. While the main criterion of acceptance consists in a well articulated argument concerning an educational issue, the editors ask that all papers offer a historical analysis. Authors should contact the editor to receive a copy of the style sheet before writing the paper.

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American Educational History Journal
Volume 27 Number 1 2000

From the Editor

This is the first issue of the journal of the Midwest History of Education society under a new name, which the society believes more appropriately represents the breadth and depth of articles. Several people made possible this issue of the *American Educational History Journal*. The Provost of North Carolina State University, Dr. Kermit Hall, supported the project generously. The authors whose papers appear in these pages offered work of the highest quality. The editorial board and the associate editors worked diligently and carefully.

The *Journal* offers an important outlet for mature scholars and for students beginning professional careers. In these pages, as at the annual meeting of the Society, papers of all types appear together each reinforcing the other.

Anna V. Wilson
North Carolina State University
Raleigh, NC 27695-7801
anna_wilson@ncsu.edu
(919) 515-1744

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Race, Conflict and the Urban Catholic University: DePaul's Black Students in 1969

John L. Rury
DePaul University

In the Spring of 1969 African American students blockaded the doors of DePaul University's largest building, the newly constructed Schmidt Academic Center. They took this action after issuing a series of demands for changes in the university's curriculum, the faculty, and its relationship to the immediate neighborhood. Like similar building seizures at other institutions, this action prompted a series of events which revealed a great deal about the institution and the tenor of the times (Williamson, 1998). It also brought about many changes. And it highlighted issues which DePaul and other institutions of higher learning continue to wrestle with at present.

DePaul is a Roman Catholic institution, controlled historically by members of the Congregation of the Mission (popularly known as "Vincentians"). There is a peculiar history of African American students at DePaul, like other Catholic schools, a story which culminated in the Black student strike in the Spring of 1969. DePaul is also an urban institution, with a student body comprised historically of commuters from Chicago's white ethnic neighborhoods, enrolled at campuses in downtown Chicago and near Lincoln Park on the city's near north side. The DePaul experience, in that case, is somewhat distinctive, and differed from other institutions that underwent disruptions of this sort at the time. (Brisbane, 1974; Sitkoff, 1981) It provides a telling case study of institutional change in response to student activism in the era of the civil rights revolution.

DePaul has long been known as a school for first generation college students. Through much of its history, DePaul's students were the descendants of immigrants, most of them Catholic but significant numbers of others as well, particularly Jewish students. By and large, students from these groups did not question the university's authority in matters of the curriculum or on social issues. It was not until after the Second World War that African Americans began appearing in various branches of the university. The numbers of Black students was relatively low, however, until the 1960's, when more full time African American students began to enroll in the College of Arts and Sciences at Lincoln Park. And that is when things began to change.

The sixties, of course, was also a time of ferment on the nation's campuses, particularly in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement. As at other campuses, Black students at DePaul came to resent subtle signs of exclusion from the social and intellectual life of the university. And in the Spring of 1968 these feelings of discontent burst into the open, when Black students staged the first and only "strike" in the history of the university. As it turns out, this was a decisive turning point in the development of the institution.

Black Students at DePaul: A Brief History

Like other major urban Catholic universities, DePaul enrolled very few Black students before the Second World War. In the composition of its faculty and student body was a largely white ethnic institution. Virtually no African Americans were pictured in university yearbooks prior to that time, and former students interviewed from this period do not recall seeing any Blacks at the university. There is evidence of a few Black students enrolled in the Downtown College of Arts and Sciences in the 1930's, a division of the university which primarily served teachers seeking extra courses. There also were small numbers of students from other non-white groups: students from China, the Philippines and the Caribbean. But aside from these students, DePaul was an institution which mainly served Chicago's principal European ethnic groups prior to the 1940's. (Rury 1997, 1998)

DePaul was not unusual in this regard. Notre Dame historian Philip Gleason has noted that relatively few Black students attended Catholic universities before the war; indeed, enrollment of African American students was low or non existent at other private institutions of higher education at the time. (Gleason, 1995; Levine, 1986) Furthermore, other historians have documented the existence of tensions existing between Catholics and African Americans in Chicago, long before the violent clashes over housing integration and school bussing of the 1960's. There is even evidence of admissions policies at DePaul in the 1930's intended to discourage Blacks from attending. (McMahon, 1995; Elerelbacher, 1998) It is hardly surprising, in that case, that there is little evidence of Black enrollment at DePaul prior to the 1940s.

This began to change after the Second World War. There was a shift in public attitudes regarding race relations in the years following the war, partly fueled by popular revulsion at Nazi theories of racial superiority and the horror of their genocidal policies. President Truman sponsored the very first civil rights legislation in this period, including bans on racially restricted housing sales, and signed an executive order ending segregation in the armed forces. There was a feeling of new opportunities in the air for African Americans, particularly in the North. And larger numbers of Black students began appearing on college campuses. (Franklin, 1985; Lucas, 1995)

A part of the change in race relations was due to recognition of African American contributions to the war. Nearly a million Black men and women served in the armed forces during World War Two, and were subsequently eligible for GI benefits in the years which followed. One of the most important programs to serve veterans under the GI Bill was government subsidies for college tuition. This was a boon to colleges, but it also allowed many African American veterans to acquire a higher education. (Franklin, 1985; Olson, 1974)

DePaul was one of many colleges and universities that experienced a rapid increase in enrollments, including African Americans, following World War Two. In the Fall of 1949 the university conducted a survey of the various schools and colleges to determine the number of Black students. The largest numbers, well over 100, were located in the evening graduate school (which mainly served teachers) and College of Commerce. These schools were located in the Loop, and enrolled several thousand students, many of them veterans. In the College of Arts and Sciences at Lincoln Park, which primarily served younger students, there were just 28 African Americans, out of a total enrollment that approached a thousand. (DePaul University, 1948)

Black students were a small minority at DePaul, in that case, and most of them were adult veterans enrolled at the university's Lake Street campus. Still, their numbers were increasing. Three years later, the university reported counting nearly three hundred African American students, all but 34 located in the Loop. Again, the bulk of these students were adult veterans, most of them men, attending class in the evening. (DePaul, 1951)

Like other commuter universities at the time, DePaul provided relatively few services for students, and there is no record of any special support given to Black students. Frank Owens, who headed the university's office of Veteran Affairs, was the university's only Black administrator. And there were no African Americans on the full time faculty during the 1950's. (*DePaulian*, 1959) But because of the GI Bill and DePaul's success in attracting veterans, and perhaps because of Owens' efforts, Black enrollment increased for a time.

Eventually, however, the number of veterans declined at DePaul, as they did at other institutions, and the Black enrollment fell also. In the Fall of 1955 the university counted almost two hundred Black students, most of them at the Loop campus. Less than ten percent were veterans, and over forty percent were female. Four years later the number had dropped by about twenty five percent, as fewer Blacks enrolled in the university's downtown evening programs. (DePaul University, 1955, 1959)

While the bulk of DePaul's Black students enrolled in the Loop colleges, a small number enrolled at the university's uptown campus. All throughout the decade of the fifties, however, there was little increase in Black enrollment among the university's full time students at Lincoln Park. Although there was over a thousand students on the uptown campus for much of the decade, Black students never exceeded forty. An analysis of names in the university's 1955 yearbook indicates that most liberal arts students represented the city's major Catholic ethnic groups: Irish, Italians, Germans and Poles. While there were many student clubs, and an active fraternity and sorority life, relatively few Black students participated in such activities. And most of those who did were enrolled at the Loop campus. (Rury, 1998) Like many other institutions of higher learning in this period, DePaul had only started to address the difficult question of racial integration.

In September of 1960 a university administrator wrote to university President Comeford O'Malley, declaring that because there "is no accurate way of tabulating these numbers," the university would not collect statistics on Black students in the future. "The figures we now have," he added, "might well embarrass DePaul in its endeavor to serve all students equally." (Richardson, 1960) As the age of civil rights protest dawned in the United States, the university began to be self conscious about serving Black students. It was a concern which would grow in the years ahead.

A Changing Student Body and Social Protest

The decade of the sixties brought a new generation of students to DePaul and other colleges and universities. It was a time of social activism and protest over a variety of issues, particularly racial injustice. It was also a time when more traditional Black students were enrolling in institutions of higher learning. And this was the case at DePaul as well.

Because the university stopped collecting statistics on the numbers of Black students, it is difficult to document the growth of African American enrollment after 1960. In the Fall of 1969, following student protests, the university did conduct a census of Black students, and counted nearly five hundred. This, of course, was considerably more than the number reported ten years earlier--more than a three hundred percent increase. Although the report did *not provide* a breakdown by college, much of this growth probably occurred at Lincoln Park, where a majority of the university's full time students attended. If the numbers of Black students in the College of Arts and Sciences increased at about the same rate as the rest of the Black student population, African American students at the uptown campus probably numbered about 150. Because overall enrollments in the college grew slowly over this period, an increase of this magnitude pushed the proportion of Black students to roughly one in ten. (DePaul University, 1969; Rury 1998) This alone was a big change.

On the national scene and in the city of Chicago, of course, the decade of the sixties was also characterized by growing tensions over racial issues. The city's black population had expanded dramatically since the Second World War, to more than half a million. (Kleppner, 1985) This was a period marked by increased Black concern over educational equality, with large scale protests over school segregation and access to higher education. In Chicago there were massive protests in the early 1960's over the segregationist policies of public school superintendent Benjamin Willis. There also was a continuing controversy over racial discrimination in housing, and in 1966 Dr. Martin Luther King launched a campaign in Chicago which resulted in violent opposition from largely White Catholic neighborhoods. There were active chapters of the NAACP, CORE, the Urban League and other civil rights organizations in the city. And more militant organizations such as the Black Panther Party were also active in Chicago. (Anderson and Pickering, 1986) The generation of Black students that came to DePaul in the 1960's was acutely aware of the major issues of the day. And when they arrived at the university they discovered a number of issues to raise questions about.

Late in the decade, a survey of DePaul's African American students revealed a good deal of dissatisfaction with their experiences at DePaul. Respondents complained about feeling isolated from other Black and minority students, about the lack of attention to Black history in the curriculum, and about the way certain faculty members treated Black students. "There are constant reminders of minorities not being on the same level as whites, "wrote one Black student, "so they must put forth extra effort." A number complained about there being too little for Black and other minority students to do outside of classes, and the vast majority said they would welcome the opportunity to meet more minority students.(DePaul University, 1969)

It is difficult to say exactly when DePaul's Black students began to organize, but in the years following 1965 there was a new level of concern about questions of social justice on the campus. There is little question that DePaul's student activists were influenced by the Civil Rights movement and events on other campuses. During the 1967-68 academic year, there were growing signs of activism on the Lincoln Park campus, around issues ranging from the Vietnam War to equal rights. In 1967 DePaul's African American students established the university's first student organization dedicated to representing Black concerns on campus: the Black Student Union.(DePaul, 1967; Salounis, 1996) This was a critical step, and mirrored the formation of similar groups on other campuses across the country. Chief among the issues they were interested in was the university itself, and the way it treated students from minority group backgrounds--particularly African Americans, but other groups as well.

The Situation in 1968

In the Spring of 1968 a series of events began to unfold which eventually pulled DePaul into the growing national controversy over equal rights and racial discrimination. The university's Black student activists, dissatisfied with many aspects of the university, organized diligently to draw attention to their cause. And this marked a new era in the history of student life at DePaul.

There was a new atmosphere on DePaul's Lincoln Park campus in the latter sixties. Students were interested in a variety of issues, and the campus newspaper, The *DePaulia*, urged greater activism and debate in the student body. Forums on race relations and the Vietnam war in the opening months of 1968 were well attended and sparked discussion of national affairs. DePaul's first anti-war demonstrations were inspired by the Presidential "peace" candidacy of Eugene McCarthy in March, and in April McCarthy won a campus poll of student preferences among leading candidates, defeating Robert Kennedy and Richard Nixon. (*DePaulia*, 1968a, 1968b, 1968c, 1968d; Burciaga, 1996)) DePaul's students were closely attuned to events on the national stage, and some of them sought ways to bring these debates to the campus.

On May 1, 1968, Liberal Arts and Sciences Dean Edward Schillinger met with a delegation of "about twenty" Black students, led by James Hammonds, with a demand that representatives from the Black Student Union be appointed to university committees making policy recommendations regarding students and faculty. Not accustomed to being confronted by students, Schillinger was somewhat taken aback by the term "demand," but several days later expressed interest in finding a way for the BSU to be represented on student committees. (DePaul, 1969) It is not clear how this response was communicated to the Black students, but it marked the beginning of a long dialogue between the BSU and the university administration.

The events of early May 1968 were altogether unprecedented in the history of DePaul. The very idea of students issuing demands to the administration was unthinkable to earlier generations of DePaul students. But these were unusual times, and some of these students had new ideas. The most significant factor, however, was the presence of a large cadre of Black students who were determined to make the university a better place for all students, and particularly racial and ethnic minorities. It was emblematic of DePaul's Vincentian heritage that its leading administrators recognized the significance of this.

Unlike the responses of many other institutions to student protests such as these, DePaul's reaction was conciliatory. The university reached out to the BSU to establish a dialogue. Of particular importance were student concerns about curricular inequities: the lack of attention to African American history and other subjects reflecting the experiences and contributions of Blacks and other minorities, and the absence of Black faculty members and administrators. These were problems that DePaul's administration moved to correct, although many students did not feel that progress occurred fast enough.

Even if Black students expressed frustration with DePaul's administrators, there is considerable evidence that key university officials sympathized with many of the ideas the BSU represented. Early on, university President John Cortelyou recognized the need for changes in DePaul's curriculum. In a memo addressed to Vice President John Richardson dated May 1, the same day the BSU issued its first set of demands, Cortelyou put the matter in characteristically blunt terms. "Could it be that our whole liberal education is whitey oriented," he asked, "and that the Negroes will be really liberally educated if they get the message? Or should our liberal education have those ingredients that will let whitey know that the Negroes are people too, and that the lives and action of Negroes have been involved in the development of human history?" The answer to these questions was obvious to Father Cortelyou. "It seems to me," he declared, "that we have a real opportunity to have our Negro students be more intimately and more substantially incorporated in the mainstream of DePaul, and to have educational programs that will more fully liberate the mind of whitey." (Cortelyou, 1968)

To respond to the BSU demands, and any others that may have arisen, the university established a Committee on Human Relations (CHR). Chaired by Dean Schillinger and including representation from the BSU and other minority student groups, this body was supposed to look into the various issues raised by the BSU and other students and to make recommendations to the President. Meeting over the summer months and into the following school year, the CHR focused on curricular reform and improving conditions for minority students. By July the committee could point to special curriculum committees in the departments of history, psychology and sociology to develop and approve new courses reflecting the interests of minority students. In September the CHR issued a report listing a series of courses, old and new, which had been developed to address these concerns. The committee also noted efforts in the various departments to recruit Black and other minority faculty members, although it suggested that finding eligible candidates was difficult. In addition to this, the CHR investigated charges that Black and Hispanic students experienced discrimination when seeking housing in neighborhoods adjacent to the university. And it looked into ways of offering more extra-curricular activities for minority students. (DePaul, 1968)

It was a time of radical calls for change, and for the first time in its history DePaul was considering significant changes to its curriculum and policies to address the interests of a particular group of students. When the CHR issued subsequent reports they often appeared with bibliographies on African American history, urban sociology, studies of racial and ethnic discrimination and related topics. Like the rest of the academic world, the DePaul community was learning about these issues, and making their integration into the institutional culture a priority. All of this reflected a realization that such changes were long overdue, and that the university had been an unwitting contributor to a measure of social injustice.

In February 1969 Father Cortelyou wrote to Iowa Congressman William Scherle, who had requested information about student protests at colleges and universities across the country. "Like any other university," Cortelyou declared, "we recognize that we are sitting on a powder keg." But he quickly added that DePaul was working with the BSU and recognized their demands as "reasonable." For Cortelyou and other administrators and faculty members at DePaul, student concerns were more than a problem to be resolved with punitive federal legislation. They were a source of critical insights, an impetus to reform which would keep the institution evolving in a time of social upheaval. Cortelyou recognized that it was the university's ability to communicate with its students, and especially with African American and other minority students, which would determine much of its success in the years to come. (Cortelyou, 1969) And it was this perspective which ultimately guided the university's response to the challenges of the sixties.

Of course, the pace of change was uneven, and not everyone was satisfied with the university's response. Members of the BSU complained about resistance to change encountered among certain faculty members and in various departments. The BSU--along with others in the university community--also protested DePaul's lack of communication with community groups concerned about the university's expansion. This had become a heated issue with the demolition of housing for building the Schmidt Academic Center in 1967.(DePaul, 1969) Even though the university had opened a dialogue with its students, the potential for misunderstanding remained significant.

The Crisis of May 1969

In the opening months of 1969 members of the BSU were becoming frustrated. After working closely with the CHR, little seemed to be happening. The BSU also had not been assigned office space by the university, like other student groups. In the 1968 and 1969 DePaulian yearbooks, the BSU had been not listed as an official student organization. (Salounis, 1996) Many wondered whether most faculty, administrators and students at DePaul even cared about the issues the BSU had raised.

On Wednesday, May 7 members of the BSU staged a small rally in the SAC pit--at high noon--to read a new list of "demands" of the university. This time the list was much longer, and touched on many of the issues then become points of controversy among students across the country. The BSU declared itself against the Viet Nam War, and against military training on campus, particularly the ROTC. The other points concerned the university's policies regarding the neighborhood and minority students, especially Blacks and Puerto Ricans. The group demanded that the university "halt immediately" it program of expansion, calling it "a racist conspiracy" to force minority families out of Lincoln Park--a largely Hispanic and Black area at the time. It called for major curricular changes, to make the university "relevant to Black students needs," and the creation of several new programs to serve low income minority youth in the city. It also demanded "abolishment" of a lecture series on Municipal Government named after Mayor Richard J. Daley, whom they considered an anathema to the city's Black community. Finally the BSU also declared its vehement opposition to "institutionalized and individual racism at DePaul University and elsewhere. When Dean Schillinger received these demands he agreed to respond to them by noon the following day. (DePaul, 1969; *DePaulia*, 1969a)

The atmosphere on campus had become highly charged in the wake of these events, and the university's administration did not delay in answering the charges and demands issued by the BSU. On May 8 the BSU received a response, and again held a meeting in the SAC pit to discuss it. To begin, the university denied participation in any "racist conspiracy," calling such charges "gratuitous and libelous and... not substantiated with evidence." The university expressed willingness to "accept a program" to educate minority students, but noted that such programs faced great difficulties. It was pointed out that efforts to revise the curriculum had been hampered by lack of BSU cooperation, but added that the university "continues to invite positive recommendations by the students to assist the faculty and the administration in the improvement of its programs." In particular, it was noted that if Black students wished to contribute to this process, "their assistance will be appreciated." While the university maintained that ending the Daley lecture series (a one year program administered by the Political Science Department) would be an infringement of academic freedom, most of the other demands received positive responses. (DePaul, 1969)

At this point the crisis escalated quickly. Later in the afternoon of May 8, members of the BSU went to Dean

Schillinger's office and asked to see university president John Cortelyou, C.M.. A meeting was scheduled for 6:30 on the fifth floor of SAC, but Father Cortelyou did not appear. At 8:30 that evening members of the BSU and students supporting them "secured" the fifth floor of the building, and after classes had finished they took possession of the rest of the building, blocking or barricading doors so that students and university personnel could not enter. Within a span of barely two day of seeing the new demands issued by the BSU, DePaul had joined the growing list of institutions during this period experiencing student unrest. (DePaul, 1969; *DePaulia*, 1969a)

The immediate confrontation precipitated by the take-over of SAC did not last long. Although there was a tense stand-off with White students attempting to gain access to the building on the morning of May 9, and university officials threatened to seek an injunction to open the building by force, the BSU abandoned the takeover shortly after noon that day and held another rally. There was great interest across the campus in the issues raised by the BSU, and hundreds of students came to find out what was going on. Representatives from the Black Panthers and Young Lords, concerned about the university's impact on the neighborhood, also attended and spoke. If the goal of the takeover was to draw attention to the BSU's position, it had clearly succeeded. (*DePaulia*, 1969a; Salounis, 1996)

Student opinion was divided regarding the BSU's demands and actions, but most students appear to have supported the call for greater curricular focus on problems of discrimination and inequality. On the following Tuesday the Student Activity Council, the principal student governance body at the time, voted to support the BSU demands for curricular changes and establishing special programs for minority youth. For its part, the Committee on Human Relations resumed its dialogue with the BSU, and determined to look into inequities in the curriculum and school policies.DePaul, 1969; *DePaulia*, 1969a) Even though there had been some heated moments, it appeared that a resolution to the conflict was at hand.

Just when the situation seemed to be stabilized, however, a new crisis erupted. Late in the afternoon of May 14, a week after the BSU had publicly issued its demands, arsonists struck the old Lyceum Building (the former library), which contained the university bookstore and the BSU offices. Although no one was harmed and it was never determined who set the fire, the BSU declared it a racist attack, and at a rally two days later the BSU and other student groups called for a general student strike across the university. (*DePaulia*, 1969b)

For two days a minority of students at the Lincoln Park campus did not attend classes, and pickets circled the entrances to SAC and other university buildings. Even if most students did not observe the strike, however, many went to workshops on institutional racism conducted by the BSU the following Monday, and a rally held at noon. Many students were supportive of the quest to improve conditions for Black and other minority students at the university. And a resolution signed by several dozen faculty members also expressed support. (DePaul, 1969; *DePaulia*, 1969b) There can be little doubt that the arsonist attack on university property, and particularly the BSU office, helped to build sympathy for Black students and contributed to broad endorsement of the BSU position. In the space of a little more than two weeks, DePaul's Black students had mobilized a significant portion of the university community behind their concerns.

As short as it was, the BSU building seizure and strike of 1969 had a major impact on DePaul. It opened lines of communication between the university and minority students, and established the BSU as a major element of campus life. Shortly after the events of May 1969, the BSU reported a membership of nearly one hundred, about one in five Black students at DePaul, making it one of the largest student organizations. More radical Black students split away from the BSU to form another organization which was even more militant in its demands. (DePaul, 1969) And other groups of students brought new proposals to the table, including from calls for additional special programs to serve the disadvantaged. Students also continued to exhibit interest in the Vietnam war, and a chapter of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was formed at DePaul. (*DePaulian*, 1969) It was a time of rising social consciousness, and at DePaul's Lincoln Park campus students confronted the issues that defined the period. Even if DePaul was not a major center of student protest at this time, it certainly was not isolated from it. And the institution could no longer maintain that students did not have a say in the curriculum--and other areas of university policy-making--as had been the case in the past.

The Legacy of 1969: Students, Diversity and the University

The student protest era lasted only a short time, but its impact was significant. The Black Student Union remained active for several years, but by the early seventies it numbered only a handful of active members and was no longer a major force on the campus. The Vietnam war was an issue for some students, and there were lively demonstrations in the Spring of 1970 (at the time of the Kent State shootings) and later (around the bombing of Cambodia). (*DePaulia*, 1970) But these were rather isolated episodes and had little long term effect on the institution. Rather, the legacy of the period springs directly from the events of 1968 and 1969: students--at DePaul and elsewhere--demanded a voice in campus affairs. And because they had something valuable to say, the institution stood ready to listen.

DePaul has changed a great deal in the years since 1969. It has grown, and a new generation of students has arrived with each succeeding decade. African American students have continued to be an integral part of DePaul's student body, and in recent years the number of Hispanic students has increased significantly. (Meister, 1998) The university has not experienced demonstrations as dramatic as the BSU seizure of SAC in the intervening years. But the principle of the administration and faculty listening to what students have to say about the curriculum, and about university policies that affect their lives, is alive and well at DePaul today. So too are departmental curriculum committees, and courses featuring African American history and other fields of research which examine the experiences and contributions of Blacks and other minority groups. This is another tangible legacy of the events in 1968 and 69.

This is not to say that problems do not continue to exist. In the Spring of 1995 controversy erupted once again over campus police treatment of African American students, and a number of other issues quite similar to those raised almost three decades earlier. And the DePaul tradition of conflict resolution through dialogue--first employed in 1969--helped to resolve the immediate crisis in this instance as well. (*DePaulia*, 1995) These conflicts and the dialogue which follow them mark the on-going process of education that diversity entails, a point first recognised some thirty years ago. It is a process which has proven essential to sustaining an institutional culture which makes diversity a critical value. And through this the university continues to serve the interests of all its students, and it provides an atmosphere conducive to learning--for students, faculty and the administration alike. This is what DePaul's Black students demanded in 1969, after all, and what Father Cortelyou and other university leaders recognized as necessary. The lessons of their confrontation and subsequent dialogue continue to resonate today.

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A One-Light Town and a World War: School Stories From World War II

Charlotte Jean Anderson
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A town was born July 24, 1880 when the families of Fergus Kyle and David E. Moore, along with Miss M. E. Moore, deeded two hundred acres of land to the International and Great Northern Railroad Company (Strom, 1981, 30). This prairie town named Kyle is nestled along the southern tip of the Texas blackland prairies where the dark soil is especially adaptable to the producing of small grain crops. Farming has been a main industry of the town, while the school has been a principle employer of Kyle citizens (Miller, 1950, 4).

From its inception, the people of Kyle attempted to operate free public schools, though classes were often dismissed for a two- to three-month period so that operating costs could be obtained. The most successful operation of all was the Independence Hall School, originally located between Mountain City and Kyle and moved to Kyle's lot thirteen in 1883. In 1890, a new building was built on lot thirteen which stood until 1910 when it was dismantled to make room for a larger, more modern school (Strom, 134). On April 1, 1913, Kyle became an independent school district with many other districts joining from Fairview, Hemphill, Wiegand, Goforth, and Blanco Star(135). Later, Uhland high school transferred to Kyle(136). In 1937, a $25,000 addition to Kyle Independent School District was made which included a home economics cottage and a gymnasium with seating for five hundred. The buildings were constructed of central Texas limestone and were projects of the Works Progress Administration (Miller, 59). By 1950, the town had grown to a population of 892 and had a school faculty of twelve members, nine of whom held a Master of Arts degree(Miller 3, 60). In 1945, Mr. James Childs presided as superintendent of schools. At the onset of World War II, Kyle had an approximate enrollment of two hundred students(Strom, 136).

Minnie Jo Bagley was born on April 19, 1914 near Bishop, Texas and attended Martindale Schools through tenth grade and San Marcos schools for the eleventh grade. At age sixteen, she began college at Southwest Texas State Normal College, just ahead of the Depression. Due to lack of funds, she did not return for college the second year but returned home to help her father on the farm. When an uncle heard of this, he loaned her seventy-five dollars and told her to get back to school; she did, and received her teaching certificate at age eighteen. During her early teaching years, separate schools existed for whites, Hispanics, and African-American students. Minnie Jo's first job was in the "Mexican School" in Martindale where she taught for $365 a year. With this income, she purchased her first automobile-- "a tan and brown four-door something-or-other!"(Minnie Jo Schmeltekopf, 1999).

After two years in the Mexican School, Minnie Jo decided it was time for something new and accepted a position in a two-teacher school just outside of Lockhart; later she taught in Uhland for $95 a month where she stayed for four years, all the while continuing with her education. It was in her third year of teaching in Uhland that Minnie Jo met Walter Schmeltekopf at his girlfriend's house. "That was the end of the girlfriend. We went to a Valentine's party, and married the following December." She completed her fourth year at Uhland, then resigned to start a family (Minnie Jo Schmeltekopf, 1999).

Family didn't come, however, and Mrs. Schmeltekopf continued pursuing her schooling, earning a Bachelor of Arts in English in 1939. The standard at this time opposed the hiring of married instructors, but the outbreak of World War II altered this practice. The current teacher of the Mexican School at that time notified the trustees on a Thursday that she was leaving Friday to take a job with the government in a Japanese Internment Camp. In a pickle, the school called married lady Minnie Jo to begin work that Monday; she completed that school year and was moved to teach in the white school the following September. "I studied, ohhh, I studied, because the superintendent came to me and said, 'You have one more credit of science than I have, so you'll teach the science.'" The next year, she was asked to teach English since three of the previous English teachers had become pregnant over the past year; the superintendent said, "I've GOT to have an English teacher that's not going to get pregnant!" Teaching English sent Minnie Jo back to Southwest to take one more course, certifying her to teach high school (Minnie Jo, 1999).

At this time, there were about fifty students in high school. Members of the faculty consisted of the superintendent, principal, boys' coach, home economics teacher, and Minnie Jo. Minnie Jo assisted as the girls' volleyball coach, taught physical education, led the senior play, pep squad, and choir, and oversaw the students' weekly submissions to the local newspaper. During wartime, there was such a shortage of gasoline that the students would get together and "come up with a place to go; and they ALWAYS had a place to go. They'd go to the superintendent and ask(to use the school bus for transportation)." Though the superintendent approved these outings, neither he nor the principal wanted to supervise the students, so Minnie Jo and Walt would chaperone the escapades into Austin for plays and other events. Minnie Jo taught English for five years and finally became pregnant with her first child. When she told the superintendent, "he went home and rolled; he just couldn't get over it!"(Minnie Jo, 1999).

War remembrances are that there were shortages of many things, including farm equipment. "Things would break and just have to be left alone; not everything could be replaced." She did not recall curriculum changes during the war, nor much disruption or great worry due to the war. They did have a curriculum guide that listed required items to be studied, "so many Shakespeare plays, and so on." During her teaching , teachers were allowed to make one reproduction of a paper per day, and the curriculum required more intensive writing than at present: examinations consisted of written answers as opposed to multiple choice or fill-in-the-blank responses. A much wider variety of courses are offered now than were mid-century. During her teaching years, the students spent one semester studying grammar and the second on literature with one year focusing on English literature and a second upon American literature(Minnie Jo, 1999).

While at the Mexican School, Minnie Jo said, "I sort of remember we improvised a whole lot," and she pulled from her prior years of lessons for teaching. She and one other teacher taught at the Mexican School, Minnie Jo teaching the younger group and the second teacher leading the older students. Minnie Jo does not recall teaching children much older than twelve since the older children often left to work in the fields. The two teachers focused upon teaching English, writing, spelling, and simple math; she recalls no science curriculum. The children sat in rows of desks and brought their own pencils, paper, scissors, and other simple supplies. At recess, she can recall that they loved to play baseball! No school, white or Mexican, supplied lunch for the children before or during the war; the Mexican children "brought their tortillas."(Minnie Jo, 1999).

After the war, the morning service at a local church was changed from German to English. The evening service, however, continued to be led in German. A last item of interest is that Minnie Jo attended high school with Lyndon B. Johnson's brother, Sam, and knew his sister, Lucy, well(Minnie Jo Schmeltekopf, 1999).

Kathryn Ann Rogers was born on July 23, 1910 and raised in Lockhart. At age ten, her father moved the family to Buda where he tried to grow cotton but had little luck. The family then relocated to Kyle where Kathryn has now lived for forty-seven years. When moving, she skipped the fourth grade, making a high school graduate of her at age fifteen. "This was a problem," (to begin college at fifteen) "because, you know, students have other things on their minds, at fifteen...!" She began college at Southwest Texas State Teachers College, taking her bachelor's and master's degrees from the school. She planned to pursue a doctorate, but became too popular as a piano teacher to have the time(Kathryn Ann Rogers, 1999).

Kathryn spent forty-two years in the teaching field: one in Fentress, two in London, outside of Corpus Christi, and the remaining years between Kyle and Buda schools. In all her years of teaching, she never filled out an application, held an interview, or developed a resume. In Fentress she taught third grade in the morning and high school English in the afternoon. In London, she also taught high school English, then returned to Kyle where she took a job with the government for a time. Later in Kyle, she began teaching music in the schools. To handle some unruly seventh graders, she was asked to move to junior high for a time, and finally she taught in the elementary grades where she spent the majority of her career. She had about thirty students in her class. It was during the Second World War that Kathryn was teaching English and music. She does not recall much alteration in her teaching during the war years. One vivid memory she has is of the one (and only) time she received a slight reprimand from a principal. The story is that a class of students was eating lunch out in the hall, and that Kathryn poked her "beautiful, gold-handled umbrella" at one of the students in jest as she passed by; all the children laughed. Their teacher--also the principal's wife--did not find the disruption amusing and "blessed out" Kathryn for disturbing her class. Kathryn responded by saying that she was taught that "meals were to be a happy time." The next day, the principal announced that no class would any longer be allowed to eat lunch in the hall. When the schools first began offering meals, the first food provided was cornbread and beans, with chili following soon after (Rogers, 1999).

Kathryn can recall being very nervous about the counselors coming to observe her teaching, though none corrected any of her methods. She drilled her students in multiplication facts and other areas. "I don't think I could go back to teaching (now) if I had a chance, because I was too engrossed in seeing that they learned these things. And we stressed writing back then." Kathryn's mother, Mrs. Willy Allen, had also been a teacher, and Kathryn's father "thought she was it...so, I had no choice but to be a teacher. But I'm glad!" Kathryn's mother taught in Caldwell county. The unruly umbrella mentioned earlier originally belonged to Mrs. Allen(Rogers, 1999).

Our next neighbor was a Kyle high school student during World War II. She remembers the Kyle school building being made of brick with classrooms with hardwood floors; hallways and restrooms had floors of smooth, waxed, red cement and she recalls thinking that the school was pretty and clean smelling. Apparently there was a problem with the boiler room since every time a good rain came, the room flooded, resulting in the cancellation of school--"(I was) elated every time!" Students had very little special equipment--pencils, paper, and blackboards consisted of most of the materials used. She does not remember a reduction in the use of paper, but "we were always economical with everything we had." She recalls little disruption in school activities as a result of the war. The boys played six-man football and basketball, but there was no basketball for the girls because it was considered too rough. Several banquets were held each year: the junior-senior banquet, the sweetheart banquet, and others. These were fancy affairs for which the girls spent long hours getting their gowns together and decorating the banquet area. She recalls that "we dressed up more then, it seems; we really wanted to look special for these events."(Neighbor, 1999).

Small classes of nine or ten students composed most rooms. During the war, it was difficult to get teachers; one friend's mother came to teach after having been out of the field for many years. She recalls having no male teachers for two years and that some science and math courses were left out for a year or more due to lack of instructors. Upon her entrance to college, she struggled terribly with her science and would have failed were it not for her roommate's tutoring, for the high school science teacher Kyle managed to obtain was not competent to teach in that field. In English class, students began writing fiction stories about spies after war was declared on Germany. She recalls that some of her classmates had very good mysteries! A new emphasis upon physical fitness was begun and a set of warm-up exercises came from "some Washington D.C. department"; she remembers executing "butterfly wing" arm exercises. Home economics was available, but no agricultural or "shop" courses were offered; with many students still helping on farms, however, the concept of studying "ag" in school seemed unnecessary.(Neighbor, 1999).

"I remember that we did not like conscientious objectors at all. We also had open-heated discussions about the enemy--I hated Hitler and the Japanese. We all loved President Roosevelt, and I cried when he died. But I can remember later when I found out that he had a mistress, I just couldn't believe it. That broke my heart that he would do that, because to us--he was everything." Great reverance was shown to those killed in action and lists of former students lost in the war were posted in school(Neighbor, 1999).

Outside of school, this student moved in with her sister to keep her two children while the sister worked. The student fed and bathed them, helped them with their homework, and put them to bed each night. She can remember the poster of Uncle Sam at the post office whose eyes caught you from every angle, declaring, "I want you!", and the trains moving through town, loaded with scrap metal. Overall, "life moved slower in those days--getting a hamburger was a treat", and she and her friends spent time riding bikes and going for ice-cream. Once a month, one of her friends went to San Antonio for orthodontist appointments; she and another girlfriend were allowed out of school to go along: "we wore our best clothes on those excursions into the city."(Neighbor, 1999).

"I was also involved in some volunteer group where we were to knit for the military. I was issued thread and four steel needles to knit a cap--don't think I ever finished it! It was knit, pearl--I didn't gain much skill." Her sister handled the sugar rationing by concocting a cake sweetened with syrup. Family members lent tires to one another for trips. She did not lose any close family members to the war, but for several months, they failed to hear from her brother-in-law; "we suffered constant agony for fear that he had been killed, and a great cloud hung over the house." The man had not been killed, but was injured(Neighbor, 1999).

Juliann Schmeltekopf Magdalena was the only child of five who didn't have to pick cotton! Her sisters helped in their father's fields due to shortages of labor, and her oldest brother, Lawrence Schmeltekopf, was permitted to remain home to help with the farm. Juliann remembers "big rations" on sugar, tires, and other things. Though much remained the same, a significant alteration due to the war was that "you just had to do without." Due to the use of silk in parachutes, women's hosiery became scarce to nonexistent. Juliann recalls a thick make-up product for "painting" legs so that it appeared that one were wearing hose, "and then we'd draw a line up the back of our legs to look like the seam." Just how the ladies prevented this invention from smearing, she could not recall!(Magdalena, 1999).

School memories are that she took no general science in high school because all the male teachers went to war. Black curtains were required to be hung from the windows for black-outs, for which they practiced by turning out lights and pulling the shades. She was a senior in 1947 and recalls the senior trip which they funded by collecting newspaper and scrap iron, and saving gas stamps. Her father was the bus driver, and the class traveled to Carlsbad Caverns in the school bus. On the trip, they drove to White's City and went across to Mexico where they had some "wonderful lemonade!" She remembers that in one of the restaurants, the tables were just covered in dust from the Texas storms. The second day they toured the Caverns and then returned home after a second night. Upon Juliann's entrance to Southwest Texas State Teachers College, she remembers that there "were few boys in college."(Magdalena, 1999).

Nancy Kercheville Elliott's father managed a Pontiac agency in San Marcos, Texas, but when the war put an end to the production of cars and tires, he closed shop for a time and managed his brother's Red and White store while the brother went off to war. At fourteen years of age, Nancy went to work at the store counting ration stamps and meat tokens. She remembers several items being rationed including cokes, mayonnaise, shortening, and canned fruits. She does not recall people fearing losing the war, but she did fear her uncles not returning--four left to fight. Many of the male teachers left the schools for the war, and one Kyle elementary teacher was killed at Pearl Harbor(Elliott, 1999).

A highlight of high school days was the boys' basketball team. Occasionally, friends would go to a movie, "we could walk everywhere in Kyle. I remember learning to jitterbug by juke box at the Arrowhead Cafe by the railroad tracks; now that was fun!"(Elliott, 1999).

Ethel Louise Dupree Simon was born in Elgin, Texas and moved to Kyle with her folks in 1935. Graduating from high school in 1944, her story is more grim than the aforementioned. As a senior, they had no sports and no class trip. One night, the football coach was drafted, leaving the school with no athletics; the agricultural teacher was also drafted and later killed in action. At her English teacher's recommendation, Louise left school in February to work for the San Marcos Army Air Force as a clerk typist. Possessing strong grades, Louise was still allowed to graduate that May of 1944(Simon, 1999).

"We had to cut back so much. There were rations on sugar, coffee, tires, gasoline. My grandparents had chickens and we wore clothes sewn from the feedsack that my mother made. If you washed them enough times, they would get soft. Later, I learned to sew in home economics--to sew, knit, and cook-- and I made my own clothes." Kyle also had a cannery where townspeople could preserve items to have on hand(Simon, 1999).

A cherished memory Louise has of that time is the music of the big bands: "Now, that's the best music anybody could ever listen to--I suppose you like today's music--but Glen Miller, Tommy Dorsey, Harry James; wonderful!" She and her husband, Red, splurged to see *Me and My Gal* for a first date. Red graduated in 1942 and served in the army but never left to fight. They married in 1948 and purchased Louise's childhood home in Kyle for their own in 1950 where they live today. Though the war years dampened many facets of school life for her and others, courageous optimism refuted self-pity. "It didn't hurt us--in my feedsack clothes. It didn't hurt us."(Simon, 1999).

Evelyn Bristow Schmeltekopf recalls a number of changes due to the war. Wooden wheels replaced steel on her rollerskates, and band woodwind players had difficulty finding reeds. Specific coupon allotments were required for buying certain items, and for a time, Evelyn wore a right shoe attached to its sole by tape; her mother tried to disguise the tape with polish, but Evelyn was still mortified! Finally sufficient coupons were collected for her family to purchase a new pair(Evelyn Schmeltekopf, 1999).

News was censored and weather reports ceased; Evelyn's mother searched high and low for white nylon stockings as part of her required nursing uniform. Oleo margarine was marketed as a butter substitute and Evelyn and her siblings battled over whose turn it was to "color" the spread with the packet of yellow powder! Finally the family bought "a beautiful Jersey cow named Blondie--no more Oleo for us!"(Evelyn Schmeltekopf, 1999).

Each Friday at school, Evelyn purchased ten-cent savings stamps to paste into her book, and as a member of a Girl Scout troop, Evelyn distributed cookies and cupcakes to troops who stopped in town. If the train went through non-stop, citizens lined the walk to wave flags. Memories of the post office include posters of Uncle Sam admonishing that "Loose lips can sink ships" while holding up the "V" sign for victory, and another of Adolph Hitler with an oversized ear, gathering information from "loose lips". "I don't remember ever thinking that the United States could lose the war. There would be setbacks and we would have special prayers for the troops, but the ultimate outcome was never doubted in our house. My father, who had served in the navy during World War I, said we would win and that settled it for me(Evelyn, 1999).

"I remember a neighbor who hung a picture of her son in the window after he was killed in action. The war took on new meaning for me after that; I guess for the first time I realized that war was not just an exciting adventure, that people I knew were dying."(Evelyn, 1999).

Neighbor Two attended the black school in Kyle during the war. A ready-learner, she acquired reading skills before entering school from watching her mother teach her older sister. Thus, Neighbor Two began school at age six but was immediately advanced to the third grade:

> "I couldn't carry all my books!" Children purchased their own pencils and paper. The principal and teachers were "colored" and there were, as she recalls, two rooms to the schoolhouse with grades first through seventh offered. "It was rough; we had very little. The principal would try to get the things for us from the other schools--we had to take leavin's. We don't really like to talk about it--it was their idea. It's a sore subject. But we just were thankful we got this far, because there was not a thing we could do. It was rough. But we made it!"(Neighbor Two, 1999).

Beatrice Ortiz attended the Mexican School in Kyle during the war. Born in 1939, she and her parents were raised in Kyle. Beatrice says that the school had no running water or indoor plumbing. Beatrice and her siblings walked at least two miles to school each day and "we didn't miss much--rain or cold, we went." Hours of school were eight o'clock A.M. to three o'clock P.M. and children were provided with texts; lunches were offered but were too costly for most of the students who instead brought lunch from home. The Mexican School held grades first through third only; at the fourth grade level, Hispanics were integrated with whites. When asked if she felt ostracized or ridiculed at the white school, Beatrice replied that she "didn't remember that too much, because I was more paying attention to my work." There was one Hispanic teacher, Sarah Ortunio, at the Mexican campus at that time, and the other personnel were white. "All the teachers were real nice and very friendly to me," Beatrice said. Teachers stressed teaching English since all the children came to school speaking only Spanish. "Mrs. Ortunio said I was a good reader--that's because I would read my sister's books. She wanted to move me up to second grade, but I wanted to finish first grade. We had lots of homework and I read at home a lot. History and English were very hard for me, but I really liked spelling and math. I would win contests in spelling. My parents couldn't help us with our work because they didn't know English, plus they were working--so they weren't very involved in school much. That's why I told my kids, 'Don't think I don't care (about your school), but I had to do it on my own,' and I expected them to do it on their own, too."(Ortiz, 1999).

Beatrice's father passed away at the age of 36 and the five Ortiz children went to work in the fields. "If I had to live life again, I'd go to school more. But I got married too young (age 14, sixth grade); they wouldn't let us go to school after we got married, I guess because it was a bad influence (on others)."(Ortiz, 1999).

In 1945, Beatrice was six years old. "I remember my mom had these stamps, but I didn't know what for! We only had one pair of shoes for the whole year, and now--?!?" Perhaps war times weren't so very different for her family than peace time. In regard to the proposed Y2K problem, she added, "They're saying all this stuff about how we're not gonna have electricity, no water--I told my husband, 'I remember when we didn't have water or light.' When it rained, we saved the water to bathe and to wash. So, to me it's not gonna be different (than old times)!"(Ortiz, 1999).

Regarding rural schools of that era, the Charter of Education for Rural Children recommended that local areas of administration be large enough to provide modern educational systems and to guarantee an American standard of educational opportunity. Such educational opportunities were said to include access to education in "modern school buildings" for nine months per year, complete with health services, vocational guidance, library facilities, recreational activities, transportation, and school lunches where necessary(Kandel,1957, 64). Nationwide, the evaluation of teaching material and methodology was encouraged in terms of its contribution to winning the war(Stanford

Workshop on Education for War and Peace, 1942, 33). "In all activities, emphasis should be placed on the conservation of all resources, human and material, and on the efficient utilization of these resources at all times in the productive war effort."(Kandel, 1948, 27). More specifically, questions asked at the Sixth Annual Conference of Reading were: 'What can we do to meet the wartime need for efficient readers?' and 'How shall we make effective use of maps and globes?'(Gray, 1943, 274). World War II heightened concern over reading since many drafted men could not meet the standard of functional literacy which should have been attained after four years of education(Kandel, 1957, 120). A subject area enhanced by the war was social studies; price control and rationing were suggested as topics of study for every grade level(Field, 1994, 448). Social Studies teachers were also urged to regularly instruct pupils about the proper care of supplies and play equipment to prevent unneccesary damage(Field, 451). Geography studies escalated with the war with Allied nations more frequently discussed than others(Field, 456). History and citizenship education were heightened, and children learned the marching songs to all four branches of the armed services(Tuttle, 1993, 119). School mathematics found a sure foundation at the close of the war(Davis, 1993, 121). Increased emphases were made upon physical and vocational education, and students received academic credit for parades, scrap drives, and calisthenics(Davis, 114). At the secondary level, occupational guidance was emphasized to encourage boys and girls in preinduction training and occupational training; "every young person must be regarded as a reservist in preparation for the armed forces and the war industries."(Kandel, 1948, 21).

School children were made to feel that their service, sacrifice, and dedication were important to the war effort; older rural school children within two miles of school were requested to walk in order to save bus use(Cyr, 1943, 48). To be certain, children's school activities were also used as means of stimulating adults to action(Cyr, 11,12). Some responsibilities of the schools were set forth as being to "guarantee children adequate protection,...(and) intellectual participation", protection referring to frequent air raid drills and the provision of gas masks and identification tags, and "participation" materializing as intensely propagandistic efforts reflecting an ideological certainty about what the United States was to be in the minds of all its citizens(Tuttle, 115). Government bodies, educational associations, and magazine articles lauded wartime aims of the school(Tuttle, 116). School-age children shared not only a sense of unity and invincibility but also one of moral and military superiority(130). Certainly the curriculum changes of wartime extended beyond classroom doors to improve civilian morale and work towards unifying national purpose(Davis, 116).

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The "New Education" in Photographs and Words: Four Superb Booklets, But a Failed Publishing Dream

O. L. Davis, Jr.
The University of Texas at Austin

The eighteen photographs published in the January 1900 issue of *The Ladies Home Journal* claimed instant national attention. Each portrayed Washington, DC, schoolchildren and teachers engaged in a pedagogic activity. One, for example, depicted Kindergarteners tending their school garden. Several depicted schoolchildren on field studies at places such as a vegetable market, a museum, a quarry, and the zoo. Others showed children measuring spaces, engaged in physical fitness drills, cooking food, and observing science objects. With their captions, these photographs brought pictorial specificity to the abstractions of the New Education slogan in American schooling. They signaled, in addition, another achievement by Frances Benjamin Johnston, the nation's foremost female photographer. They were only a small number from a special collection of photographs that she had taken in the Washington, DC, schools. All 350 photographs in that collection would constitute the centerpiece of the Washington, DC, schools' exhibit at the international exposition in Paris during the summer of 1900 ("The New Ideas in Teaching Children," 1900; Daniel and Smock, 1974; Davis, 1999).

When Richmond (VA) publisher B. F. Johnson saw the published images, he quickly wrote to the photographer. After a short exchange of letters, Johnson visited Miss Johnston at her DC studio and looked at the entire collection of her photographs taken in the DC schools. Miss Johnston apparently suggested that he publish the photographs in book form. Having seen the stunning images, Publisher Johnson's entrepreneurial imagination immediately blossomed (BFJ to FBJ, 25 January 1900, 19 February 1900, 28 February 1900)

Johnson recognized that no set of school photographs equaled the images that he saw – neither in quality nor in number. Moreover, to fulfill their original purpose, these images depicted white and African-American children in both elementary and secondary schools and in all branches of the curriculum. Johnson sketched out an ambitious publication project with photographer Johnston. Subsequently, he and Miss Johnston agreed to a contract whereby Johnson would purchase prints for use in the series of booklets at a price of $3.00 each and would pay Miss Johnston a 3% royalty on the wholesale price of all books sold (Contract, 5 April 1900). Although Johnson projected his eventual purchase of at least 256 photographic prints, he paid Miss Johnston on receipt of the prints. This financial commitment likely was a substantial investment for Johnson's publishing firm.

Publisher Johnson's plan called for the production of a 16-booklet series to carry the title, "The New Education Illustrated". Each of the 34-page booklets would include a preface, facing pages of text and photograph, and a bibliography. The projected books included the following titles: Primary Education, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Institutional Life, Nature Study, Physical Culture, School Games, Sewing, Cooking, Manual Training, Drawing and Clay Modeling, Laboratory Work in the High School (I and II), High School Athletics, and Normal School Work. Of these titles, only five would deal at all with secondary education (Manual Training, Drawing, Laboratory Work in the High School (I and II) and High School Athletics (Westcott, 1900). Conspicuously missing from the titles and, also, from Johnston's entire collection of photographs is explicit attention to high profile school subjects like reading, composition, and speaking (in elementary schools) and mathematics and both English and foreign/classical languages and literature (in secondary schools). To be sure, some attention to reading and composition at the primary level was apparent, but almost no attention at higher grades. This absence likely constituted an Achilles heel to both the advocacy and practices of the New Education. Also, it may have detracted from sales of the booklets.

Johnson set to the task of production. He knew that Miss Johnson would deliver promptly the photographs that he needed. He also claimed the financial support of his firm's directors. He established, however, what became an unreasonably short production schedule. He especially wanted the booklets available for purchase at the meeting of the National Education Association, the nation's largest meeting of educators, to be held in Charleston (SC) in July 1900 (George J. Ramsey to FBJ, 9 June 1900).

Johnson proceeded deliberately to sign an individual to write the booklets' narratives. He followed Johnston's advice and contacted Edith C. Westcott, principal of DC's Western High School. In short order, she agreed to write the needed texts (BFJ to Edith C. Westcott, 13 March 1900). Westcott was a sound choice for authorship. She knew the DC schools well, enthusiastically accepted their philosophy, and strongly advocated their practices ("The Founding of Western," c.1940). As a busy principal, she could work on the books' manuscripts only after school hours and weekends. By late May 1900, nevertheless, she had sent manuscripts for five booklets to Richmond (Edith C. Westcott to FBJ, 27 May 1900). She may have completed her authorship of the text for all sixteen booklets in the series a month later (BFJ to FBJ, 30 June 1900).

Clearly, a variety of circumstances had converged to make possible this major publishing prospect. B. F. Johnson and his firm enthusiastically provided the production facilities and financing for the high quality publication of marketable products. Also, he perceived that nationwide public interest in the New Education would embrace, and buy, Johnston's superb photographs. Westcott's substantial practical experience with New Education practices in the schools of the nation's capitol city added credibility to the entire undertaking.

The New Education, to be sure, was a slogan more than it was a description. Nevertheless, it called attention to the late-nineteenth century transformation of the nation's small, mainly rural, common schools into increasingly centralized county and city graded school systems. Also, the New Education sought for pupils their own personal inquiries rather than their acceptance only of memorized set exercises, their development of personal, experiential meanings rather than verbalisms only, and their expression of meanings in art, drama, and music as well as in writing, reading, and speaking. Object teaching and field studies – from the schoolyard to creek beds to museums – found comfortable homes under the New Education umbrella, even as these innovative practices occurred in the period's conventional boxy classrooms with pupil desks affixed to the floor in rows. Underlying some of the New Education's most popular dimensions were teaching practices traced directly to philosophic positions asserted by Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart. Francis Wayland Parker led the movement and Washington, DC's Superintendent William B. Powell became its leading practitioner advocate. By the late 1890's, the DC School Board president loftily noted that this method of learning "begins as nature begins, first with the senses, with things, before the symbols of things. . .It must have the living teacher. . .to lead the child. . .not as by the old methods, by vainly solving his tasks for him, but by leading him to new truth, to new outlooks, and to new insights." New Education practices found purchase in the classrooms of the District's elementary and secondary schools both for white and African American students (e.g., Gilbert, 1895; Campbell, 1967; Whelpley, 1899; Haycock, 1949).

Proud of the DC schools' position as a leader in the nation's educational enterprise, Superintendent Powell decided to display the New Education's virtues to the entire world. The perfect platform presented itself. The occasion was the 1900 International Exposition in Paris, France. The DC schools would be but one of about fifty American public school systems to exhibit works of their students and teachers in the Education displays in the magnificent U. S. pavilion. Superintendents of most exhibiting school systems chose to exhibit pupils' written exercises and drawings and some photographs of school buildings. Superintendent Powell took a bold extra step (Rogers, 1901; Taylor, 1901).

Powell contracted with Frances Benjamin Johnston, nationally visible as the first official White House photographer, to take a series of photographs that would illustrate New Education practice in DC's schools. He sensed that these photographs would prompt visitors to the Exposition to pause and to consider the multiple meanings behind the simple depictions. His vision constituted a masterstroke. Miss Johnston's 350 photographs, taken in late Spring 1899, captured the attention of numerous visitors to the Education exhibits at the summer exhibition. Viewers praise the photographs. For example, one Spanish education official wrote after seeing these photographs, "The Americans defeated us [Spanish-American War], not only because they are rich, but also because they are better educated" (Blanco, 1900).

Unfortunately, "The New Education Illustrated" project back in Richmond did not proceed apace with the world exhibit in Paris. Members of the National Education Association who came to its Charleston convention saw none of the booklets. Unexplained production delays, in fact, prevented issuance of the first booklet of the series, Primary Education, until August. Not until December were the next two booklets, Arithmetic and Geography, issued. In mid-January 1901, Johnson released Manual Training, the fourth title, and announced a revised projection of dates during the spring and summer for the publication of the final twelve volumes in the series. Production was seriously behind schedule. Still, one additional title likely was published. Johnson claimed to have mailed Miss Johnston a copy of Physical Culture, in late January 1901 (BFJ to FBJ, 4 February 1901). However, no copy of that title is extant and it only appears as a bibliographic ghost.

The completed booklets were handsomely produced. Printed on high quality paper, the booklets presented crisp and bright reproductions of Johnston's photographs and the Wolcott texts complemented the excellent images. Each book, as part of the series' description on the inside front cover, carried the sentence, "The books are not only fascinating from an artistic point of view, but they are brimful of new ideas which every teacher will want to put into practice." Discounting this advertising puffery, these books reasonably represent some of the most authoritative contemporary verbal and pictorial descriptions of New Education practices available. Issued in a convenient and attractive 12" x 9" page size, each booklet's listed price seems excessive: 35 cents per copy, three copies for one dollar, or a complete set of copies (16 volumes) for $5.00, postpaid (Westcott, 1900). However physically and professionally attractive, the booklets likely were too expensive for most school administrators and interested citizens to purchase.

Publisher Johnson never revealed publicly any sales figures of the four booklets. However, he wrote to Miss Johnston that the series "is not having a sale such as I hoped and expected it to have. I am quite a good deal disappointed in that respect" (BFJ to FBJ, 22 Jan. 1901). This admission glossed a more grim reality. Two weeks later, Johnson reported, "I am very sorry to say that the series as a whole does not seem to be moving very well. Prominent educators endorse the idea. . .but when it comes to subscribing for a thing that costs as much as $5.00 there are not many of them that are willing to do it." He had publicized the books to many daily newspapers and to the nation's educational journals. He even mailed two or three copies of the first booklets to many city superintendents and, to as many as a thousand others, he offered "favorable terms" on purchases (BFJ to FBJ, 4 Feb. 1901). Failure to generate sales marked the certain demise of the series.

In fact, Johnson's firm published none of the remaining and projected eleven or twelve titles. Either Johnson or the investor directors of his firm apparently cancelled the project in order to staunch further hemorrhaging of resources. Pricing and an inadequate marketing plan were the most obvious culprits in this failed enterprise (BFJ to FBJ, 22 January 1901).

The failure of this publishing venture clearly must have disappointed its principal figures. It constituted a blemish, however minor, on Johnston's triumphs at the Paris Exposition. Not only did Exposition jurors award her photographs of DC elementary schools a gold medal and of the District's secondary schools a silver medal, they recognized her brilliant photographs in other competitions as well. In the photographic portraiture competition, judges awarded her a gold medal. In addition, jurors presented a Grand Prix award to W.E.B. DuBois' exhibit about the American Negro, a display that included her significant photographs taken at Hampton Institute (Rogers, 1901; Report..., 1901; "'Learning by Doing' at Hampton," 1900; The Hampton Album, 1966; Peterson, 1980). Photographer Johnston suffered major financial loss from her aborted expectations. Despite paying her for an unknown number of photographic prints, Publisher Johnson apparently paid her no royalties. As well, she lost the income from the anticipated sales of the remaining prints, perhaps as many as half of the 256 planned for the entire series. About Edith Westcott's probable losses, however, nothing is known. She may well have gained no remuneration from this venture. For publisher Johnson, the consequences of this business failure likely were particularly grim. Within three years, he had lost his company and began to work for another publishing firm in Washington, DC (BFJ to FBJ, 5 March 1904).

Two additional costs of this failed project are easy to identify. These costs may be calculated from the near disappearance of even the four known published titles from bibliographic and historic attention. Indeed, only one copy of each of these titles presently is known to exist. They were Johnston's personal copies and currently are housed in the Frances Benjamin Johnston collection of the Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress. However, they languish uncatalogued and only obliquely identified in the Library's extensive catalogue system.

The failed national distribution of even the four known published titles frustrated the development of reasonably important meanings. The nation's educators and concerned citizens at the turn of the century knew less about the actual practices of the New Education, an obvious predecessor of progressive education, than they would have had the series achieved widespread distribution and sales. A special irony of this failed venture is that DC's Superintendent Powell resigned his position in the summer of 1900 on the heels of a particularly vicious and divisive six-month campaign to change the governance of the District's schools. In typical fashion, the objective of governance change remained obscure in the campaign. Rather, the near-daily target was the pedagogic practices and philosophy of the District's schools, essentially those related to Superintendent Powell's advocacy and support of the

New Education (e.g., "Study System Wrong," 7 Feb. 1900; "Lack of School Drill," 21 Feb. 1900; Haycock, 1949).

A second impressive cost, particularly of the bibliographic disappearance of the New Education Illustrated booklets, has been the failure of historians to consult both Johnston's photographs and Westcott's informative narratives in order to develop a more robust understanding of the period's educational practices. Similarly, Johnston's school photographs have remained largely unknown. Not since the 1900 Paris Exposition and the subsequent 1901 display of the American educational exhibits in Manchester, England, have Johnston's magnificent school photographs been exhibited together. Only on a very few occasions have individual photographs from her DC schools collection been displayed. However, at its November 1999 convocation in Baltimore, Kappa Delta Pi hosted an exhibit of more than forty prints from this collection. Within the past quarter-century, moreover, a few educational historians have begun to use these photographs (e.g., Davis, 1976a, 1976b; Cuban, 1984; Tyack and Hansot, 1992).

This failed publishing dream left a thin, but heretofore unrecognized residue of evidence about actual practices of the New Education in an American school system. However, in both photographs and words, these contemporary descriptions of American classroom realities at the turn of the century remain impressively valuable.

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Note: All personal correspondence and the contract referenced in this paper are archived in the Frances Benjamin Johnston collection, Documents Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. In this paper, "FBJ" is an abbreviation of Frances Benjamin Johnston and "BFJ" is an abbreviation for B. F. Johnson.

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Oral History Applications for Recovering Policy Implementation

Lee S. Duemer
Texas Tech University

Understanding policy implementation in a historical context is difficult enough when sufficient documentation exists to reassemble events into a coherent picture. The problem becomes more complex when informal lines have been utilized to communicate or transfer information (White 1990). Informal lines of communication are often used rather than formal lines for facility. Why write a memorandum when less effort is expended through a telephone call? Informal interactions such as telephone calls or direct encounters leave little or no archival data for the historian to reconstruct events. The issue of insufficient documentation is equally problematic in contemporary times with electronic mail as messages are routinely deleted after an interval of time. In his study of policy implementation, White uncovered frequent use of informal lines of communication. Formal lines of communication were available but were often not used to transfer information or make implementation decisions.

The purpose of the study reported herein was to identify themes in the theoretical literature on policy implementation that provide a framework for the educational historian about how oral history can be used to recover policy implementation. This study draws from existing scholarship to bridge the gap between policy studies and oral history to explore innovative ways for scholars to expand our understanding of policy implementation. This study does not imply that any theoretical framework is more or less valid for the educational historian in terms of understanding policy implementation. It is also not intended to engage in an exhaustive analysis and interpretation of organizational theory as it applies to oral history. Rather, the purpose is to explore some of the theoretical literature as a means of provoking scholars to think about ways in which organizational theory informs oral history.

A large body of scholarship exists using oral history methods as a means of emphasizing the personal element or preserving heritage through the recollections of ordinary people (Manning 1990). The application of oral history methods points toward the usefulness of oral history in reconstructing policy implementation; however, the existing scholarship on oral history does not directly develop a linkage with policy studies. March and Olsen (1976) inform us that organizational scholarship must pay particular attention to the human factors that influence decision making. March and Olsen indicate that decisions are often influenced by personal values and agendas that are not on the surface evident to an investigator. Such personal factors do not fit into a rational decision making framework, but can be accounted for by a focus on the human element.

This study examines the theoretical literature on policy implementation in terms of understanding how policy is mutated through implementation, and in terms of understanding the role of the individual in implementation. Implementation is defined as the means in which policy is carried into effect. Implementation can refer to a one-time effort at enacting a policy, or a continuous process such as strategic planning. In any event, implementation involves the process of moving from decision to operation (Williams 1976, 3). In complex organizations like educational institutions, the implementation process may involve many different people and levels of hierarchy that change the nature of policy from decision to implementation.

Oral history methods have been used to collect the experiences of a diverse range of people's lives, from world leaders to common people and their work as in *Working* (1975) by Studs Terkel. Transcripts do not necessarily have to be collected by the investigating historian, but may be found in an already existing collection waiting to be reinterpreted or searched for new meaning. Oral history has been applied as a research methodology to convey history (Grim, 1995) and increase awareness of and interest in history (Blount 1992). The use of the personal element and the narrative format provide a better sense of context (Blount 1992) through preserving the experiences of those who were involved in policy implementation (Manning 1990). The idea of historical preservation is largely derived from the fact that oral histories are collected from direct participants, rather than distant nonparticipants.

Once a policy is set by an individual or policy-making body, there is no guarantee that it will be implemented in the same way as it was originally intended. The difference between institutions and individuals is central to understanding how policy can change from inception to implementation. In order for an institution to accomplish anything, it must rely on individuals. Individuals have interests of their own and reflect larger societal interests, which may conflict with those of the institution. Policy can be changed or revised by institutional officials from inception to implementation in a manner that more closely meets their interests rather than the interests of the organization (Elster 1989, 157).

Even when individuals claim to support a policy or initiative, they can surepticiously undermine it or at least decline to actively work toward its implementation (Duemer 1998; Pressman and Wildavsky 1984, 135). Individuals may also attempt to mutate policy through implementation into a shape that more closely meets their conception of what is in their or the institution's best interests. Understanding efforts to disjoin policy development from policy implementation is essential to an understanding of how policy may fail or change, through implementation, from its original form. Mutation is more likely when policy is developed in a climate that views implementation to be merely a technical detail (Pressman and Wildavsky 1984, 143). When a governing board directs an institution's officers to implement a new policy, but do not define any operational limitations or delimitations, there is no way to know how implementation will occur or in what manner. Under such conditions, it is inevitable that implementation will be influenced by individual perceptions (Duemer 1998). If individuals *behaved* in the same predictable sense as chemical reactions or genetic programming, there would be little need to explore policy mutation. Human reactions would be testable according to proscribed and predictable formulas. Human beings do not behave; instead, they *act* (Sergiovanni 1984). The salient characteristic is that thoughts are filtered through values, preferences, prejudices, motives, and the like, to produce actions. Actions vary for different individuals even if the initiating factor remains unchanged (Sergiovanni 1984).

Policy mutation is also caused by administrative labor divisions. Some positions enjoy more freedom or autonomy than others through division of labor (Sergiovanni 1984, 152). Autonomy provides individuals with various degrees of freedom to impose their own interpretations on the manner in which policy is implemented. Labor division and specialization encourage individuals to identify and congregate into smaller units that share similar goals. Individuals' vested interests and breakdowns in communication increase the likelihood of policy mutation (Perrow 1973). The idea that institutions are rational bureaucratic organizations where decisions are regulated by a structure of rules and sanctions is rejected by the recognition of individual influence. Institutions have been compared to facades that are intentionally designed to mislead observers from the reality that within are individuals who behave as they want (Greenfield 1984, 160). The efficiency of bureaucratic organizations is compromised by the interpretations individuals make in policy implementation as the result of their own interests (March 1984, 20).

The use of oral history methods reflects the idea that institutions are composed of individuals and that individuals can be the focal point of inquiry. Investigations that focus on individuals seek to understand their relationships with those inside the institution as well as with those outside the institution. The use of oral history methods is consistent with theory that recognizes institutions to be composed of human will. Consequently, oral history methods reject the idea of institutions as a group mind or social reality that is above or beyond human control (Greenfield 1984, 152).

Theoretical perspectives about how organizations function are useful to the educational historian as a way of stimulating new avenues of thought about how to understand how policy is implemented. Such perspectives provide the educational historian with a rationale for using oral history to explore the role of the individual in institutions. The use of oral history methods to document policy implementation allows the researcher to understand rationales behind decisions and how those decisions impacted individuals.

Understanding the human element in policy is a central aspect of oral history as the human element is the basic unit of social life (Elster 1989, 13). Such a perspective recognizes institutions as social constructs designed to hold society together (Elster 1989, 13). Institutions are themselves held together and maintained by individuals who share, to varying degrees, a similar interest or goal. Elster (1989, 13) reminds us that in order to understand policy implementation, it is essential to understand the actions and interactions of individuals. A human-centered focus, versus an institution centered focus, avoids the pitfall of understanding institutions in terms of key leadership positions. The study of leadership is limited to a very narrow spectrum of all the individuals in an institution (Greenfield 1984, 160). Such a limited focus encourages us to remove the personal element and focus on the generic administrator devoid of personal identity or interests. Leadership and institutional investigations present a delusive image of educational administrators and do not adequately account for the diversity of individuals and their organizational roles.

Investigations that focus on the role of individuals reject the idea that an institution can embody any value, or that any one individual can embody the values of an institution. Such individual focused investigations reflect a perspective that recognizes the power of individuals to impact policy implementation and establishes a framework where competing values are uncovered and examined to develop an understanding of policy. To further understand the human role, we can frame an individual's relationship to policy implementation in terms of Orientation, Degree, Resources, Activity, Autonomy and Rationale.

Orientation. Was the individual supportive, oppositional, or neutral toward the policy in question?

Degree. To what degree did the individual support or oppose the policy? If one opposed the policy in question, to what degree did that person attempt to stop, obstruct, or mutate implementation?

Resources. What resources were available to the individual that could be used to help or hinder implementation? What types of resources did the individual expend on this policy?

Activity. What actions did the individual take to support or obstruct policy? How much activity did the individual expend to support or obstruct policy?

Autonomy. What level of autonomy did that person have in his or her position? A high degree of support or opposition will not have had much impact on expense of energy and resources if the individual had little autonomy to exert influence on policy.

Rationale. What explanation does the individual provide for his or her orientation toward the policy? Does the individual have superseding interests, loyalties or values that conflict with the policy?

The preceding questions establish a framework that informs us about individual perspectives toward policy and policy implementation. These criteria establish a relationship to policy implementation in individual terms and are consistent with the individual reality central to oral history. This framework also takes into account societal and institutional contexts that influence individuals and that individuals change through their actions and decisions. Such a framework recognizes that the relationship between the individual and society is reciprocal rather than unidirectional. Individuals are inclined to receive information through filters that alter the way that information is perceived compared to other people. Such filters can be defined in terms of interests, values, or any number of intervening factors (Bess 1988, 160) and are represented in the preceding framework.

The individual emphasis of the preceding framework is also consistent with the work of Bess (1988), which recognizes that continual and unresolvable differences exist among institutional participants. The framework also accounts for divisions of labor and labor specialization which encourage individuals to identify and congregate into smaller units that share similar goals. Individual interests and breakdowns in communication increase the likelihood of irrational behavior and conflict (Perrow 1973, 2-15).

Conclusions

We displace the locus of responsibility when we think in terms of how institutions implement policy. An emphasis on institutions compels us to assign blame or praise on constructs rather than the individuals who make and implement decisions. The individual emphasis encourages us to better understand the collective role of individuals throughout the institutional hierarchy in implementing policy and the influence they have in determining its final form. An individual emphasis also helps develop an understanding of how policy is changed and affected as it progresses through the institution. Such an approach recognizes that individuals are not machines, and cannot be programmed to consistently perform in a mechanistic and rational manner. The result is a multi-dimensional understanding of how policy is affected by individuals.

This study recognizes educational institutions to be complex social structures with multiple agendas, rather than rational-bureaucratic structures that exist in a vacuum (Dellar 1994). As a social process that sometimes involves the use of informal, rather than formal bureaucratic protocol, policy implementation is an interconnected part of the social structure. Informal processes include, but are not limited to, conversations, disposable communications such as electronic mail and reliance on unspoken understandings such as tradition. The use informal bureaucratic processes enables a rapid and flexible response to difficult and controversial issues. Informal communication processes enable policy to be implemented efficiently and effectively; however, they also eliminate written records of decisions and interactions. Informal patterns of communication leave few alternatives for the educational historian but to rely on oral history methods to recover policy implementation. Even when written records exist, oral history findings add depth and context to the study in question. Such context-focused information is sometimes not available from archival sources such as memoranda or minutes of meetings which lack such details for purposes of brevity (Duemer 1998).

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Mathematics Education During the Second World War: Challenges Faced and Opportunities Lost

Alan W. Garrett
Eastern New Mexico University

The years immediately preceding World War II were difficult ones for American mathematics educators. Ironically, the most significant challenge they faced was due in large part to the unprecedented success of public schools in attracting and retaining students, especially at the secondary level. Studying mathematics long had been an integral part of the American school experience, an expression of national identity through the curriculum (Reid 1998). School mathematics constituted an explicit and accepted portion of what all students in the United States studied. Clearly, the position of mathematics in the curriculum also had been bolstered by the tenets of mental discipline, a theory that collapsed under the weight of experimental evidence presented in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Stanic 1987). The legitimating strength of curriculum as an expression of national identity was insufficient to sustain school mathematics with the failure of mental discipline and, especially, with the growth in student enrollment and the changing characteristics and aspirations of the students who attended school during the first half of the 20th century.

Urbanization and prosperity afforded an increasing number of young people during the early years of the 20th century the opportunity to attend school for longer periods of time. By the 1930s, economic depression eliminated employment opportunities for many students who almost by default chose to remain in school and continue their educations. Enrollments grew ever more rapidly as alternatives to school disappeared (Newman 1998, 178). A significant number of the students who remained in school were unlike previous generations of students. They possessed few or no ambitions for further education and their immediate post high school employment prospects were bleak. In previous years, they would have been working and probably would not even have considered seriously attending or completing high school. For educators, these students presented a vexing problem as well as an opportunity. Clearly, they could not be turned away during an era of diminished resources, for they represented much needed funding for the schools. Unfortunately, these students often demonstrated little interest in the traditional curriculum and commonly were viewed by educators as having little chance for success with it (Tyack, Lowe, and Hansot 1984, 149). For mathematics educators, the question of what to do with these "new" students presented two alternatives, either the mathematics curriculum had to be changed or school mathematics reduced or eliminated. Both courses of action were followed.

The percentage of students enrolled in the traditional sequential mathematics courses, algebra, geometry, and trigonometry, declined during the years from 1890 to 1948. A new course, general mathematics, was added to the curricula of many schools. Offered as a practical alternative to the sequential mathematics courses, general mathematics was intended to insure that most students possessed at least some degree of mathematical competence. Unfortunately, the perception of general mathematics as "ill-defined and often poorly, or at least unwillingly taught" appears to have had a firm basis in reality in many cases (Jones and Coxford 1970, 53-54).

Advocates of general mathematics courses regularly asserted the practical, as opposed to formal, nature of such general courses. For most students, traditional school mathematics failed the test of social efficiency, for they were unlikely to apply often or directly most of the mathematics they learned. During these years of efficiency and specialized curricula in the larger schools, this perceived lack of immediate, practical utility for most students contributed to the decline of school mathematics, and especially the sequential courses, in the curriculum (Osborne and Crosswhite 1970, 197). Also during the interwar years, some child centered progressive educators, such as William Heard Kilpatrick (1926, 111-112), questioned the need for formal mathematics study at all.

Fortunately, by the close of the 1930s, concern over the breadth and quality of mathematics education reached such a level that thoughtful educators began seeking ways to improve significantly the teaching and learning of mathematics in schools. These efforts resulted in two major reports released in 1940, the Committee on the Function of Mathematics in General Education of the Progressive Education Association's Commission of the Secondary School Curriculum's (1940) *Mathematics in General Education* and *The Place of Mathematics in Secondary Education* prepared by the Joint Commission to Study the Place of Mathematics in Secondary Schools of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics and the Mathematics Association of America (1940). Both reports reached startlingly similar conclusions. First, all students should learn mathematics. Second, for many students, this had been a neglected curriculum area. Third, a revitalized mathematics curriculum that addressed mathematics as an essential form of understanding related to virtually all human endeavors should be developed. The seeming consensus between progressive educators, mathematics educators, and mathematicians concerning the place and importance of mathematics in the curriculum for all students might have proven to be a firm beginning for robust reform. Unfortunately, World War II intervened and diverted attention from these reports. Other imperatives for school mathematics loomed too large and familiar legitimations proved too alluring.

As Americans prepared for inevitable involvement in the Second World War, mathematics educators foresaw a renewed emphasis on school mathematics as the subject came to be understood as a prerequisite for success in modern, technological warfare. This attention, however, tended to reinforce the perception that the importance of learning mathematics lay in the ways in which it could be applied directly to solve immediate, practical problems. In other words, mathematics was a useful tool and nothing more. Casting aside the spirit and conclusions of *Mathematics in General Education* and *The Place of Mathematics in Secondary Education*, mathematics educators returned to the comfortable legitimations offered by social efficiency arguments. As the nation prepared for and engaged in war, more people undoubtedly would be required to apply more mathematics than ever before. The war thus offered a compelling if ultimately short-lived rationale for requiring more students to study more mathematics.

The argument that mathematics was a practical wartime tool received prominent attention in Marston Morse and William L. Hart's article, "Mathematics in the Defense Program," published in the May 1941 issues of both the *Mathematics Teacher* and the *American Mathematical Monthly*. Morse and Hart provided a detailed list of the mathematical "needs" of both officers and enlisted personnel in the various military branches as well as of industrial workers. They also emphasized the critical role of effective guidance in helping students to design appropriate mathematics programs of study. Such guidance was important, since, for the most part, Morse and Hart proposed reliance on traditional, sequential mathematics courses. However, they also recognized that many of the students who would be called upon first to support the war effort through either military service or industrial work lacked adequate mathematical backgrounds as well as the time to complete the sequential courses. Thus, they proposed "*abbreviated*" courses, to be taught regularly, that addressed logarithms, plane trigonometry, intuitional solid geometry, and introductory solid geometry. Such "refresher" or, probably more accurately, "pre-induction" courses were destined to offer a much discussed solution to the perceived inadequacies of prewar mathematics education. Morse and Hart concluded their article with a direct appeal to the social efficiency argument:

> *Mathematical content with military uses* is the most socialized variety of mathematics to which they [high school students, especially males] can be exposed at present. (Morse and Hart 1941, 201)

Advocates of improved mathematics education regularly sought to enhance the status and role of school mathematics in the curriculum using arguments based on widely anticipated wartime manpower needs.

Harl R. Douglass (1940) presented the common viewpoint that the war presented

> an unprecedented opportunity not only to recover lost ground, but to establish the importance of our field in a realistic way that cannot be denied, thus relieving us of the constant necessity of apologizing for our failure to educate for the mathematical needs of the great mass of American men and women. (24)

Invoking a military metaphor, one North Carolina high school mathematics teacher observed, "Today, perhaps as never before, mathematics is demanding a place in the front lines of high-school teaching" (Watkins 1943, 108). Such military allusions offered an important and publicly popular legitimation for school mathematics as well as provided a potentially significant means of improving student motivation in mathematics classrooms. The expected relationship between school mathematics and ultimate military success was made clear early and prominently by the man who soon would become the nation's foremost naval officer.

Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, then Chief of the United States Navy's Bureau of Navigation, spoke at the University of Michigan during October of 1941. At the request of an individual in attendance at that presentation, Nimitz briefly summarized his remarks in what became known as the "Nimitz letter" that appeared both in the *Mathematics Teacher* and the *American Mathematical Monthly*. Nimitz bluntly recounted failure rates exceeding 60 percent on the mathematics tests required for entry into the Naval Reserve Officer Training Corps. He also noted that 3000 out of 8000 college graduates who applied for other Naval officer commissioning programs failed due to insufficient mathematical knowledge and that 75 percent of the failures in navigation courses resulted from similar mathematical deficiencies (Reeve 1942a). His vivid portrayal highlighted the importance of mathematics education to a nation at war in the twentieth century. No doubt, Admiral Nimitz's rapid rise to public prominence as the nation's most visible Naval officer extended additional credibility to his message. Nimitz, in a letter of about 500 words, accomplished what mathematics educators over the previous four decades had been unable to do. He articulated reasons that would assure near universal acceptance for the widespread study of mathematics in some depth by most high school students, thereby elevating the subject to a position of prominence in the curriculum for the foreseeable immediate future. Although transitory, this legitimation provided the basis for those who advocated revising school mathematics to meet wartime demands of the military, industrial workers, and the home front.

The nation's most visible educator, John W. Studebaker (1942, 246), the United States Commissioner of Education, called for a "curricular conversion" to maximize the schools' contribution to the war effort. Among his suggestions was the incorporation of "military illustrations and applications" in mathematics courses. Although the wartime rhetoric contains many suggestions for possible military applications suitable for attention in mathematics classrooms, a small sample of these advocacies provides a sense of their extent. One University of Illinois professor, for example, urged mathematics curriculum change "so as to lay much greater stress upon aeromechanics, aeronautics, auto mechanics, navigation, gunnery, and other aspects of modern warfare" (Smith 1942, 115). His generalizations failed to offer teachers any practical advice about or examples of the actual teaching of such topics. Providing such advocacies of the generalized "what" that bypassed the more mundane but detailed suggestions of "how" became something of a cottage industry during the World War II years.

Fortunately for the busy wartime mathematics teacher who desired to implement suggestions such as Studebaker's, a number of authors addressed the "how" question by offering examples of specific material deemed suitable for classroom use. Typical of these works was a *Mathematics Teacher* article by H. M. Bacon (1942) of Stanford University. Bacon not only suggested that mathematical problems associated with artillery fire could be addressed in high school classrooms but also included five examples with detailed solutions as well as four additional examples with only final answers provided. The extent to which such problems with a military basis ever entered actual classrooms remains unknown. Nonetheless, wartime teachers who were professionally active had access to a variety of military topics for classroom use. Still, many students who graduated or otherwise left school during World War II did not enter military service.

An immense number of people was needed for industrial work to keep soldiers, sailors, and airmen equipped with an unprecedented array of armaments and other supplies. Preparation for industrial work, sometimes viewed as less glamorous or significant than military service, called for mathematics problems perceived as less likely to motivate students than problems with explicit military references. Industrial work did not prompt a significant number of suggestions for wartime curriculum change. In fact, individuals concerned about the preparation of students for industrial work tended to focus on rather low-level mathematics outcomes for students, not those likely to raise the subject's status in the postwar curriculum. The results of a survey conducted by Olin Roberts (1942) of Pasadena, Texas, for example, revealed that industrial workers seldom engaged in computations with whole numbers greater than 10,000, with decimals beyond three places, or with fractions with denominators other than two, four, eight, sixteen, thirty-two, or sixty-four. Such competence in basic arithmetic, although necessary, was far less than the "substantial secondary mathematics" including trigonometry for industrial workers suggested immediately prior to the war by Morse and Hart (1942, 199). Experience appears to support Roberts's contention. Near the war's end, a training instructor for Raytheon Manufacturing Company suggested that fundamental arithmetic "which must be mastered" was the schools' concern. Other necessary mathematical principles and their application could be taught better on the job (Conklin 1945, 492).

Interestingly, although differing in depth, these suggestions were not dissimilar to those offered by some military officers. They recognized that curriculum change and new wartime topics were less important than helping students to learn mathematics well. For example, Colonel B. W. Venable (1942), on the War Department's General Staff, wrote that while "fanfare and military glamour" (246) might attract some students to take more mathematics courses and to learn more in them,

> the normal processes . . . of education need little or no adjustment to become valuable to our National

> effort. It is not so much the increase in number and variety of subjects available to the student as it is placing the proper emphasis on those courses already established that have practical value, and teaching them in a practical way. (244)

Venable apparently preferred that educators tinker with the existing curriculum and somehow improve their instruction in hopes that more students would be able to apply to real situations the mathematics they studied in schools rather than undertake wholesale curriculum revision based on wartime topics and themes. Yet, a traditional curriculum modified marginally, if at all, seemed woefully inappropriate to many mathematics educators during those years while the nation struggled for what many understood to be its very existence.

Brehon B. Somervell (1942, 3), the commanding general of the Army's Services Supply Department, claimed, "Every classroom is a citadel." He warned educators,

> Surely you will make certain now that no American soldier is ever killed or injured because you failed to do your part to provide adequate training. (6)

Such rhetoric that tended to "draft" students as well as teachers into national service with vital roles to fulfill, whether intended to be taken literally or offered primarily for its motivational and morale effects, served to spur teachers, including mathematics educators, to seek relationships between their subjects and the war effort. Thus, the general suggestion that the prewar mathematics curriculum, if taught and learned well, would suffice tended to have less appeal to many wartime mathematics educators than the suggestion that the curriculum be centered more directly on contemporary war-related issues and themes. After all, many of them sensed that they were engaged in their own protracted "war," one whose outcome would determine the future prospects for their subject in the curriculum. Relevance and utility were their tactics, and no potential opportunity could be ignored.

The "home front" offered one such opportunity. Most if not all wartime students already participated to one degree or another in a variety of symbolic and practical patriotic activities. War savings, conservation, and salvage offered opportunities through which even the youngest school children could contribute to the war effort. *Mathematics Teacher* editor William David Reeve (1942c) pointed out

> it would be a mistake to overlook the importance of the home front, which will obviously be so necessary in the days of peace that lie ahead. Social and economic arithmetic, or the mathematics of the consumer, should not be overlooked. (378)

Reeve's suggestion foreshadowed for his readers the evolution of prewar social efficiency into advocacy of postwar Life Adjustment Education. What he failed to do in this editorial was to articulate any reason for the study of mathematics beyond the simple computations required of most Americans in their daily lives. Despite the surface attention accorded school mathematics during the Second World War, the foundations necessary for significant postwar improvement and growth largely were ignored and unattended.

Attention to topics such as "point rationing, ceiling prices, food supply, inflationary spirals, salvage, subsidies, agricultural parity, hidden inflation, victory gardens, [and] victory models" (Isle 1943, 284), although timely, was unlikely to provide an appealing rationale for a substantive study of mathematics by a large number of students for extended periods of time. For example, "Salvaging License Plates" (1942) suggested a variety of mundane and largely nonsensical calculations that were contrived for a mathematics class in a Philadelphia school engaged in a license plate recycling project.

Clearly, one major goal of such curriculum suggestions was to enable students to sense that they had a personal and direct role in the home front war effort. Under the auspices of the Education Section of the War Finance Division of the United States Treasury Department, Walter W. Hart, Veryl Schult, and Violet Coldren (1943) prepared for the *Mathematics Teacher* a comprehensive unit of study entitled "The Teacher of Mathematics and the War Savings Program." In this twenty-one page guide, the authors did not offer suggestions intended to improve students' mathematical competence. Rather, their goal was stated plainly:

> It is hoped that the introduction of such [wartime financial] problems will increase pupil understanding of the current savings program. From increased pupil understanding will come greater cooperation on the part of students and their parents in the voluntary savings program of the country. (354)

Such a use of mathematics classes to address important wartime concerns, although symbolically important, offered little help or encouragement for restoration of mathematics to a place of prominence in the postwar curriculum.

The perceived need for more students to learn more mathematics rapidly, whether for use in the military, in industry, or on the home front, was complicated by the fact that many students were inadequately prepared mathematically to begin intensive study. For example, many students who might soon find the need to apply trigonometry were in no position to enroll in a traditional trigonometry course. Special "pre-induction" mathematics courses such as that proposed in 1941 by Morse and Hart became widely discussed possible solutions to this problem.

A committee appointed by the United States Office of Education and the president of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics prepared a widely circulated report entitled "Pre-Induction Courses in Mathematics" (1943). Based on a survey of the technical manuals used in military training, the committee recommended that schools establish one-year and one-semester "refresher" mathematics courses as well as make changes in their sequential courses. The one-year course was to address arithmetic, informal geometry, and algebra. Detailed outlines delineated the specific content suggested for such courses. The content for a one-semester course depended entirely on whether or not it was a "refresher" course. For those students who had studied mathematics previously, the focus was on geometry and algebra, while, for the mathematically weakest students, the emphasis was to be placed on "arithmetic plus certain essential topics from general mathematics such as scale drawing, including elements of blueprint reading, numerical trigonometry, informal geometry, and simple formulas and equations." Facts and practical applications were to receive primary attention in the sequential courses. Questions about whether or not students with weak or nonexistent formal mathematical backgrounds, presumably those for whom pre-induction and refresher mathematics courses were designed, could complete successfully and profit from such a diverse array of topics addressed in so little time appear not to have been addressed. Undoubtedly, many students would have found such curriculum schemes challenging.

Another report, issued in the same year as "Pre-Induction Courses in Mathematics," succinctly offered what was to be the guiding precept of many wartime mathematics educators:

> The mathematics now taught in high school should be practical to the extent that it has immediate application or that it is needed for other essential mathematics or that it pertains directly to the war effort. ("Mathematics in Relation to Curriculum Adaptations" 1943, 172)

The idea that students could be given a one-semester or one-year "dose" of mathematics to remediate years of neglect proved alluring, if ultimately unrealistic. In any case, engaging students in whatever mathematics courses they took remained a persistent concern. Means of making school mathematics appealing to students, many of whom had shunned the subject previously, seemed worthy of pursuit.

Some mathematics educators believed that clothing the problems assigned to students in wartime rhetoric would motivate them to solve more problems, thus enhancing interest and improving learning. Aviation was a popular topic for obvious reasons. As literary scholar Paul Fussell (1989) observed:

> If the illustrations [in popular magazines' display advertising from 1942 to 1945] are to be believed, all young men are in the Air Corps, where they are officers almost by definition (or, in 1942, cadets destined soon to be officers). (127)

New York City mathematics teacher Lillian Moore (1942; 1944) described her use of the aviation theme to improve mathematics teaching and learning. *Mathematics Teacher* editor William David Reeve (1942b), the Texas Department of Education (1945), and the popular press such as *Newsweek* ("School 'Air Conditioning'" 1942) were among the individuals and institutions that viewed the "air conditioning" of school mathematics as a wartime innovation that presented definite postwar opportunities. Changing the problems that students solved in mathematics classes would be facilitated by new textbooks, and some publishers attempted to avail themselves of the opportunity the war presented.

Despite widespread advertising in the professional journals, most mathematics textbooks changed little in substantive ways during World War II. That any attention and resources were devoted to the revision, production, and promotion of textbooks for schools in a nation fighting a world war, perhaps for its survival, is noteworthy. Problems with military themes dealt almost exclusively with aviation, although some problem sets included occasional naval references. The ground war remained virtually invisible in textbooks. Problems that addressed military issues did so mainly in nonviolent ways; they portrayed a war with neither enemies nor bloodshed (Garrett, 1991). One wartime observer of purported textbook revisions noted the lack of thought and creativity expended by most authors:

> It didn't take much trouble either – the old problems still appear. Ship becomes plane, plane becomes ship, elevation becomes depression, or train becomes plane, box becomes airplane gas tank. (Levy 1943, 311)

Although of dubious practical significance, wartime changes in school mathematics served a perhaps more important symbolic function, providing every student an opportunity to engage in the war effort through preparation for ultimately more direct contributions.

Eventually, however, the war would end. Many mathematics educators appear to have been blinded by the sudden positive attention paid to their subject after years of neglect, if not outright hostility. They failed to develop a compelling case for their subject that would remain convincing after the war, largely relying instead on the convenient rationale provided by wartime conditions and concerns. As early as 1942, the weakness of depending solely on the war as a legitimation for school mathematics was pointed out. Joseph Seidlin of Alfred University warned, "*Mathematics for defense is but a temporary objective*" (162). Another educator observed:

> Teachers of mathematics, especially at the high-school level, will need to rally all their resources of influence and persuasion if the war is to result in any permanent improvement of the sadly neglected mathematical education of the general public. (Wakeham 1942, 555)

By 1944, the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics took action intended to sustain and improve mathematics education in a postwar environment.

The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics authorized formation of the Commission on Post-War Plans on February 25, 1944. Between 1944 and 1947, the commission issued three reports on its work. "The First Report of the Commission on Post-War Plans" (1944) offered five "tentative proposals" for secondary school mathematics:

1. The school should insure mathematical literacy to all who can possibly achieve it.
2. We should differentiate on the basis of needs, without stigmatizing any group, and we should provide new and better courses for a high fraction of the schools' population whose mathematical needs are not well met in the traditional sequential courses.
3. We need a completely new approach to the problem of the so called slow learning student.
4. The teaching of arithmetic can be and should be improved.
5. The sequential courses should be greatly improved.

Crucial to the Commission's second proposal was a suggested three-track curriculum composed of "sequential mathematics, related mathematics, and social mathematics." Sequential mathematics, the traditional curriculum of algebra, geometry, and trigonometry, was to be reserved for the highest "technically trained men and women," whereas related mathematics was intended for "a middle group of trained workers and thinkers at a somewhat lower level." Social mathematics, designed for the "many people who may not go into the type of jobs which require special knowledge and skills in mathematics" was to "be limited to the things required for them to live a rich, well-rounded life" (Zant 1944, 62-63).

Although "The Second Report of the Commission on Post-War Plans: Improvement of Mathematics in Grades 1 to 14" (1945) offered increased details about desired reforms in mathematics education, the commission's first report, coupled with its final "Guidance Report of the Commission on Post-War Plans" (1947), essentially set the tone for immediate postwar school mathematics. The curricular path a student followed would be determined by his or her intended roles in later life. In essence, mathematics educators employed the rhetoric of what emerged as Life Adjustment Education, the 1940s progeny of social efficiency (Kliebard 1995, 213).

Advocates of Life Adjustment Education contended that the conventional school curriculum served well only those few students of highest abilities who would continue their formal educations at the postsecondary level. Viewed by advocates as a means of providing more appropriate, although critics would contend not better, educational opportunities for all students, Life Adjustment Education relied heavily on the basic tenet of social efficiency, "that the principal function of schooling should be the adjustment (preferably the happy adjustment) of individuals to the social world in which they find themselves" (Kliebard 1992, 105). Despite the democratic rhetoric commonly associated with Life Adjustment Education, the scheme's roots in the often mundane trivialities of "daily life" proved largely uninspiring, especially after four years of world war. While the degree to which Life Adjustment Education rhetoric actually influenced school practice remains problematic, the power of that rhetoric over public perception does not. It tended not to advocate academic excellence and paved the way for yet another round of severe criticism of public schooling in general and mathematics education in particular.

Mathematics education emerged from the World War II years better positioned than it had entered them. The usefulness and necessity of mathematical understanding and problem solving ability became clear, and criticism of the subject temporarily diminished. Unfortunately, despite wartime prominence and the work of the Committee on Post-War Plans, school mathematics again soon fell victim to curricular neglect. Shackled by the rhetoric of social efficiency and Life Adjustment Education, mathematics in the schools slipped back into relative obscurity. Most people, in their "well-adjusted" lives, perceived little need for learning mathematics beyond the rudiments of arithmetic. Although some mathematicians began to complain in print about the quality of precollegiate mathematics education as early as 1948, school mathematics languished until the next perceived crisis arose in 1957 with the launching of Sputnik (Kempner 1948; Schuster 1948).

The Second World War focused attention on school mathematics at least temporarily. Following decades of criticism, neglect, and decline, there remained during the war years little question of the importance of students learning mathematics. Unfortunately, mathematics educators by and large failed to pursue the ideas offered in *Mathematics in General Education* and *The Place of Mathematics in Secondary Education* and did not develop a compelling and robust case for school mathematics that would last beyond the immediate needs of war. Limited by the tradition of the sequential curriculum for "the best students" and the apparent belief that not all students could succeed in rigorous mathematics courses, mathematics educators sought to develop specific curricula for specific groups of students based on their theorized future uses of mathematics. Whether or not wartime mathematics educators could have pursued other arguments that would have resulted in the widespread expectation of significant mathematics study by all students remains an unanswerable question.

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Inattention to School Mathematics by Some Progressive Educators: Articles in *Progressive Education*, 1924-1957

Karon Nicol LeCompte
Southwestern University
and
O.L. Davis, Jr.
The University of Texas at Austin

Progressive education appears to many Americans as having dominated the nation's schooling throughout the twentieth century. Certainly, the rhetoric of progressive education or its understanding by educators and citizens trumpeted a philosophy of child-centeredness and a reduced emphasis on the traditional subjects, especially mathematics, in the school curriculum. During the decade before World War II, progressive educators advocated a minimized mathematics education and urged deferment of formal mathematics instruction from its previous levels, sometimes to the college level(Garrett 1991, 182-184). Enrollment in secondary school mathematics dropped through out the inter-war years. Indeed this inattention to school mathematics was emblematic of the progressive challenge to the established order of schooling (Angus and Mirel, 1999,11-14).

Heavily influenced by the writing of John Dewey, progressivism in education went through several stages including "administrative progressivism", "child-centeredness", and "social reconstructionism". Although these forms appear sometimes to have been separate, at times they were clearly related. By 1919, enough interest in "progressive" school practices was generated that some educators, mainly ones who taught in private schools, founded the Progressive Education Association (PEA) (Graham, 1967). Through this organization, they aimed to reform American education.

Five years later, in April 1924, the PEA launched its journal, Progressive Education. This new periodical sought to offer PEA members and the general public a means of keeping in touch with the progressive movement in education (Cobb, 1924, 3). Progressive Education reported significant developments in education and in educational systems in other parts of the world as well as it published articles about both practices and theory of progressive education. The first issue contained a message for the President of the Progressive Education Association, Eugene Randolph Smith, a nationally prominent mathematics teacher and professor at Teachers College, Columbia University. PEA officials intended that Progressive Education occupy a position midway between that of popular magazines which allotted space to only an occasional article dealing with education and that of the strictly pedagogic magazines, journals concerned with the perfection of educational technique (Cremin, 1964,193). Gertrude Hartman, the journal's first editor, was interested in creative arts in education and the influence of this movement on the international scene. Early volumes of the journal under her editorship reflected her interest (Hartman, 1924, 2).

Progressive Education served as an effective instrument in the promotion of principles of both the PEA and of progressive education. By the mid-1930s certainly, the PEA and its journal achieved an important status in American education. In its rise to visibility, how did Progressive Education treat the teaching of mathematics in American schools? This paper reports a study that sought an answer to that question.

Between 1924-1957, Progressive Education published only fourteen articles that dealt specifically with mathematics, its curriculum and teaching. Recognizing that this journal published more than 200 feature articles during that period only highlights this very small number. Expressed simply, Progressive Education's treatment of school mathematics was meager in the extreme. Still, several meanings can be developed from an analysis of the few articles on mathematics education published in Progressive Education. Discussion of this analysis is divided into categories suggested by Stephen I. Brown (1988, 23-25).

The learner, the initial category, stresses the nature of children as learners. This idea was central to progressive education. It underlay the progressive ideas that children learn best "by doing" and that formal education should be organized in ways such that children learn naturally. The teacher, the next category, acknowledged that progressive teachers exhibited roles in classrooms different from those of the past. In progressive classrooms, teachers were understood to be co-learners, not simply dispensers of information. The curriculum, the third category, constituted the substantive content to be taught. Progressive educators considered "curriculum" a concept of unity in the life of children. Units of study, they held, should be presented as integrated concepts, not as separate, disparate elements.

Emphasis on the learner

Of the fourteen articles about mathematics education published in Progressive Education, seven, or half of the total, highlighted topics of child nature, development, and study. Generally, they focused on children's learning by action and discovery.

Margaretta Voorhees, in the first Progressive Education article on, mathematics education, stressed that arithmetic instruction should incorporate discovery and should be woven into the lives of children by immediate, constant, and understanding use. She noted that children discover for themselves the essential elements of numbers long before adults have any idea of teaching the subject to them. One way they exhibit their discovery, she observed, was in rhythm. Also, most children will sort small objects and make repetitions of sounds and motions until they are satisfied. They accept the notion of counting and become comfortable with both concepts and names of numerals. When children entered school, Voorhees believed that they should continue this same free flowing discovery of numbers. She also believed that children in their early school years should learn facts by using numbers not simply by memorizing the symbols of numbers. Voorhees reported that in "progressive" schools efforts were made to have arithmetic actually function in children's lives in realistic ways throughout all of the grades. Voorhees realized, however, that beginning in the fourth grade and continuing into upper levels, arithmetic properly should become more of an intellectual exercise that required definite skills. She believed that children should be tested scientifically in order to measure their development of the ability to solve problems and to use fundamental procedures to perform mathematical solutions. Children's instruction, according to Voorhees, should follow two lines of development. The first demanded that arithmetic meet an immediate and vital need in children's lives. The second recognized opportunities for further discovery and expression. In conclusion, Ms. Voorhees offered examples of programs (e.g., banking, school supply stores, and games) that might incorporate the two lines of development that she suggested (Voorhees, 1928, 124).

Nine years later, Brenda Lansdown's (1937,106) article describes how children gradually developed concepts of space, time, weight, and formalized numbers from their own personal experience. Space, she explained, was the earliest of these concepts that most children develop. For example, a young child experiments with blocks and boxes to build structures. As children grow older, they can notice roofs and other aspects of buildings or groups of buildings. Eventually, children engage in the transition from block building activities to paper and pencil drawing activities. The article continues in a similar manner, to discuss children's experiences in weight, time, and numbers. The author contends that before age twelve, when formal instruction of arithmetic should begin, schools should follow several basic principles: 1) The need for arithmetic shall arise out of the activities of the group. 2) The concepts, ideas, and need for techniques shall be consolidated by invented similar examples whored by each child. 3) Drill is used in higher groups and can lead to other mathematical ideas and investigations.

Foreseeable results of this plan was that the students should have a positive attitude toward the need for mathematics as a functional part of their lives and personal security in manipulating mathematical techniques.

Arnold Dresden addressed the development of scientific attitudes in students (1938, 294-295). Accordingly, his article sited the notion of intellectual integrity as an essential characteristic worthy of teaching. Dresden argued that mathematics contributes to modes of thinking through its abstract character. Concrete and abstract, for example, are relative terms. Abstractions of one stage become concrete instances at the next stage. Mathematics instruction initiates somewhere in the continuum of the two stages. Dresden hypothesized that students want to analyze their world. The arrangement and selection of educational experiences are such that the inclusion of larger concepts is possible. Students, consequently, will develop the ability to deal with principles of many topics in their most abstract form (Dresden, 1938, 294-295).

Gladys Risden's article (1940, 86-88) focused on the notion of "mechanization" in the learning of arithmetic. She composed her article in the form of a collection of stories about classrooms. Most stories portrayed children who were frustrated with arithmetic exercises. She asserted that the main cause of their problem was the lack of relevance of their mathematics exercises to any personal situation outside of the classroom. Risden advocated more experientially based instruction to remedy this situation. This attention would enable students to build upon their increasing awareness of the quantitative aspects of their everyday environment. Finally, she suggested that innovative teachers strive for changes in curricula that embrace meaningful learning and incorporate activities that reduce "mechanical" exercises. Such lessons, she argued, would include realistic elements of everyday living.

In his early World War II article, Maurice L. Hartung (1942, 387) addressed the importance of mathematics to the field of aviation. Hartung charged that for nearly two decades before WWI, mathematical education was the topic of continuous and usually adverse criticism. However, when the nation began to train large numbers of young men to operate complex aircraft, mathematics became a prerequisite for their successful performance.
He noted that armed service leaders wanted men entering the services to have better preparation in mathematics than most possessed. These recruits needed the ability to apply mathematics in the solution of widely varied problems in many branches of the armed forces. Hartung suggested curricular changes that would permit careful evaluation of topics that were coordinated with a realistic and intelligent treatment applications. He called upon all mathematics teachers, even progressive educators, to recognize the nation's wartime need, and to modernize their mathematics courses to emphasize mathematical application.

In another wartime article, Lowry W. Harding (1943, 311-312) implored for reform in school mathematics. He observed that pre-war American schools had been educating for a world at peace. He mentioned the depression and its attendant unemployment and the policies of industry in his effort to explain the shortage of skilled individuals needed to win the war. Harding emphasized that elementary schools must develop in students a sound foundation of fundamentals in mathematics. Although controversy about the nature of these fundamentals continued, Harding recognized that elementary schools of the day already had begun to reduce regimentation and to institute sound mathematics programs based upon principles of child development. Harding was concerned that pressure from the War Department might lead to methods of teaching likened to assembly line productions and mass training exercises. He sought instead, meaningful teaching for student success. Harding concluded by affirming that the chief responsibility of the elementary school should be to develop and maintain a sound, healthy emotional balance in children rather than to add to their insecurity and tension. Essentially, he held that basic progressive education principles could accommodate increased substantive attention to mathematics.

H. Van Engen's (1952, 17-19) post-war article analyzed what he regarded as a major defect in the teaching of elementary arithmetic and outlined a theory of instruction designed to remedy this shortcoming. Van Engen argued that this weakness was blind faith in the memorization of clusters of symbols and the belief that this procedure ultimately would foster children's development of basic arithmetic concepts. Solidly echoing progressive ideas, he offered an alternative method of instruction based on four principles: 1) Instructional procedures based on actions do not rely on words to establish meanings of symbols. The reliance on words assumes that students possess an experiential background of knowledge. If children do have this experience, it must be provided to them. 2) Instructional procedures should be "in-tune" with the way that children think about quantity in the initial stages of their thinking. 3) Problem solving does not rely on the "cue" of words and phrases for problem solving. Rather, it encourages children to generalize after they recognize similarities in mathematical operations. 4) Instructional procedures based on actions rely on the manipulation of objects (e.g. beads, pennies) to establish meaning rather than on symbols on paper, pencils, crayons, chalk and backboards.

Van Engen concluded that a program that places too heavy an emphasis on the rapid development of skills easily fails to teach children to be quantitatively literate and also fails to protect the personality of the child.

These articles focused on the learner. Authors described classrooms that upheld the importance of learning by doing. They encouraged teachers to engage children in exploration and experimentation with arithmetic that is part of the adult world. In these Progressive Education articles, authors clearly stated what later would be called a discovery approach to learning. What was the teacher place in this type of mathematics instruction? Only a very few Porgressive Education articles focused on the role of the classroom teacher.

Emphasis on the Teacher

The progressive teacher was central to all instruction, certainly to mathematics teaching. This role recognized that the stimulus and control of the educative experience proceeds directly from the learner. However, only three Progressive Education articles emphasized teachers' roles in teaching mathematics.

The January 1938 issue of the Journal carried the theme, "The Concept of Needs in Education; Children's Work". W. Carson Ryan, Jr. the 1938 president of PEA, focused editorial attention on the desired cooperation between schools and other agencies of society. Ryan asserted that the school was obligated to insure that every individual in its care has the opportunity to develop his potentialities to the fullest degree. This issue of the journal emphasized a growing concern of educators and citizens about the isolation of schools from other community agencies and elevated their concerns to support the development of more authentic curricula and, of course, authentic mathematics teaching. Two of the articles in this special issue focused on the teaching of finances.

Ella J. Barrows (1938, 55-57) reported a unit of study that focused on banking. Barrows taught a class of twenty boys in the seventh grade of the Lower School of the Montclair (NJ) Academy. She and her pupils became interested in the use and history of town banks. They decided to establish a class bank in which they could conduct a variety of financial transactions. She planned to make the class bank as authentic as possible. After she and the boys organized a company, they voted their capital stock and elected officers. Some of the boys even built a teller's cage in one corner of the classroom. Each boy wrote a letter to his father to explain the plan and to ask parental endorsement of a deposit. The bank opened with a cashier and bookkeeper in charge of transactions. Deposits were taken and checks cashed for real money to be spent at the school for supplies. At the end of the month, each depositor generated his own bank statement and mailed it to his father. Ms. Barrows claimed that the study was valuable.

Immediately following the Barrows article appeared Marion J. Russell's (1938, 58-64) article. It addressed student voice in the determination of curricula. She believed in the progressive education notion that children should be taught what they themselves wished to learn. Thus, her students began their study by listing topics that they would like to study. The results were compiled into a list entitled "personal accounts". This article also described several other studies undertaken by the pupils that included banking, stocks and bonds, and income taxes. She reported that the entire class deemed these studies successful and she recommended that other classes should have a similar voice in the curriculum.

In the final article related to the teacher of mathematics, Nathan Lazar (1952, 19-21) developed his ideas about the improvement of mathematics teaching in the secondary school. Lazar suggested that teachers make curricular decisions that would stress relationships in arthithmetic, algebra and geometry. Moreover, he urged that alliances between topics be represented as integrated concepts. At the time, only about half of American secondary schools required both algebra and plane geometry (Loomis, Lide, and Johnson,1993). Lazar offered an alternative to the offering of these separate subjects through integration of their content. He further stated, without evidence, that this adjustment would necessitate only a minor change on the part of the teacher.

These articles about teachers reveal that the teacher was not the main figure in progressive classroom. Rather, students and their interests were primary. These Progressive Education articles supported classrooms in which teachers listened and responded to their students and communities. According to the authors of these Progressive Education articles, teaching intertwined with learning such as to emphasize the learner. Given this relationship, curriculum issues become important. What did Progressive Education authors judge important in the mathematics curriculum? What did progressive educators want to see as topics of mathematical study? The following section addresses these questions.

Emphasis upon the Curriculum

Only a few articles in Progressive Education focused attention on schools' mathematics curricula. Moreover, most of those published papers represented only partial concerns. Even the one major article that dealt with the mathematics program in the Eight-Year Study's cooperating schools did not receive attention in subsequent issues. Nonetheless, these few articles underlined the progressive ideal of curriculum integration.

Lucille Patton's article (1933, 256-258) described a classroom instructional unit that stressed economics that was developed upon the aspects of banking. She taught sixth grade in the demonstration school of Milwaukee State Teacher College (now the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee). For a time, this class operated a school savings bank. The bank was organized as closely as possible in accordance with the requirements of the Wisconsin banking laws. Students investigated several questions as to the necessity and operation of the bank. Additionally, they investigated the purchase of bonds and the investment of capital stock. These sixth grade students deposited the bulk of their funds in a Milwaukee savings bank, withdrawing or depositing small amounts as their weekly needs demanded. The article did not describe the accounting procedures or the logistics of the bank's operations. Out of the organization of the bank and of the actual manipulation of the money developed the class' interest in the history of banking and money. Paper money and the concept of the gold standard were important issues raised by the students. However, the teacher noted that she believed that these topics were too complicated for these children to comprehend. The article concluded with eight generalizations that were important outcomes of this unit: 1) An individual must consider group responsibility. 2) Our banking system is not without flaws and might profit by the introduction of closer supervision and regulations. 3) The stock market should be stabilized to offer some measure of security to the investing public. 4) High interest rates strongly suggest insecurity. 5) Bonds are safer than stock for investment. 6) Governments bonds are the safest of all investments. 7) Loans on good are uncertain and difficult to handle. 8) Dire need for new legislation in the banking industry.

Roswell C. Josephs and F. Martin Brown (1930, 16-19) addressed what they believed to be a serious problem of mathematics in the seventh and eighth grades. Simply, they recognized that most of the students had mastered the fundamental processes of arithmetic and already "applied" them to phases of their environment. However, the authors believed that these students did not have the mental maturity to engage the abstractions of algebra. Although newer textbooks had introduced basic principles of algebra and geometry at this level, Josephs and Brown believed that these students were handicapped by their lack of practical experience and by the absence of real situations to which mathematics could be applied. They claimed that college entrance requirements complicated the situation but claimed that it would only be exacerbated by introducing new and informal abstractions into the junior high math curricula. Josephs and Brown called for an expansion of students' background through a variety of mathematical experiences (e.g., integrated units) and the incorporation of more protracted scientific work and study (e.g., study of physics). Indeed, they emphasized that teachers should not construct a definite syllabus, but that they should offer a suggestive list, topics or studies from which students might choose.

Possibly the most prominent curriculum article was Robert D. Leigh's (1933, 373-375) reported analysis of a conference of the schools enrolled in the Eight-Year Study. Even so, he only briefly discussed mathematics instruction. Strikingly, these experimental curricula reduced mathematics instruction. After meeting minimum mathematics requirements ending subsequent to or following the completion of elementary algebra, experimental schools made mathematical courses elective. Leigh further noted that the schools advocated that mathematics be taught in its advanced phases only as a tool subject in connection with science courses. Furthermore, these schools appeared to promote advanced mathematics only for students who planned to emphasize fields such as engineering and science in their college programs. An anomaly, however, was one school's arrangement for a smaller amount of mathematics to be taught each year for six years, thereby making it a continuous, if only a de-emphasized study. Strikingly, no other article in Progressive Education offered any insight into the mathematics programs of the participatory high schools of the Eight-Year Study, one of the celebrated accomplishments of the Progressive Education Association (Cremin, 1964, 189; Aikin, 1942).

The last published article about mathematics curricula was J. Wayne Wrightstone's research report (1936, 460-462) of students' abilities to read and understand graphs. This study focused on the advantages and disadvantages of pictorial illustrations. Proponents of the use of graphs contended that those illustrations implanted a "picture" in the student's mind, one which is recalled easily. Critiques, however, held the view that the popularity of these new graphs depended upon novelty rather than real merit. Wrightstone's results revealed that pictorial graphs generated more student interest than did conventional graphs. In conclusion, he advised that picture graphs not be used to the exclusion of other more conventional graphs but that picture graphs are effective supplements to commonly used means of reporting information.

The few articles that focused on the mathematics curriculum emphasized student's interest and perceptions. Integration in units of study and courses of study were the fundamental format for presentation to learners. According to these articles, students had choice and voice in their mathematics courses.

Mathematics in Progressive Education: Only a Trace

Less than once every other year for its thirty-four years of publication, Progressive Education brought to its readers an article about teaching mathematics in schools. This small number of articles on mathematics focused attention almost exclusively on arithmetic. Even most authors who mentioned high school courses in algebra and geometry, for example, asserted that their value lay in their relationship to students' study of science. Most of these articles about mathematics focused attention on learners rather than on teaching and the curriculum. Moreover, the little attention received by mathematics highlighted its relationship to daily life (e.g. banking) that involved arithmetic.

Educators who wrote for and read Progressive Education likely believed that mathematics beyond arithmetic, in the main, was inappropriate for students in the schools but probably was an appropriate subject to be taught at the college level.

Although mathematics education appears lost in Progressive Education, this lack of attention mirrored, in part, the status of the subject in the schools. School Mathematics was besieged, to be sure, but it likely garnered more attention and respect than accorded in this journal. (Angus and Mirel, 1999, 8-10, Davis, 1995) Importantly, Progressive Education reflected one dimension of the progressive spirit of the times. For example, it featured attention to creativity, drama, art, students' interest, and expression, and some social issues. On the other hand, it devoted little attention to the efficiency movement, the central concern of contemporary "administrative progressives" (Callahan, 1962, 54-64). This journal, simply, represented one, but not the only, dimension of progressivism in education during the period.

That this journal de-emphasized mathematics actually may be too harsh a judgement. Perhaps more positively, most progressive educators likely understood school mathematics as so prominent a school reality that they could not dislodge it from the curriculum. They may have thought that, with the exception of basic arithmetic, they might reduce its prominence by a combination of their relative inattention to the subject and their strident belief that the school curriculum should relate to students' immediate and prospective utility of knowledge.

Another reasonable explanation of this situation, to be sure, was that progressive educators simply ignored or forgot school mathematics as they sought to emphasize student interest. Note, for example, Raleigh (NC) supervisor Mildred English's suggested daily schedule for her city's New Education (English, 1929, 250). She divided the timetable into an activity period, a conference period, a library period, and at the end of the day, a fine arts appreciation period. A curriculum constructed to emphasize only student interest likely would omit the study of mathematics.

The inattention to mathematics education by Progressive Education illuminates an aspect of the continuing controversy over the position of mathematics in the American school curriculum. Throughout this century, concern for school mathematics has endured conflict, continuity, and compromise (Stanic, 1987, 175). Certainly, it survived child-centered progressivism.

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The Value of Education in African-American Autobiography, 1925 to 1970

Louis R. Hilton III
University of Iowa

African-Americans had an active role in determining the conditions that shape their present. They have used education as a mean to increase their overall well being. An examination of the autobiographies of African-Americans born between 1925 and 1970 supports this contention. Education is a learning process and in some instances an enlightening experience. African-Americans participates in a dual educational process. They receive a formal, structured, education at school and an informal, less structured, education at home and within their community. This dual educational experience allows African-Americans to function in the many different situations they find themselves in because of their skin color and society's preoccupation with race. Distinctive educational patterns emerge throughout the autobiographies. Contained within the autobiographies are a consistent characteristic, form, style and method in regard to education. Certain thematic and structural educational patterns are evident in the autobiographies such as "mental liberation" the term mental liberation is used here to mean the freeing of one's mind through the acquisition of knowledge of self and one's cultural history, self-education and redemption.

Malcolm X, a social activist, born in 1925 in Omaha, Nebraska revealed in his autobiography, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* his myriad educational experiences. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* revealed his early educational struggles, his self-education process and the redemption that he received through the power of books. Malcolm X was in the seventh grade at Mason Junior High School when he encountered a teacher named Mr. Ostrowski. Malcolm X wrote:

> English and history were the subjects I liked most. My English teacher, I recall-a Mr. Ostrowski-was always giving advice about how to become something in life. The one thing I didn't like about history class was that the teacher, Mr. Williams, was a great one for 'nigger' jokes. Later, I remember, we came to the textbook section on Negro History. It was exactly one paragraph long (Malcolm X, 1964, 30).

Malcolm X disliked his earlier educational experiences as a result of some of his teachers. Nonetheless he did well in school and was at the top of his class. "My grades were among the highest in the school. And I was proud; I'm not going to say I wasn't"(Malcolm X, 1964, 32). Malcolm X took pride in his academic achievements. "I kept close to the top of the class, though. The topmost scholastic standing"(Malcolm X, 1964, 37). However an encounter with Mr. Ostrowski, his English teacher, soured him on school. Malcolm X revealed:

> Something happened which was to become the first major turning point of my life. Somehow, I happened to be alone in the classroom with Mr. Ostrowski, my English teacher. I know that he probably meant well in what he happened to advise me that day. I was one of his top students, one of the school's top students-but all he could see for me was the kind of future "in your place" that almost all white people see for black people (Malcolm X, 1964, 37).

Mr. Ostrowski asked Malcolm had he thought about his future. Malcolm X knew that he hadn't but he told Mr. Ostrowski that he had. Malcolm told Mr. Ostrowski that he wanted to become a lawyer. Malcolm X recalled Mr. Ostrowski stating:

> 'Malcolm, one of life's first needs is for us to be realistic. Don't misunderstand me, now. We all here like you, you know that. But you've got to be realistic about being a nigger. A lawyer-that's no realistic goal for a nigger. You need to think about something you *can* be. You're good with your hands-making things. Why don't you plan on carpentry?' (Malcolm X, 1964, 38).

Malcolm X was upset by this advice. He knew that Mr. Ostrowski had encouraged the white children in his class to go all the way and become whatever they wanted even though their grades where not as good as his. "It was then that I began to change-inside. I've thought about that time a lot since then. No physical move in my life has been more pivotal or profound in its repercussions" (Malcolm X, 1964, 38-39). Malcolm X's life took a turn for the worst after this experience with Mr. Ostrowski. It would be years before he rediscovered his interest in learning. As evident in his autobiography and later revealed in Carl Upchurch's autobiography *Convicted In The Womb*, Malcolm X was basically forced out of school at and early age. Malcolm X and Upchurch came across teachers who expected them not to succeed and surpass the limits that society placed on them as African-Americans and that they as teachers enforced as individuals within a school system. As a result of this Malcolm X and Upchurch "abandoned" formal education and engage in a form of self-education.

Maya Angelou born in 1928 in Stamps, Arkansas, author and performing artist, revealed in her autobiography *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings* the importance of education to her community. The whole community came out for graduations, expressing its pervasive and deeply entrenched commitment to the education of its young people. This is reflected in Angelou's recollection of her eighth grade graduation ceremony that was combined with the high school graduation ceremony in 1940.

> The children in Stamps trembled visibly with anticipation. Some adults were excited too, but to be certain the whole young population had come down with graduation epidemic. Large classes were graduating from both the grammar school and high school. Even teachers were respectful of the now quiet and aging seniors, and tended to speak to them, if not as equals, as beings only slightly lower than themselves (Angelou, 1969, 142-143).

It is important to underscore Angelou's account of the graduation as a community affair. She defined it as a "graduation epidemic" and recalled the "spirit of shared understanding" (Angelou, 1969, 142). Clearly, in Angelou's remembrance the graduation and achievement of the African-American school children in Stamps was a noble phenomenon, reflecting the community's pride and fundamental values. She revealed the different relationships and roles that each individual played and took on as the event unfolded. The student body was described as an extended family, which was concerned with the academic progress and success of its members. In this context, black academic achievement meant "acting black," not an imitation of other people's values.

What would their educational future look like? "Only a small percentage would be continuing on to college-one of the South's A & M (agricultural and mechanical) schools, which trained Negro youths to be carpenters, farmers, handymen, masons, maids, cooks and baby nurses. Their future rode heavily on their shoulders, and blinded them to the collective joy that had pervaded the lives of the boys and girls in the grammar school graduating class" (Angelou, 1969, 145). The students' faced limited futures surely some had dreams of becoming something other than servants. Indeed they did, for it was a not case of aspiration and motivation but a result of limited opportunity and racism that bonded them in this informal caste system.

Nonetheless the parents of the graduating students were intent on making the event memorable for their children. "Parents who could afford it had ordered new shoes and ready-made clothes for themselves from Sears and Roebuck or Montgomery Ward. They also engaged the best seamstresses to make the floating graduating dresses and to cut down secondhand pants which would be pressed to a military slickness for the important event" (Angelou, 1969, 144). Much pride and effort was invested in graduation. Graduation was not only of importance to the Blacks in Stamps but also to the white folks. "Oh, it was important, all right. Whitefolks would attend the ceremony, and two or three would speak of God and home, and the Southern way of life "(Angelou, 1969, 144). The whole community viewed graduation as being important and significant.

The importance of learning was demonstrated in Angelou's own achievement and commitment. As she put it, "My work alone had awarded me a top place and I was going to be one of the first called in the graduating ceremonies. On the classroom blackboard, as well as on the bulletin board in the auditorium, there were blue stars and white stars and red stars. No absences, no tardiness, and my academic work was among the best of the year. I could say the preamble to the Constitution even faster than Bailey. We timed ourselves often: "WethepeopleoftheUnitedStesinordertoformamoreperfectunion" I had memorized the Presidents of the United States from Washington to Roosevelt in chronological as well as alphabetical order"(Angelou, 1969, 144). Angelou recalled taking much pride in her school achievements and striving always to be the best academically.

There were others in her community such as her classmate, Henry Reed, whom she admired greatly because of his academic achievement. Henry Reed was class valedictorian. Angelou had admired him for years because each term they vied for the best grades in their class. Most often he got the best of her, but instead of being disappointed she was pleased that they shared top places. Even the minister preached on graduation the Sunday before. Also among African-Americans at this particular time there was the tradition of giving presents to children going from one grade to the next. This took on a greater level of importance when the person was graduating at the top of the class. Angelou's brother gave her a soft-leather-bound copy of a collection of poems by Edgar Allan Poe. After receiving her gift from Bailey, Angelou "turned to 'Annabel Lee" and we walked up and down the garden rows, the cool dirt between our toes, reciting the beautifully sad lines"(Angelou, 1969, 148). Angelou and her brother Bailey relished in the joy that books provided them.

Angelou's graduation captured and portrayed her personal values and beliefs about education along with her family's and community's educational values and beliefs. As an individual Angelou always strove to be the best she could be academically, even when obstacles were placed in her way. The healthy academic competition between her and classmate Henry Reed aided in her academic development. The educational games that she and her brother Bailey engaged in as children, whether performing a play for her family or reciting poetry amongst themselves, contributed to overall appreciation of education. Angelou as an individual along with her family and community valued education and schooling, but the opportunities that they received from the educational system inevitably shaped their chances for success.

Colin Powell, a General in the United States military, born in 1937, in New York City divulged in his autobiography *My American Journey*:

> In later years, I would turn out to be a good student, but no one would have predicted it then. Marilyn continued to set the Powell standard in education. She had been an honor student at Walton High, and she excelled at Buffalo State. And so, in spite of my final high school average of 78.3, I started looking at college because of my sister's example and because my parents expected it of me. Education meant all the difference between wrapping packages or sewing buttons all day and having a real profession. Education had led to an extraordinary record of accomplishment in my family (Powell, 1995, 21).

Powell's family believed in the value of learning and self-improvement and utilized education to better them for over one hundred plus years in American society. Powell's parents provided him with a moral influence that helped to shape his life. His parents instilled him at an early age, through their example, how to live a righteous life. Powell also recalled that he owes "an unpayable debt to the New York City public education system" (Powell, 1995, 22) for providing him with an opportunity to obtain a quality education.

Powell's family both immediate and extended used education as a means for social mobility. Throughout his family there are examples of how education changed and improved the lives of its members. Powell admits that he wasn't a great student, but nonetheless he valued the education that he received and used it to accomplish extraordinary things as did the members of his family. His parents and community valued education and relayed these beliefs to Powell who vowed to be an advocate for public higher education.

William H. Cosby Jr. born in 1937, comedian and actor echoed the sentiments of Powell: "As you know, I have always put the highest value on education "(Cosby, 1986, 147). Cosby is not alone in his belief, many of the autobiographers revealed in their autobiographies that they along with members of their family and communities valued education highly. Richard Pryor born in 1940, comedian and actor disclosed in his autobiography *Pryor Convictions And Other Life Sentences*, "My folks gave me a chance at something better by putting me in Catholic school, where I thrived. I made friends. I got straight A's. I showed promise. The teachers were impressed. They thought I was smart and encouraged me to aim high" (Pryor, 1995, 40). Pryor's parents, similar to Powell's, encouraged him to do well in school. Also Pryor's teachers respected him for his academic achievements and offered their support in regard to his academic endeavors. Pryor recalled a teacher by the name of Ms. Parker who took an interest in him at school:

> I witnessed salvation come to people in a number of ways. I wouldn't say I was saved by Marguerite Yingst Parker, one of my teachers at Blaine, she did give me a shove in the right direction. What set Miss Parker apart from the rest was her ability to handle me. She did it with kindness and patience, a combination that's always slayed me. Ordinarily, I acted dumb in front of my teachers, but Miss Parker refused to believe my performances. Then she sat me down, assured me that I wasn't as dumb as I said, and in a gentle, sweet, reassuring voice she goaded me into at least trying to learn something (Pryor, 1995, 47).

Ms Parker encouraged Pryor to try and learn. She didn't believe that he was as "dumb" as he acted and took time to work with him. She recognized his talents early on as an entertainer and struck a deal with Pryor. She told him that if he did his schoolwork she would let him tell jokes at the beginning of the school day. Pryor stated:

> In truth, she blackmailed me. If I would make an attempt at working, she said, then she would permit me to stand in front of the class each morning and tell jokes. The deal was irresistible. I never thought of myself as having a gift, but I made my classmates laugh, and when I heard their laughter, I felt good about myself, which was a pretty rare feeling. But nice. Real nice. (Pryor, 1995, 47).

Ms. Parker realized that telling jokes was important to Pryor. She made this agreement with him because she knew that this was one way that she could get him to do his work at school. Pryor benefited from this situation in that he not only did his work but also by being able to perform in front of the class increased his self-esteem as a child and aided in overall development as a student. Ms. Parker represented the type of people that Pryor came across in his community as a child. They were individuals who were devoted to educating the children of the community. The community that Pryor lived in as a child in Peoria, Illinois valued education and the idea of self-improvement. Evident by the respect shown to Miss Whittaker, another woman in his community, for possessing the one thing that most in the community didn't have an, "education". Pryor's teachers were able to weave his unique talents into the fabric of the school day. His teachers recognized and supported his talents as an entertainer.

Diana Ross a fellow entertainer, born in 1944, disclosed in her autobiography *Secrets of a Sparrow* the following statement made to her by Berry Gordy of Motown Records after an audition, "Go and finish school, work on your music, and then come back and audition again" (Ross, 1993, 93). Gordy though supportive of Ross' talents realized that her education was more important. Ross wrote:

> Mama understood my obsession with singing. If I promised to get my schoolwork done, she would give her permission. But Daddy was a different story. He was a practical man, solemn man, and he was very much opposed to my taking singing seriously. He was certain that singing would distract me from my schoolwork. He wanted me to go to college and get a good education so that I would be well equipped to take care of myself in a highly competitive world, one in which education would be the single most important element (Ross, 1993, 93).

In order for Ross to maintain the support of her parents, she had to be very careful at home, making sure that she did all of her chores and most importantly her schoolwork. Ross' parents viewed education as being very important. Like Powell and Pryor's parents though supported of their extracurricular activities they wanted nothing to distract their children from their education. Powell's Pryor and Ross' parents viewed education as means to a better life for their children.

Carl Upchurch, a social activist, born in 1950, in his autobiography, *Convicted In_The Womb*, revealed his early educational experiences. Upchurch's early educational experiences were similar to Malcolm X's in that he came across some teachers that marginalized his abilities and envisioned a limited future for him.

> My kindergarten teacher was named Miss Burton. I thought she was God and that all teachers in the world were like her. They weren't. From first grade on, all of my teachers were white-Miss Burton was the only black teacher in the school. My teachers had racist tendencies. The white teachers brought their values into the school-values that negated my world entirely. The message was subtle, but it was clear to me: everyone I respected and love was considered ignorant, irresponsible, and good-for-nothing. They weren't even represented in our schoolbooks (Upchurch, 1996, 18-19).

Some teachers at Upchurch's school conveyed messages to him about his self-worth that were counter to those that he received at home. At school Upchurch was made to feel inferior. He realized that because he was African-American his teachers would pay less attention to him. This caused him to withdraw from school. Upchurch recalled:

> Our first-grade reading books, for example, were the *Fun With Dick and Jane* series. We read about perfect white Jane and perfect white Dick who played with their perfect dog, Spot, while their perfect white parents looked on. I couldn't have articulated it at the time, but I felt that they were making fun of me. Even though I hated the books they made me read, I was a good reader. Reading was the only part of school that was bearable (Upchurch, 1996, 18-19).

Similar to how Malcolm X felt in Mr. Williams' history class Upchurch thought that his teacher was ridiculing him based on the books content. After a while he began to turn away from school. For Upchurch each year at school was worst than the one before.

> When I turned nine, three-quarters of the way through fourth grade, I just stopped going. My mother didn't know it for awhile because she saw me leave for school every morning. My mother did everything she could think of to force me to go back. She screamed at me, she beat me, she withheld things; she made me stay in the house, she cursed me. I had made up my mind, though. I wasn't going back, no matter what (Upchurch, 1996, 20).

Once again the school culture had succeeded on forcing another young African-American male out. Upchurch didn't want to contend with the mistreatment received at school from his teachers and fellow classmates. His mother tried everything to get him to stay in school, but he had decided at age nine that he had enough. At that point in his life he had began drifting away from home and eventually got into to trouble with the law. Later on in life Upchurch found himself incarcerated. Similar to Malcolm X, while incarcerated Upchurch underwent a form of mental liberation and self-education. It was at this time in his life that he began an educational journey that changed his life for the better. Upchurch related:

> The fact that I'm neither dead nor still in prison is due to some folks I met in prison-poets and playwrights, activists, theologians, and philosophers. Desperate to pass the time during a stretch of solitary confinement, I opened up a book that happened to be propping up a table in my cell. It was a slim volume of Shakespeare's sonnets, and reading it started me on a journey of self-discovery I never could have foreseen (Upchurch, 1996, 92).

Once Upchurch had read and learned enough to identify the process that had gotten him to this point in his life, he then began to reconstruct himself. "This de-savaging of my soul began with Shakespeare; it continued in my voracious exploration of literature. Authors as disparate as Mark Twain and W. E. B. Du Bois, Carter G. Woodson and Victor Hugo, Malcolm X and Maya Angelou challenged me, inspired me, and taught me endless lessons" (Upchurch, 1996, 92). Through them he discovered the soul that he thought he had lost forever. "Discovering, through the words of others, that choices were available to me was liberating" (Upchurch, 1996, 93). Upchurch revealed that reading changed everything for him.

Similar to Malcolm X and later revealed in Sanyika Shakur's autobiography, *Monster*, and Jerrold Ladd's autobiography, *Out Of The Madness*, Upchurch discovered that, "Literature gave me a vocabulary I could use to express my deepest feelings and the insight to understand that my situation was universal. I escaped in a way far more satisfying than any tunnel under a prison wall, into a completely new world" (Upchurch, 1996, 93). Upchurch while incarcerated under took a journey into the realm of literature that would change his life. Upchurch with the help of his family and friends decided to use education as a means to change his life for the better. In prison he was "rescued" by books and engaged in a form of mental liberation that led to his redemption.

Sanyika Shakur, a community activist, born in 1964, in Los Angeles, California depicts a life story in the same vein as Malcolm X and Carl Upchurch. Sanyika Shakur is his autobiography *Monster*, recounts the societal forces that tried to destroy him and the "haven" that prison provided. Shakur undergoes a transformation while incarcerated and evolved from being the leader of the Crips, Los Angeles most notorious street gang, to a member of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, an organization that works for the betterment of African-Americans.

Shakur wrote in the beginning of his autobiography: "Bangin' ain't no part-time thang, it's full-time, it's a career. It's bein' down when ain't nobody else down with you. It's gettin' caught and not tellin'. Killin' and not caring, and dying' without fear. It's love for your set and hate for the enemy" (Shakur, 1993, 1). While on the streets of Los Angeles Shakur lived by these words, however once in prison a fellow inmate by the name of Muhammad counseled him on the merits of living a life without indiscriminate violence. Muhammad provided Shakur with an opportunity to learn about the societal forces that until that time had conspired against him. Shakur revealed:

> "Well here, read this. And if you ever feel like checking us out, come one by. You're welcome.'
> "Righteous," I replied, looking down at the pamphlet he'd given me, entitled *Message to the Oppressed*. That night in my cell I read the pamphlet, which began with a quote by Malcolm X (Shakur, 1993, 214).

Muhammad's teachings left an indelible print on Shakur. While incarcerated Shakur embarked on an educational journey that changed his life. Through the studying of history and literature Shakur was able to put together a life plan that freed him from his past life of violence, hopelessness and despair. Shakur recalled:

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As I read on I felt the words seeping deeper into me, their power coursing through my body, giving me strength to push on. I was changing, I felt it. For once I didn't challenge it or see it as being a threat to the established mores of the 'hood, though, of course, it was. Muhammad's teachings corresponded with my condition of being repressed on the Rock. Never could I have been touched by such teachings in the street (Shakur, 1993, 223).

Shakur similar to Malcolm X and Carl Upchurch found salvation in books. This salvation enabled Shakur after his release from prison to continue his pursuit for knowledge and become a positive force in his community. The prison "community" that Shakur was a part of valued learning. Most of the inmates respected those inmates who could read, write and verbally articulate their ideas. Education held a place of prominence inside the prison.

Jerrold Ladd, a writer, born in Dallas, Texas in 1970 revealed in his autobiography *Out Of The Madness* an encounter with a black man named Fahim that changed his life. Just like Muhammad provided Shakur with guidance and support, Fahim helped Ladd to grow and develop into a strong African-American man. Fahim gave Ladd a copy of *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* to read. This book changed Ladd's life.

> It was *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*, written with assistance of Alex Haley. Though it was painstaking reading at first, I kept at it all evening and into the night. At last! Here was one, an example, though dead. A black man who was purely himself. I was so overwhelmed, I stayed up the entire night pondering the black hero. Malcolm said get off your knees and fight your own battle. That's the way to make the white man respect you. And if he won't let you live like a man, he certainly can't keep you from dying like one! (Ladd, 1994, 173).

After reading about Malcolm X's life, Ladd realized that he couldn't recall one strong black man from his youth. Ladd viewed the lack of positive African-American men in his life as being detrimental to his overall development. Ladd related:

> Malcolm's life story was the first confirmation I was looking for in my quest for understanding. I began to search more than I ever had before, reading more than I had at the West Dallas Public Library. I would sit in the living room reading all the dead black heroes, philosophers, and thinkers. Why wasn't I told that we came to America before Columbus ? My discovery of dead literary role models permanently cured my doubt and made me bind back to the fundamental truth. Knowing the great accomplishments of my people, when they existed in their own civilizations started a chain reaction that would change the foundation of my mind. But this change had nothing to do with my drive and confidence. These had always been there (Ladd, 1994, 173-175).

Ladd underwent a form of "mental liberation" similar to the one experienced by Carl Upchurch and Sanyika Shakur. This process began when he read books on African and African-American history. He constantly pursued knowledge in order to improve himself. Ladd valued the knowledge that he acquired through reading and used it to change his life. He used this knowledge and self-education to "make it out of the madness".

For most of the authors their educational experiences provided the foundation on which the rest of their lives where built, as evident in the autobiographies of Malcolm X, Sanyika Shakur, Carl Upchurch and Jerrold Ladd. Each autobiography presented me with a perspective that when combined with the others formed a collective picture in regard to African-American educational patterns, views and values. The life stories the authors revealed in their autobiographies presented me with a wealth of information. Distinctive patterns emerged in the African-American autobiographies, which involved the concept of self-education, education as a form of liberation and education's redemptive quality.

I critically examined these African-American autobiographies collectively, and I used them to balance and corroborate each other. Moreover, since I examined them around a central question (i.e., To recreate African-American educational patterns, values and beliefs in the context of family, community and society), I was able to determine the extent to which they rendered a common portrayal of the cultural foundations of African-American education. I believe that the autobiographies have value in and of themselves, the value is found in the life stories of the authors. The individuals educational experiences present a new context in which the education of African-Americans can be studied and conceptualized. It is my sincere desire as an educator that what is revealed here leads to a greater understanding of African-Americans' educational values.

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History of Muslims and The Development of Islamic Full Time Schools in America

Mazen Istanbouli
Loyola University at Chicago

A large number of Muslim immigrants started to arrive to the United States by the middle of the nineteenth century, though it has been argued by a number of Muslim scholars such as Muhammad Hamidullah that Muslims had arrived to the American continent before Columbus (Roghanizad, 1990). In addition, it is a known fact that a large number of Africans who were brought to this country were Muslims. The history of Islam in America began in the bowels of slave ships. The estimates are that 20% of slaves brought to America from West Africa were Muslims (Roghanizad, 1990; Economist, 11/96). Most of the slaves were forced to abandon their religion and adopt the masters name and religion. However some remnants of Islam remained with some Africans.

There are 6-8 million Muslims in America today. Within twenty years Muslims are likely to outnumber Jews to become America's largest religious minority (Economist, 11/96). Most of the Muslim growth comes from the changing patterns of immigration. According to Haddad, there are four waves of immigrants. The first wave arrived in this country from 1875- 1912. They were primarily workers. They came from the area of the fertile crescent, which constitutes Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and Jordan. The early Muslim communities were established by small merchants and factory employees. These Muslims settled in industrial centers. Early Muslims associated most exclusively with other Muslims. The second wave of immigrants, 1918-1922, were mostly relatives or friends of early immigrants. The third wave, from 1930-1938, was impacted by the American immigration law which permitted a certain number of relatives to immigrate corresponding with the number of immigrants already settled from their nation of origin.

The fourth wave was from 1947-1960. These new immigrants came from South Asia, the Middle East, Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. They differed substantially from earlier waves of immigrants in that they were educated and urban. After the 1965 change in the immigration laws, more immigrants started to arrive from Turkey, India, Pakistan and the Arab world. Most of these immigrants in the fourth wave chose the United States for economic reasons. The last twenty years has witnessed a large increase in Muslim immigration to America, particularly from India, Pakistan and South Asia. They constitute approximately 25% of Muslims in America (Kloehm, 1997). The 1970's and 1980's witnessed an increase in the number of Muslim immigrants to the United States. Most of these immigrants were Muslims from the middle and upper class. This has been considered by some Muslim scholars, as the "Muslim brain drain" (Roghanizad, 1990).

One of the first Muslim communities to settle in the United States were Muslims from Albania, in Bedeford, Maine in 1915. This Albanian community built one of the earliest Mosques in the United States. In 1919, a Muslim community was established in Waterford Connecticut. In 1921 Muslims built a Mosque in Highland Park, Michigan (Roghanizad, 1990).

In 1932, the Nation of Islam was created, by Elijah Muhammad. Most of the Muslims around the world did not accept his version of Islam. He and his group were viewed by other Muslims as a cult (Roghanizad, 1990). Malcolm X and Warith Muhammad, Elijah Muhammad's son, deviated from Elijah Mohammed's teachings and adopted the mainstream Islamic principles.

Muslims in America Today

Islam is the fastest growing religion in the United States. In the Chicago area alone, Muslims number 350,000-400,000 people, second only to Christianity (Kloehm, 1997). They are just beginning to become distinct in the larger community. Muslims are registered voters, and there is a Muslim "think tank" in Skokie, IL that has published its second book. American Muslims do not have one voice. Nor do they have an umbrella of representation. There is a clear separation between African American Muslims and other Muslims. Unity among Muslim groups did not move beyond the token phase. There is a large number of African-American converts to Islam, but according to Aminah McCloud, a Muslim scholar from DePaul University in Chicago, they are Sunni Muslims and they might feel like they have more in common with Rev. Louis Farrakhan than with immigrant Muslims (Kloehm, 1997). The reason is that African-American converts come from a working class and poor community, while many Muslim immigrants come from well to do families to attend college or graduate school, and tend to be mostly professionals (Kloehm, 1997).

Now Muslims number between six and eight million in the United States. Most of them are well settled and better educated (Roghanizad, 1990). Muslims in the 1990's for the first time are able to exert political, cultural and religious influence on American society. Muslims in the United States have developed a new style of worship. They are also developing new interpretations of Islam. Muslims in the 1990's do not view themselves as outsiders (Marquand, 1/22/96). Nevertheless they are going through a process of assimilation, similar to the process that Catholics in this country went through in the middle of the 19th century, as well as Jews in the early twentieth century. American Muslims' goals are no different than any other previous religious group in this country. They are trying to assimilate and in the meantime remain distinct. For example, one of the changes in worship that indicate assimilation among Muslims in America is that the Imam, or prayer leader, is assuming a role similar to that of the minister in a Christian church (Marquand, 1/22/96). This does not occur in Islamic culture. Also, Muslim children go to summer camps, and there are spiritual retreats for adults. These practices are unique to American Muslims and are not practiced in Islamic countries.

Muslims in America are considered conservatives. Most of them are considered middle class, as well. They are in almost every middle class occupation, small business owners and professionals in many fields. Immigrant Muslims earn higher wages than average. 51% of them have college degrees (Economist, 8/24/96). Most of these Muslims are not practicing Muslims; they are Muslims in name only. Estimates are that only 10-20% of American Muslims are practicing (Marquand, 1/22/96). That places the number between eight hundred thousand to one million Muslims. Most Muslims in the United States belong to the Sunni sect. There is a minority of Iranian Shiites. For the most part mosques, as well as Muslim schools in the United States, break down according to ethnic and racial lines. Muslims associate with their own ethnic group in America. For example, Pakistani Muslims rarely interact with Arab Muslims or Albanian Muslims. Each group clusters independently from the other groups. In the case of African American Muslims, particularly, there is very little integration. One of the issues that all Muslims in America agree about is that they feel that their religion in the United States is misunderstood and demonized. They feel that they have been targeted by the media and by Washington.

The 1990's have witnessed an awakening in the practicing of the faith among American Muslims. Recently, an increasing number of Muslims in America are returning to Islamic roots because they feel that there is a cultural anarchy in the United States. Within the American context which allows free inquiry and dissent, practical issues of interpretations are brought to the fore front. For example, Muslim women in America are searching the Qu'ran in their attempt to bring in the American experience of civil rights, which challenges the traditional Muslim patriarchy. Human rights and individual freedom are stressed in American society. In contrast, in an Islamic society, responsibility of the individuals is to conform to the society's cultural value (Muhammad, 1992).

According to Haddad, the forces of assimilation in America are very powerful (Marquand, 1/22/96). The visible Muslim communities exist mainly for the support of new immigrants. The factors that will determine the formation of the Muslims identity in the United States for the future is the quality of internal discussion and the reinterpretation of Islam that will be allowed in the Muslim community, namely the spiritual rebirth, institution building, and the role of the black Muslims. Muslim's children in America for instance, ask questions about sex that could not be asked in Muslim countries (Marquand, 1/22/96).

One of the major issues that face Muslims in the 1990's in the United States is that they see their lives through the American dream and yet feel the necessity of maintaining their Islamic character and practice (Marquand, 1/22/96). These two desires are not always compatible. Issues such as marriage, raising children and gender relations can create a special demand for Muslims in America. Many Muslims feel that they are living in a melting pot but in the meantime they do not want to lose their identity. Issues such as marrying non-Muslims can be considered to be a threat to the continuation of this identity. American Muslims emphasize the Islamic ideas of family. Some feel that living in America constitutes a threat to the continuation of the Islamic family (Marquand, 1/29/96). They feel that the signs are there: Muslim families in America are witnessing increasing divorce rates, marriage outside of the faith, ignoring of Islamic principles, generational anger and sibling strife. "Their problems range from teenage hell-raising, to serious charges of adultery, incest and spousal abuse, as with any other group within American society" (Marquand, 1/29/96).

In spite of the increase of the number of Muslims in the 1990's and the religious awakening that the Muslim community is witnessing, essential Islamic principles are being questioned such as the role of women at home as well as in the community, the issue of wearing the *hijab* , and others concerning interest and credit. Many Muslim men in the United States still prefer women who are able to assume the traditional role of the Muslim woman, those who are obedient and who have not adopted western attitudes (Marquand, 1/29/96). Many of them go back to their original country to get married. The issue of the relationship between Muslim men and women in the United States creates disagreement and tensions. Traditionally, Islamic women do not have to work and they should be provided for. Complete authority is in the hand of the husband. These views are a source of tension in America. Muslim men feel that their position of authority in the family is being challenged. Muslim women in the United States are more involved in the economic life and in the family decisions. They are participants in the mosques and in the community organizations. For example, Sunday schools are usually administered by women (Marquand, 1/29/96). Muslim women in America feel that they have achieved better status, more than in Islamic countries. Further, they are more aware of their rights and their duties. They are currently dealing with issues such as work and housing discrimination, discrimination in schools and the issue of fear for their own safety (Marquand 2/5/96). American diversity is described as a "cultural Mecca" for Muslims. It is having Muslims rethink their faith. Primarily because of the openness of the American culture, American Muslims want a rediscovery of Islamic values, which can deal with real problems (Marquand, 2/12/96). Some American converts to Islam are questioning some of the practices of Orthodox Islam, such as raising issues of women's prayer readers. American Muslims "have a free and highly individual interpretation of Islam" (Marquand, 2/12/96). This is influenced primarily by the American context. A small number of Muslims in the United States who tend to be younger or educated professionals want a contemporary Islam. They want to rid their faith from "cultural intolerance imported from the Middle East" (Marquand, 2/12/96). They want some of the contemporary issues to be addressed, such as women covering their heads or paying or earning interests. They want modern ideas, human rights, and issues of democracy in Islam to be addressed. Further, they want Islam to deal with their daily practices in the United States and the practical issues that they face in their lives. In Islam, charging interest is forbidden. Muslim financial cooperatives started to form in the United States allowing for the purchases of homes and cars without interest. But most Muslim progressives argue that it is not un-Islamic to develop *ijtihad*, reasoning, that god wants Muslims to be safe and secure in their home. Therefore, interest becomes a secondary concern, indicating that Islam is being shaped by the American culture.

Religiously, Muslims who favor reinterpretation see a universal Islam where humanistic values of the Qu'ran are emphasized. Others believe that American ideas are Islamic because in their opinion Islam incorporates ideas of science, law and democracy. One of the Muslim scholars, Taha Jabir al-Alawani said "the United States constitution is Islamic. What the founding fathers teach is what we teach." A number of American Muslims believe that the exposure to the American context and their knowledge of modern sciences affects the American Muslims interpretations of the Qu'ran. Some of them would like to see Islam as a means and not as an end (Omran, 1997). American Muslims who want change are not in a position of power or control over any Muslim organization in the United States. 20-30% of American Muslims are devout, most of these being traditional orthodox Muslims. The Fiqh council is a body of religious scholars that rules on problems and issues arising from Islamic practices in the United States. According to one of the members of this council, Jusef Deloranzo, half of the American Muslims are modernizing. Muslims who favor reinterpretation find it very difficult to speak in local Mosques where orthodox Muslims are dominant. However, among Orthodox Muslims, there are differences, some Muslims, for instance, believe that there is a fixed set of laws and others do not believe in this. At this point in time it is difficult to predict whether newer interpretations of Islam will take hold. Now, Orthodox Muslims are very powerful. For these everything that they do in their life is based upon Islam and they view it as an end for a reward in the after life. One Muslim said, "This life is a one time thing, you either go to heaven or you go to hell. You get one chance. Everything I do is based on that." Everything that a Muslim does is for the sake of God. Clifford Geertz said "for every Muslim regards his religious commitment which is based on the shari'ah as the axis of his existence, his faith is what he lives for and quite willingly dies for" (Muhammad, 1992, p.32).

Not all American Muslims come from Arab origins. 25% of Muslims in America are African Americans. By the end of the 1990's, Muslims might outnumber Presbyterians (El-Badry, 1994). Muslims' lives in America, like any other ethnic group, focus primarily on work, school, family and the pursuit of happiness. Muslims in America are divided by language, their level of religiosity, and cultural gap that exists between those who have assimilated and the new immigrants. An increasing number of organizations, publications, social clubs and schools are emerging as a reflection of the increasing numbers of Muslims. There are over twelve-hundred mosques in the United States. Eighty percent of them have been constructed in the last fifteen years (El-Badry, 1994).

There are two types of Muslims in America: those who follow the teachings of the Nation of Islam and those who follow mainstream Islam. Most Muslims in America tend to be conservative about social issues and support religious education and close knit family units (El-Badry, 1994). Muslims in America at times have difficulty reconciling their practices in a non-Islamic culture. Some of the issues that create conflicts between generations of Muslims in America are sexual permissiveness, alcohol, and lack of respect for elders. Ivonne Haddad, however, has argued that freedom of expression in America is allowing Muslims to practice their religion in the true sense (El-Badry, 1994).

The Islamic culture in the United States is a blend of Muslim and American institutions and the biggest challenge for Muslims in the United States now is the "image problem". American Muslims are reexamining their faith. They are highly diverse, where 25% come from South Asian descent, 12% are Arabs and approximately 42% are converts, mostly African Americans (Power, 1998). American Muslims are going back to the basic texts of Islam, and they are realizing that Islam is based on tolerance, social justice, and human rights. Muslims in America would like to send their version of Islam all over the world and want to influence debate on a variety of issues such as gender politics, free trade, etc. In the United States, Muslim women are very involved in the community, and they are on the Mosque boards of directors. Muslims in America in the 1990's are challenging convention, and that is playing a role in revitalizing Islam. Many questions are raised concerning the compatibility of Islam with Western style democracy or modern science or feminism. Muslims in America are standing between two cultures and they consider themselves in the position that enables them to modernize Islam and revitalize it (Power, 1998). Most Muslims in the United States believe that the multicultural nature of the United States makes it a very good place for them because of the guarantees of freedom of speech and religion. They believe it makes it easier than to live in a Muslim state. Some Muslims believe that the American Constitution describes the perfect Islamic State because it protects life, liberty and property. American Muslims are beginning to form some kind of political consciousness, and that is a sign of assimilation (Power, 1998). They are beginning to speak out and are beginning to be involved in American political institutions. Mosques are educating their communities to be politically involved and assertive. They register voters and help Muslims to run for political offices.

Islamic Education in the United States

Education is vital to the maintenance of culture. Muslims are concerned about the role of education in the perpetuation of Islamic culture in the United States. Many Muslims see a conflict between the goals of public schooling and the goals, principals and cultural values of traditional Muslims. For example the Western interpretation of History and social studies and the highly competitive and materialistic school sub-culture. Also the school activities which centers around the Judeo-Christian standards. Muslims in America put forth an effort to establish full time alternative educational institutions (Ali, 1985). Muslims believe that all skills, knowledge and resources are important only enough to improve the community's ability to serve god. The depth and the scope of Islamic educational principals might vary from one school to another. All of them should be based on the fundamental principals of Islam, contained in the Shari'ah, Islamic law (Ali, 1985). Muslims try to adjust some of their Islamic values to Western cultural patterns in the name of coexistence. This is considered by some Muslims as the first steps towards assimilation (Ali, 1985). The orthodox Muslim community tries to encounter this process. And one of the ways to prevent assimilation is the establishment of full-time Islamic schools. Islamic schools are faced with a difficulty of following the rules of the Shari'ah and in the meantime being flexible enough to adapt to the demand of new knowledge and social functions and to the continually evolving American ethos. The efforts to maintain and nurture Islamic values with the absence of models in a secular society have limited results (Ali, 1985). Schools provide cultural stability as well as academic knowledge for Muslim students. In an Islamic school, students obtain knowledge in science and technology as well as in traditional Islamic knowledge and practice. Muslim educators in the United States are in need of reliable scientific literature in order to support their commitment and skills. Whether education is considered a science or an art, education is a transfer of human values that influences human behavior (Khouj, 1988). Based on the fact that humans are fallible, science, which is a product of human nature should not be the ultimate source of truth. Education is objective and subjective measures. Both objective and subjective methods can be a source of knowledge and reaching the truth. But the ultimate source of knowledge according to Islam is the source that guides the previously mentioned two sources (Khouj, 1988). This source is external to human beings, and it comes from the creator, who according to Islam understands human nature better than human beings understand themselves (Khouj, 1988). The educational system in Islam deals with human beings from birth to death. It covers all aspects of their lives. Islam provides guidelines that directs Muslims search for knowledge and bring about the desired behavior. The guidance in Islamic educational system is derived primarily from the Qu'ran and from the hadiths, which are Mohammed's traditions. The Qu'ran encourages Muslims to study and to seek knowledge. The hadith gives Muslims a practical explanation of the guidance in the Qu'ran. The prophet's practices reinforce certain behavior (Khouj, 1988). The third source where Islamic education gets its guidance is the intellectual efforts of Muslims. These intellectuals deal with issues that have no clear or definite resolution in the Qu'ran or the hadith. "Ijtihad" can be one of two: "Quiass", anthology, or ijma, consensus. In a pluralistic society, Ijtihad is the Islamic contribution to education (Khouj, 1988).

Full time schools in America

Muslim parents are opting to send their children to Islamic schools as a solution to the problem of educating their children in a non-Islamic culture. Other Muslim parents are choosing to educate their children at home. The majority of Muslim children in this country remain in public schools, exposed to the American values (Mack, 1996). Many Muslim parents say that it is in conflict with the values of Islam. Private Islamic Schools supplement a local district curriculum with Arabic lessons and Islamic Studies. All other classes are taught in the lens of Islam. Some Muslims choose to home school their children. They become members of the National Coalition of Muslim's Home Schoolers. This coalition has approximately 300 members (Mack, 1996). They school their children at home, depending primarily on textbook publishers and small Islamic publishing companies.

Across the United States, Islamic schools offer religion and Arabic classes as well as a standard academic curriculum. The educational structure of these schools advocates prayer, discipline and American style of teaching. (Sachs, New York Times, 11-10-98) These schools have an appeal for Muslims regardless of their national origin and background. In these schools, Muslims start the day with a prayer and they demand their students to wear uniforms. The classrooms and the hallways of the schools are decorated by posters that have some Islamic sayings on them by the prophet Mohammed, pictures of Mosques, and ayahs from the Qu'ran .(Sachs, NYT, 11-10-98) Along side their regular classes, students must take classes in Islamic studies and Arabic language. The rules of these schools are very strict. Students in Muslim schools have to watch the way they talk, the way they walk, and they have to watch what comes out of their mouth. There is a formula of piety and penalty. Muslim students who transfer to these schools from public schools experience difficulties.

Sister Clara Mohammed schools were the first to have full time academic course loads. Weekend schools and schools that teach only the Qu'ran are not sufficient nor prepared to offer Muslim students academic proficiency. Full-time Islamic schools in the United States serve a number of purposes. The influence and development of Islamic education allows Muslim children to learn in an Islamic culture with an opportunity for Muslim children to have an Islamic education (Omran, 1997).

A new type of Muslim School has emerged that serves all Muslims regardless of their race, ethnic background or country of origin. The number of Muslim schools that exist in the United States is two hundred, according to the Council of Islam Schools in North America. This is an informal organization that sponsors workshops for Muslim educators. The number of Muslim students enrolled in Muslim schools has increased drastically in the last decade. The reasons expressed by parents are very similar. They view public schools to be to permissive, crowded and rowdy. Many Muslim leaders view the increase of the number of Islamic schools as a result of the Islamic community trying to define itself as a cohesive religious minority in a secular American society. Islamic schools within the United States are faced with a challenge in that they want to create a spiritual educational experience for students that is relevant to their lives in America. It has been described by many Muslim educators in the United States as a process of trial, error and self discovery. A number of schools use books from other countries such as Yemen, Egypt or Jordan. Other educators advocate the idea for American Muslim schools to write their own texts, realizing that American Muslim students are different from students in Muslim countries in that they are always questioning, they always ask why. One of the teachers said "You better be prepared to answer more than because it says so." Islamic full-time schools in the United States have a widely diverse student body. Muslims students originate from any of the Muslim countries (Sachs, 1998)

Despite the large increase in the number of Muslim schools and the increase in the enrollment in these schools, most Muslim Americans do not send their children to Islamic full-time schools. There is no official count. Many Muslim educators predict further increases in the enrollment of Muslim students because many of the schools are beginning to reach the point of critical mass in which they could attract more students because they offer advanced grade levels and have a demonstrable academic track record. There are a large number of Muslims who are willing to pay for an alternative to public schools. Parents are responsible for the spiritual instruction of their children, and the whole Islamic community also is responsible to educate Muslim children in the path of Islam. It is an obligation on all Islamic communities in the world to provide assistance for any Muslim community who is incapable of providing Islamic education to their children (Dwyer-Schick, 1988). Most Islamic full time schools in the United States rely on the donations from Muslim organizations and Muslim individuals. In addition to charging tuition to students, they plan a number of fundraising activities. Some schools initiate educational projects that could raise some funds on an educational basis. Other schools have endowment funds to ensure their financial well being. Muslim parents and other members of the Islamic community supply the school with volunteers and supplies. Islamic full time schools in the United States are considered a community wide effort. Local Islamic organizations at times provide subsidies to schools. Some schools were able to obtain loans from Islamic centers and at times use the Islamic center buildings. For example in Seattle, the Islamic school was housed first at the Islamic center before they moved to their current location. Islamic schools offer tuition reductions and scholarships for families with financial difficulties. Most scholarship funds are paid for by donations from the community. In most Islamic schools, tuition does not cover all the cost of operating the school (Dwyer-Schick, 1988).

Islamic schools depend on major publishers for their curriculum materials. Some schools depend on texts donated by Muslim countries through the government or through educational channels. Other schools use texts that are developed, published, and distributed by Muslims through educational organizations, publishers and bookstores in the United States and from around the world. Emphasis on full time schools in the United States is placed on providing an Islamic atmosphere and education. Therefore Islam is not only part of the curriculum but the essence of the schools being.

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Awakenings: Portraits of Nineteenth Century Women Writers Transgressing and Transcending the History of Education

Rita E. Guare
Fordham University

She was conscious of yearnings for a more earnest life than this. Unsatisfied longings for something which she had not attained, often clouded what, otherwise, would have been a bright day to her; and yet the cause of these feelings seemed to lie in a dim and misty region, which her eye could not penetrate.

What then did she need? To see some results from her life's work? To know that a golden cord bound her life-threads together into unity of purpose- not withstanding they seemed, so often, single and broken?...

It seemed to her that there was some better way of living, which she, from deficiency in energy of character, or of principle, had failed to discover.

Elizabeth Stuart Phelps

A renewed interest in the literature of women of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century has led to the recovery of some moving stories of American life. These stories are filled with realistic descriptions of family, domestic conflicts, work, and schooling. The literary works of Lydia Sigourney, Rebecca Harding Davis, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Kate Chopin, to name a few representative writers, all point to awakenings of possibilities inherent in the depths of ordinary experience. Their realistic writing led to what some writers have called a "cult of domesticity " (Solomon, 1994). Although this cult served to reinforce the deadening and destructive stereotypes of a culture that determined the ways women would be reared, socialized, and educated, some women artists searched for spaces within this narrowly contrived world where they could transgress and transcend the limits of history.

Many of the writers during this period struggled with the question: "How could a woman be the gentle, loving, sacrificing, and spiritual being she was idealized to be in the home, in the church, and in the classroom, and, simultaneously, pursue her vocation to write?" Furthermore, "How could a woman become her personal best when she did not even possess what Virginia Woolf identified as essential, namely, a room of her own, that is, a place and the money to support her efforts?"

The purpose of this paper is to examine the lives and the education of women who answered these questions with their lives. Within the history of education, the explicit and implicit curriculum that reified the cult of true womanhood and that advanced a cult of domesticity, paradoxically provided possibilities for women writers who were "conscious of yearnings for a more earnest life."

To capture the secret longings and silent hopes of nineteenth century women writers, I attempt to make visible through portraiture the artistic strivings of women who yearned for more. Portraiture is a powerful way to witness to the lives of women who leaned into the depths of their ordinary experience only to discover the inescapable horizons of their work as literary artists. In selecting portraiture as the process of inquiry for this historical project, I am choosing a method to illuminate the lives of nineteenth century women writers by capturing "the richness, complexity, and dimensionality of their human experience in social and cultural contexts, conveying the perspectives of people who are negotiating those experiences (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis, 1997, p. 3). To do justice to their lives and to their work as literary artists, I am eager to combine in this research effort what portraiture requires, namely, "systematic, empirical descriptions with aesthetic expression, blending art and science, humanistic sensibilities and scientific rigor" (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis, 1997, p. 3).

This blending of richness and rigor is not new. Throughout the ages, we have heard echoes of this integration. Whenever scientists or artists have attempted to probe the mystery, complexity, and interdependence of Creation, they recognized that neither scientific law nor art could capture life in all its abundance. Only a large and spacious canvas has the capacity to hold the interplay of life in all its richness.

As a method of inquiry, portraiture is an intentionally generous and eclectic process that begins by searching for what is good and healthy and assumes that the expression of goodness will always be laced with imperfections (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Davis, 1997, p. 9). The oppression that women experienced in the nineteenth century can never be seen as a good thing. What I am pointing to in this essay and what I believe portraiture can illuminate is the beauty and goodness of women who struggled against confinement and who hungered for a larger kind of freedom.

In order to begin this work, I had to see myself as a portraitist who would be dialoguing with her subjects as they negotiated the boundaries of their worlds. I had to understand that I would be participating with each woman writer in drawing the image of her life. Finally, I had to discover that the portraits would not simply be reflections of nineteenth century women writers. Rather, I came to appreciate that I was involved in and with a process of making visible some essence unique to each woman and distinctive of me.

Lydia Howard Huntley (1791-1865) was one such woman who revealed something of her uniqueness by illuminating a life lived from an artistic and spiritual center. Her work as a writer supported that kind of living. However, typical of many men during the nineteenth century, Lydia's husband, Charles, absolutely opposed her work as a writer, and she was forced to stop writing. Only with his permission and because of his failing business, Lydia began to publish anonymously.

"The Intemperate" (1834) is one of Lydia Sigourney's moving stories in which she describes the experiences of Jane, the wife of an alcoholic. Not unlike Lydia's own life, Jane's "journey was slow and toilsome" (Sigourney, 1834, p. 72). Autumnal rains darkened her journey even more, and "she strove to hide even from her own heart" (Sigourney, 1834, p. 71) the visible change in the one to whom she had given her soul.

Her husband, James, grew inattentive to his business, and indifferent to his family and the fireside of their New England home. The more he drank the more his mind became bewildered and confused; the more intoxicated he was the more his behavior was mean and perverse. His long day's journey into the tyranny of alcoholism hardened his heart to the point of resenting those he once loved.

Yet, Jane remained faithful to a life marked with incredible suffering. Underlying the family's difficult move farther west was Jane's surrender of the New England village and the home she had loved since her childhood in search of a new dream that might renew her husband's life. In the midst of poverty and among neighbors who were more like family to her, she was tireless in her efforts to sustain a new life. Nevertheless, her husband's mood intensified; he grew more uncompromising and unkind. When that unkindness visited their very sick first born son, Jane intuitively knew that more than her son was dying in this Ohio wilderness. After her son's death, she "hid her face in that grief which none but mothers feel… a deep and sacred solitude" (Sigourney, 1834, p. 80.). She was alone in her season of sadness. During that year, she watched from her own seat of darkness how intemperance continued to possess her husband's soul with a rage to destroy whatever life was left. His inevitable accidental death almost claimed Jane's own life. Bitter grief consumed her health until she received a letter from her brother welcoming her back home. "With her little daughter, the sole remnant of her wrecked heart's wealth" (Sigourney, 1834, p.84), she returned home. There she created the new life she had always hoped for; yet, traces of a sacred and deep-rooted sorrow always filled her memory.

This portrait of Jane is not unlike the portrait of the artist herself. Lydia Sigourney illuminates the grace and complexity of one woman trying to live an artistic and spiritual life. Had either Jane or Lydia not lived in the shadow of Transcendence they may well have been destroyed by a culture too narrowly conceived. In sketching this portrait, the image of my own vulnerability appeared as visibly as Jane's endurance and Lydia's creative fidelity. I recognize in these women and in myself the strength of a surrender to "a more earnest life" and to "some better way of living". Such surrender transgresses and transcends the restrictive boundaries of societal norms and searches for more open territory that supports and sustains women's ways of being and knowing.

Economic, political, social, and moral changes during the nineteenth century convinced many men that the ideal of womanhood had to be preserved. The public ideal that a woman was most fulfilled as a wife and mother within the home and as a teacher of young children within the community proved to be both appealing and powerful. A woman was expected to remain what society had always wanted her to be: an obedient wife and a devoted mother within the home.

The home was seen as a safe and sacred place, a haven away from the harsh affairs of a man's world. In their traditional roles, women nurtured and sustained the soul of the home. Their daily habits of the heart contributed to this cult of domesticity. Within the drama of their idealized lives, some women- creative women who longed for more in their lives- found ways to develop their spirits. Rather than become a totally invisible person or become overly identified with the home, some women struggled to find space in their daily lives for becoming writers.

Of all the arts, writing was the one women found easiest to combine with the domestic duties expected of them (Anderson and Zinsser, 1988). Often, women wrote secretly before breakfast or anonymously. Through writing women were able to claim ownership for their emotional lives and give voice to their moral authority. By writing for the public, and especially by writing critically about women's roles, women writers of the nineteenth century contradicted and challenged society's prescriptions for them.

Elizabeth Stuart Phelps (1815-1852) was one such writer whose struggle to balance her own dreams with the demands of womanhood is captured in this passage:

> *She lived one of those rich and piteous lives such as only gifted women know; torn by the civil war of the dual nature which can be given to women only... Now she sits correcting proof-sheets, and now she is painting apostles for the baby's first bible lesson. Now she is writing her new book, and now she is dyeing things canary-yellow in the white-oak dye- for the professor's salary is small, and a crushing economy was in those days one of the conditions of faculty life on Andover Hill... Now she is a popular writer, incredulous of her first success, with her future flashing before her; and now she is a tired, tender mother crooning to a sick child, while the M.S. lies unprinted on the table, and the publishers are wishing their professor's wife were a free woman, childless and solitary, able to send copy as fast as it is wanted. The struggle killed her, but she fought until she fell (cited in Solomon, 1994, pp. 3-4).*

No doubt whatever creative freedom Elizabeth Stuart Phelps achieved she paid a high price for it. Her success as a writer was contextualized by her family relationships and responsibilities. Within this zone of family living, with countless interruptions, setbacks, and slow downs, women often discovered their hidden literary talents and made pathways for pursuing their writing.

The tensions and conflicts of yet another woman who was a wife and mother as well as a creative artist were played out in the life of Rebecca Harding Davis. The acclaimed author of "Life in the Iron Mills" (1861), Davis developed the first piece of naturalistic fiction in this country. The story follows the life of Hugh Wolfe a laborer in an iron mill. The author's graphic and realistic detail exposed an environment with "Smoke everywhere!" (Davis, 1861, p. 231) and lives with old dreams almost worn out. The characters are trapped in a world without hope. Davis captures the hopelessness in her empathetic descriptions of Deborah as Hugh watches her sleep:

> *Miserable enough she looked, lying there on the ashes like a limp, dirty rag,- yet not an unfitting figure to crown the scene of hopeless discomfort and veiled crime: more fitting, if one looked deeper into the heart of things, -at her thwarted woman's form, her colorless life, her waking stupor that smothered pain and hunger... Deeper yet if one could look was there nothing worth reading in this wet, faded thing, half-covered with ashes? no story of a soul filled with groping passionate love, heroic unselfishness? of years of weary trying to please the one human being whom she loved... If anything like this was hidden... no one had ever taken the trouble to read it... (Davis, 1861, pp. 237-238).*

After she married, Rebecca expected to continue her career as a writer. However, she was unable to develop the serious fiction which she began early in her career. Instead, she was forced to publish popular and quick selling fiction in order to supplement her husband's inadequate income. Like Deborah who lived in the smoke and grime of the iron mills, Rebecca, too, felt herself choking to death with no one to look "deeper into the heart of things, -at her thwarted woman's form, her colorless life, her waking stupor that smothered pain and hunger." Trapped in a world that failed to recognize her deeper talents as a writer, Rebecca felt the panic and anxiety of losing her way. After fourteen months of marriage, she suffered a nervous breakdown.

As part of her treatment, Rebecca's doctor recommended that she stop writing altogether. What he was incapable of seeing was that writing was at the center of what defined Rebecca as a talented and creative woman. In time, Rebecca emerged from this crucible of suffering a stronger literary artist. Writing provided the distinctive opportunity to heal and to restore her life.

In drawing the portrait of Deborah in the iron mill town, Rebecca Harding Davis emerged simultaneously on the canvass. Each stands as a broken woman. Their brokeness is a visible one and through it determined spirits make their way to "a more earnest life", to "some better way of living." Their lives have opened me to my own brokeness. And, I wonder "Is my brokeness a source of strength? Is brokeness a place where healing can open infinite possibilities for the human spirit?"

Rebecca Harding Davis was not the only woman writer who had to negotiate impossible boundaries and suffer in the process. Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935) experienced severe psychological distress during her first marriage. "The Yellow Wallpaper" is the story of a wife's emotional deterioration before the eyes of her unbelieving husband who was her doctor. The story is about

> *"... what can one do? If a physician of high standing, and one's own husband, assures friends and relatives there is really nothing the matter... what is one to do?*

Throughout the story, we hear the confused thoughts of the wife as she desperately tried to journal her way back from the edge of madness. We watch her intense hatred for the yellow wallpaper almost consume her. Ignored and neglected by her husband, she seeks the only diversion open to her the pattern of the wallpaper, " a constant irritant to a normal mind" (Gilman, 1892, p. 489). She remarks "the color is hideous enough, and unreliable enough, and infuriating enough, but the pattern is torturing." (Gilman, 1892, p.489). As her mind deteriorates more and more each day, the yellow wallpaper claims every aspect of her being. Finally, in one brave act, she announces her victory " I've got out at last, in spite of you and Jane. And I've pulled off most of the paper, so you can't put me back." (Gilman, 1892 p.496) Then with Gilman's ironic twist, the character concludes:

> *Now why should that man have fainted? But he did and right across my path by the wall, so that I had to creep over him every time! (Gilman, 1892, p496).*

Charlotte Perkins Gilman's portrait illuminates the life of a woman challenged since her childhood to find a life worth living. After Charlotte's father abandoned his wife and two children, their life dramatically changed. Charlotte's mother was reluctant to show her any affection, and, only at night when the child slept did the mother show her any signs of love (Solomon, 1994).

That emptiness characterizes Charlotte's portrait as her longing eyes search for meaning. During her first marriage, after the birth of her daughter, she suffered emotional illness. The cure required her to abandon her heart's desire as a writer and occupy herself in only domestic responsibilities. It took years, and eventually by ignoring her doctor's advice, Charlotte regained her spirit and her art. Her portrait shines with the light of one who walked through the darkness and despair of her life into new space. Her life's journey reminded me of the critical moments in my own life when light pierced the darkness and hope was restored.

Each of these 19th century woman writers struggled with the question of their personal, artistic and spiritual identity. Each woman worked against the deadening and destructive stereotypes of a culture that determined woman's ways of being in the world. Each stretched the cult of domesticity to include time and space for writing. The portraits of each of these nineteenth century woman writers, opened me to confront the barriers that prevent my crossing over into more open territory where a larger freedom waits to be lived by those "conscious of yearnings for a more earnest life."

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Hunting for Witches in the Halls of Academe: The Struggle for Academic Freedom at the University of South Florida, 1962-63

Karen L. Riley
Auburn University at Montgomery

During the early 1960s, in the formative years of Florida's newest university, the University of South Florida in Tampa, the then Florida Investigative Committee in true McCarthy-era style, set up its "Star Chamber" interviews with students and "others" at local motels near the University. The purpose of these "interviews" was to ferret out information about university administrators and instructors which would point to either their innocence or guilt in terms of communist party membership, homosexuality, or the teaching of atheism. After an exhaustive process which left the intellectual community on Florida's West Coast shaken and dismayed at what they collectively believed was a mis-guided mission and waste of taxpayer dollars, academic communities in other university towns throughout Florida responded with outrage over the intrusion of politicians and perceived anti-intellectuals into the "business" of higher education. Some had already run the investigative committee's gauntlet, others likely feared they would follow. In what could have been the sudden demise of the infant university, its leaders and faculty emerged from the experience, not as victors, but rather as survivors of a bitter battle over academic freedom.

This chronicle of events is set within the context of McCarthy era politics. Florida, owing to its close proximity to Cuba, was perhaps more susceptible to ideological influences from the far right than other states whose borders are more distant. In addition, Florida lawmakers in the 1950s responded to these high-pitched voices and guardians of localism who called for tight controls of the schools, including curriculum decision making. So strong was this "grass-rootism" that lawmakers and the public alike often had a difficult time distinguishing between the role of public schooling and higher education. As a result, some viewed the university as a place to dispense "appropriate" knowledge and not to engage in debate. Such was the case at the University of South Florida in its formative years when a handful of parents, some educators, and other locals of varying stature, sought to influence the role of the new institution out of differing "fears." While hindsight informs us that these fears were both misguided and misplaced, one should not lose sight of the fact that the early 1960s represented a time of great uncertainty brought about by a decade of Red Scare politics.

This uncertainty in turn shaped the perspective of a lay public who had been taught to believe that the United States was in a near-death struggle in the "race for space," and that everyone from Hollywood figures to classroom teachers might be potential communist infiltrators. The story unfolds within this context of spies and lies. However, this paper does not seek the often sterility of objectivity; rather, the writer wishes to place the reader in the midst of the historical drama. With less emphasis on objectivity, one can get a better sense of the extent to which the emotional-laden battle over academic freedom in the early years of the University of South Florida raged in the halls of academe at Florida's youngest institution of higher education.

The story of this war of words and political intrigues is possible owing to the deep involvement of 25 year-old John Egerton, a campus employee in the University Relations Department. Edgerton collected newspaper articles, took notes at meetings, copied important press releases and in general found himself in the "cat-bird's seat" during the protracted battle between the Florida Investigative Committee, headed by Charley Johns, a Florida "good-ole-boy-styled "politician, and local witch hunters, all of whom pitted themselves against the university and its supporters, most notably, *The Tampa Tribune*. After Edgerton left the University, he boxed up his papers, including a book-length manuscript in which he outlined the entire debacle, and donated them to the University for preservation in its archives. To open these archival boxes is to unleash a torrent of accusations, unsupported allegations, ill will, and in general, a sea of misery for those professors whose reputations were damaged and whose curricula were dissected. The image of Florida's then youngest institution of higher education hung in the balance.

While much has already been written about the general state of education and the role of teachers during the early days of the Cold War, few studies, if any, document the struggle for academic freedom in higher education classrooms on such a personal or intimate level as the story of the curriculum wars on the campus of the University of South Florida. However, the national picture over the issue of academic freedom during the Cold War era provides a backdrop from which we can view the events of the early 1960s on the South Florida campus. For example, in one early study (Lazarsfeld and Thielens, 1957/58) researchers surveyed social science professors from a stratified sample of 900 accredited colleges applying a tool they developed called the "index of apprehension." What the researchers wanted to learn was the degree to which these professors felt comfortable presenting controversial ideas, especially when they concerned freedom of thought, including aspects of communism.

According to Lazarsfeld and Thielens (1957/58), more than three-quarters of the professors surveyed "consider[ed] a better society an urgent or quite important goal of their teaching." The noblest of educational goals notwithstanding, this social education approach to university studies, particularly in Florida schools during the 1950s, met stiff resistance from a lay public already media shocked by the McCarthy hearings into believing that a communist infiltrator lurked behind every red-blooded American tree. Thus, as the new decade dawned, armies of American patriots rushed to shore up "the American way of life," which they believed was in grave danger owing to the seductive force of Communism, a growing immorality in the American social fabric, and America's drift toward atheism, examples of which could be found on those bastions of liberal thought called university campuses. No where was the battle more intense than in Florida and on the campus of its newest university.

Methodology: This paper is based on both the Edgerton papers, housed in the special collections department, at the University of South Florida and corroborating evidence from the State of Florida Archives in Tallahassee, Florida. The evidence includes more than 1000 papers from these two collections. The methodology will be based largely on document analysis; however, the researcher intends to interview John Edgerton and several faculty members who remain affiliated with the University of South Florida (USF) and vividly recall the tumultuous months under the sharp eye of the Florida Investigative Committee and Charley Johns. This paper serves to fill the growing body of research on the McCarthy era and its influence on education. It will cover the entire struggle of the university over the issue of academic freedom and the attempts of "well-meaning" citizens to control what is taught and in what way it is taught at the most sacred of investigative places–the university.

The struggle for academic freedom at the University of South Florida was observed through the eyes and ears of John Egerton, a young (25 years old) public relations officer employed in 1960 by the university's Office of Information Services.[1] Egerton's inside position made it possible for him to play a direct role in documenting the assault on academic freedom at the USF campus. In his 1996 speech to an USF audience, Egerton recalled the entire struggle and that when he left after more than five years of service to the university, he felt "a bit like a war veteran, a battle-scarred survivor of an intense and emotional conflict."[2] In fact, one could assert, that Egerton's attempt to chronicle this battle over academic freedom and autonomy from public scrutiny in a 300 page-plus manuscript was a defining moment in his life and career. Accordingly, Egerton told this audience that he "felt it was historically important for there to be at least one eyewitness account from the scene."[3] The "scene" as he put it began in the spring of 1962 with an "uncoordinated but overlapping assault on the institution."[4] The major players, according to his observations, were Thomas J.B. Wenner, Jane Tarr Smith, George Wickstrom, Sumter L. Lowry, and Charley Johns.

Despite his view that the attack on the University of South Florida was an overlapping of efforts by unconnected individuals or groups disgruntled with the direction of the new university itself, newspaper clippings and personal letters suggest that the USF "affair" was inspired by an earlier event on the nearby campus of the long-established University of Tampa, and involved Sumpter Lowry, named by Egerton as an instigator of the USF probe which followed the U. of Tampa affair by only a few months. On June 16, 1961, the *Palm Beach Times* published an article about the firing of University of Tampa philosophy professor, Thomas P. Hardeman. According to the newspaper, Hardeman believed that his impending dismissal was a result of a letter writing campaign instigated by University of Tampa board member and leader of the Florida Coalition of Patriotic Societies, Sumpter Lowry, along with members of the John Birch society. His dismissal, he stated, was a result of his "outside activities," which included repeated attacks on the Bircherites and other ultra patriotic groups, and perhaps his participation as minister at a local Unitarian church. Other newspapers during the summer and fall of 1961, joined the *Palm Beach Times* in pursuit of the truth behind Hardeman's firing.[5] One article a few months later carried an explanation for Hardeman's dismissal offered by John Scheffer, secretary of the newly organized "Committee for Academic Freedom" in Tampa. According to Scheffer, University of Tampa president, Dr. David Delo gave the following reason for the dismissal: Hardeman's "teaching was not up to standard." Yet, as Scheffer quickly pointed out, not one administrator had visited Hardeman's classroom. More curious than Delo's claim that Hardeman's teaching was not up to standard, was the fact that only two months prior to his firing, the university awarded Hardeman a salary increase.[6]

The attacks on Hardeman mobilized Tampans. Letters to the editor of local newspapers decried the firing.

Citizens of Tampa responded by asking Delo for an explanation. Repeatedly, Delo responded in the papers by stating that the firing was an "internal matter," which had the support of an elected body of the professorate. One reader was moved to write how perplexed he was at Delo's paradoxical actions, which included a well-publicized statement by the President that he had told Hardeman to "keep his mouth shut," regarding the professor's attacks on the ultra right, while shortly before his warning, uttering words of praise for freedom of thought at a convocation address at the University of Tampa. In the President's convocation speech, of which Reader Hornbrook obtained a copy, Delo stated that "he welcomed non-conformity vs. the herd. He welcomed the independent thinkers, saying their arguments bedeck the pages of books and magazines alike, they trouble the schools, they become subjects of political debate. For he who would excel is still suspect, even though he will lead us to salvation...our future will depend on people who excel with their minds and personalities who are in a sense non-conformists."[7] While groups such as the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) stated that professors should enjoy the same rights as any other citizen, no clear evidence of wrongdoing on the part of "citizen" Hardeman, which would support Delo's actions, was reported in the press. To the contrary, Hardeman appears to have been targeted for his personal views and not for his conduct in the classroom. Hence, the newspaper wars over Hardeman's dismissal, with questions of academic freedom hanging in the balance, set the stage for a larger contest on the campus of the University of South Florida some six months later. Fresh from the campus battleground at the University of Tampa, at least one combatant, retired Lt. General Sumpter Lowry, emerged to fight again.

In Egerton's recollections of the investigation at USF, he referred to Lowry as "a retired military officer, ultra-conservative politically, and formerly a candidate for governor of Florida."[8] He described Lowry as one of Tampa Bay's best-known and most outspoken anti-communist and right-wing extremist who was alarmed by what he believed was rampant left-wing radicalism at the new university. According to Egerton, the colorful cast of characters involved in the Florida Investigative Committee's (FIC) probe at USF aside from Lowry, included, Thomas Wenner, a lecturer in "The American Idea," a core undergraduate course, Jane Tarr Smith, mother of a first-year student, George Wickstrom, editor of a Zephyrhills newspaper, and Charley Johns, a state Senator from Starke, Florida and member of Florida's "Pork Chop Gang," an informal association of "good ole boy types."[9] In Egerton's 1996 speech on the campus of USF, he linked Lowry and three others with Charley Johns, head of the Florida Investigative Committee, all of whom became involved in the investigations on the campus of USF following allegations by one of them, disgruntled professor, Thomas Wenner,[10] who, in April 1962, reported to the committee that the university was soft on communism.

According to a statement in the *Tampa Tribune*, May, 22, 1962,[11] by USF President, John Allen, Wenner touched off Florida Investigative Committee's investigation into homosexuality, godlessness, and communist activity on the campus based on "unfounded and irresponsible charges." Governor Farris Bryant and Allen in separate actions promptly suspended Wenner. Allen then asked the Board of Control, the governing body of Florida's university system, to dismiss Wenner.[12] Allen's swift actions may have stemmed from the nature of the investigation as well as Wenner's accusations. The Johns Committee, it seems, had been operating out of a local motel for more than a month, taking secret testimony from parents and students. The committee's investigation began in April 1962 more than a month before Allen was aware of its presence. According to one newspaper account, he did not learn about the investigation until May 15, 1962. Allen's fury regarding the investigation and its clandestine nature led the *Tampa Tribune* to print his version of events along with a strong denial of wrongdoing by Wenner. For Wenner's part, he admitted to the *Tribune*, that he had been giving secret testimony to the Johns Committee since the middle of April, yet denied that it was his actions that launched the investigation in the first place. Curiously, he told the *Tribune* that USF was "soft on communism," and as evidence cited the cancellation of his summer workshop on Americanism vs. Communism for public school teachers.[13]

Wenner, however, was not the only "informant," fundamental to the FIC's case against USF, to deny his role as an instigator in the probe. Lowry in a statement to the *Tampa Tribune* in May, 1962, disavowed any link to the investigation–one will recall that he was earlier accused by Hardeman in the U. of Tampa affair which he vehemently denied as well. He claimed the following: "I had nothing to do directly or indirectly with the investigation. I know nothing whatsoever about the charges that have been brought."[14] He went on to charge State Senator Samuel Gibbons, had knowledge of the malicious rumor that he, Lowry, was responsible for the investigation, a rumor Lowry claims

Gibbons knew was false. He cited Gibbons for failing to tell the public about his, Gibbons, own part in the spurious allegations against USF. According to Lowry, it was Gibbons who personally made an appointment with USF President, John Allen, for a parents' group who had collected evidence against faculty and their teachings. The paper trail--newspapers, letters, memos, and others--is not easy to follow. Accusations were made and denied. Accusers pointed fingers while defenders scurried for armor. The press had a heyday.

The young public relations officer, Egerton, proposed a scenario surrounding the web of intrigue that goes something like this: Senator Johns since the creation of his committee in 1956 was ever diligent in searching for evidence of communism and immorality. Some might say his diligence was a sort of "job insurance," not unlike the precedent set in the 1940s by J.Edgar Hoover's hunt for Japanese and German subversives, or McCarthy's nation-wide hunt for "commies" a decade later. Hence, Johns was poised for "battle" when approached by Wenner and Wickstrom, the Zephyrhills editor, who united in opposition to a proposed visiting speaker who allegedly had been labeled a subversive by the U.S. Attorney General. They were joined in their zeal by Jane Tarr Smith whose son attended USF and regularly complained about the immoral and atheistic teachings of his instructors. General Lowry, says Egerton, encouraged Mrs. Smith to notify the Johns committee. Meantime, Wenner leaked news of the investigation to the *St. Petersburg Times* in the hopes of receiving credit for exposing his university as a 'campus of evil.' So sure was he of success that he stated that he had been 'working hard every night on this,' and that he was 'committed to assist in this cleanup,' which, he added, 'will be one of the most thorough house-cleanings in American educational history.' According to Wenner, there were many on this "campus of evil" who were aware of communist leanings, but no one, until he and his compatriots became involved, had the courage to take a stand. He announced that "it would all come out...when the Johns Committee began a public hearing in Tampa about ten days hence."[15]

Whether Wenner blew the whistle to Johns committee first, or Mrs. Jane Tarr Smith along with Ret. Lt General Lowry were the first to inform the committee of the evils on the campus of the University of South Florida, accusations were hurled at several faculty members. However, English professor, Dr. Sheldon Grebstein, bore the brunt of the Johns committee's enthusiastic hunt. The committee accused the 34-year-old Grebstein, a new assistant professor, of using "salacious material in his class," which led to his suspension by USF President Allen.[16] At the heart of the charges against Grebstein was his selection of an essay which exposed the baseness and emptiness of "beatnick" literature. The essay in question was contained in a textbook not in use at USF, but used at more than 100 other colleges and universities, including Louisiana State, Duke, and the University of Virginia.[17] Despite the good intentions of the *Tampa Tribune's* editor in putting the question of Grebstein's solid teaching record at the University of Kentucky before the public while positing the thought that "imaginative teachers will depart at the first opportunity; top professors in other institutions will shun Florida as the plague; and the remaining faculty members will be so careful to toe the line of the conventional and non-controversial that freedom of inquiry will steadily shrink," he weakened his argument by suggesting that perhaps Grebstein used poor judgement in not omitting the repugnant quotations.[18]

The beleaguered Grebstein came to his position at the University of South Florida with enviable credentials. He received his B.A. degree from the University of Southern California where he graduated cum laude. He went on to Columbia where he took an M.A. with distinction, and graduate from Michigan State with his Ph.D. As a new professor, he had published seven articles, one textbook, one scholarly book, several essays, two scholarly reviews and 125 newspaper reviews. The essay he chose for his English course which had come under heavy attack by a handful of parents was entitled "The Know-Nothing Bohemians," by Norman Podhoretz, editor of the intellectual journal, *Commentary*. According to Grebstein, "Bohemians," struck him as one of the clearest, most vigorous, most forceful pieces of its kind. The essay begins as a book review of two of Jack Kerouac's novels, but it quickly turns into an indictment of the "Beat Generation," with its low moral tone and emphasis on sex. Grebstein wanted his students to engage in works which contained in depth critical writing. He also took them through the rigors of writing in "normal" English, old fashioned rhetoric, and in a style that an ignorant writer would use. He said that he chose the article in question 'because it seemed to illustrate everything we were doing: It was a fine example of mixed language levels, with the author's skillful style contrasted to the poor work of those he was attacking; it was an excellent illustration of how effectively connotative language could be employed, and it was a typical review of the kind which appears in some of the most respected magazines.'[19] Grebstein was quick to point out that the article was not suitable for children, but that he did not regard university students as children nor himself a teacher of children, but rather a member of an adult intellectual community.

His measured and logical explanation stands in stark contrast to the actions taken by the few complaining parents, the fired lecturer, Tom Wenner, Wickstrom, an ultra-right journalist from a hamlet on the outskirts of Tampa, and Lowry, the retired Lt. General who was equally accused along with Wenner of launching the investigation in the first place–actions which included clandestine meetings and informal inquiries, all of which led to unfounded accusations. Grebstein mused that "A state builds a beautiful institution at a cost of millions of dollars, and then sits back and permits the viciousness of some people to destroy it as surely as though they had planted bombs beside its foundations."[20] He also held the belief that the objections to his choice of the Podhoretz article overstepped the bounds of common decency.

Grebstein, however, was not the only faculty member at USF to come under attack. Dramatics professor John Caldwell was suspended, in part, for not reporting a homosexual advance made by an individual to a student. He subsequently produced a witness who supported his claims that he did indeed report the advance. Caldwell was reinstated by President Allen which sparked a "stinging denunciation of the university's President by Charley Johns. Johns' actions prompted Caldwell to resign citing "These police state methods have made me and my colleagues almost physically ill and I can't tell you the contempt I feel as a result...I find I can't work in a system where such reckless pursuit of a teacher can take place. Since I am unwilling to suffer such vilification and slander from a source immune from prosecution, I have no choice except to resign from the field of higher education in the State of Florida."[21] He concluded his resignation by saying, 'Florida's state universities can't hope to attain greatness under the withering scrutiny of reckless investigations, for no teacher of stature will be willing to subject himself to such irresponsible attack.'[22] Professors, however, were not the only targets of the Johns Committee.

Dean Russel Cooper had invited Dr. Jerome Davis, the son of a missionary in China and former professor at the Yale Divinity School to speak to his Sophomore class in "The American Idea." According to the *Daytona Beach Morning Journal*, a professor (Wenner) from Zephyrhills–a small community on the outskirts of Tampa–along with an ultra-right small country newspaper editor (Wickstrom) objected to Davis' talk on the grounds that he was allegedly a communist. Dean Cooper vigorously defended his choice of Davis by stating that the Western position had well been discussed, but that no staff member could adequately present a critical look at American institutions.[23] However, Davis, author of the book *Capitalism and Its Culture*, already the victor of a libel suit against the *Saturday Evening Post*, possessed the depth of knowledge on the subject of communism which Cooper believed would help his students evaluate the merits and fallacies of both systems,[24] an endeavor he likely believed was an aim of a university education. The attack upon Davis by Professor Wenner and Wickstrom was only one way in which these two communist hunters sought to influence matters at the University of South Florida.

In a ten-series probe into the investigations at USF by the *Daytona Beach Morning Journal*, editor Mabel Chesley uncovered what can only be called "unsavory background information." Seems as though Wenner had summoned a USF female student to his home for what he called 'an evening.' Once there, she discovered other students entering and leaving a room one by one. She described her classmates as leaving the room with shocked expressions on their faces, or some with "smug expressions." When it was her turn, she quickly discovered that she had been invited to a small inquisition in which she was to "tell tales on her professors." Inquirers posed such questions as "Did she think that any of her professor had any 'Communist ideas?' Had she ever noted anything that was 'queer' in their behavior?" And, were teaching materials chosen by any of her professors 'lewd?'"[25] She left sickened. This informal inquisition was replaced a few weeks later by the formal Johns Committee investigation whose members summoned "students [who] were taken to motel rooms in Tampa and queried about their professors and their curriculum, and heavens knows what else."[26]

Further evidence of unsavory conduct by the Johns Committee was reported by the *Pittsburgh Courier* in its May, 1963 issue. Newspaper writers for the paper exposed a sex entrapment scheme organized by former Tallahassee policeman R.J. Strickland and chief investigator for Charley Johns. Strickland it seems hired a night club singer to invite an *Orlando Sentinel* reporter assigned to cover events in Tallahassee to her room. When he walked into the room, the singer-turned-informant, as he recalled, 'was wearing a robe open at the waist..I went in, and she turned out the lights.' 'I was sitting on the edge of the bed when everything happened at once.' The reporter described how the women pushed his head down at the same time a flash bulb went off followed by shouts of "I caught you at last." According to the Courier, "the motel room had been reserved by Strickland, who was in on the kill, also. Good ole Johns Committee, strictly on the job. No telling where Florida would be without it."[27] The irony of the Johns Committee hunting for examples of immorality in the halls of academe cannot be missed, yet where did the commission get the idea in the first place that USF was a hot-bed of immorality?

Perhaps a look at the actions of Jane Tarr Smith, mother of a USF student and early whistle blower, can shed light on this aspect of the investigation. Mrs. Smith, who usually signed her letters Mrs. Stockton Smith, wrote a lengthy explanation of the whole affair. Her 30 page, plus letter arrived on Egerton's desk in June 1962, shortly after news of the USF probe hit the stands, although by her own admission she had placed the letter on file with the State Investigating Committee in the latter part of April, 1962. According to her account, her son "Skipper," an outstanding former student at Washington and Lee University, now attending the new University of South Florida in his hometown, commented to his mother that "he felt that higher education should encourage good morals, faith, and patriotism, but that everything he had studied would tend to destroy these things." Smith was quick to observe that these accusations should be taken seriously as they came from her son, who was "a well rounded student, having a background of varsity football in high school and college, [and] being voted the most popular male student in his graduating class of 500, and receiving the Danforth award for leadership, one of the two awards given in the graduating class."[28] She launched into her rationale for intervening in what she believed to be a "bad situation" on the campus. However, she failed to present a line of reasoning that one could easily follow. Her words and analogies seemed more appropriate as testimony for a revival meeting than as a serious outline of events. She claimed the following: "The student is admonished to cast aside all previous beliefs and convictions, and through required reading material, and classroom discussion, by the vile approach to sex, destruction of faith in God, and extolling of ideas that are of socialist and communist origin, he would no longer have a choice in a way of life. His indoctrination in the teachings at the university would be complete, whatever they might be."[29]

Smith took her objections to Deans French and Cooper and three other faculty members. The mother of another student joined her in this endeavor. After presenting their case regarding vulgar readings and exposure to communist ideology, the academicians accused them of witch hunting and promptly dismissed them. Smith, however, was not finished. According to her own chronology of events which were guarded and somewhat sketchy, she continued to make contact with other parents and began to formulate a plan to bring a number of issues regarding the curriculum at USF before President Allen. Sometime in the spring of 1962, she and her husband, along with two other couples, sent letters to some 50 other couples in Tampa who she described as "responsible citizens, interested in the affairs of our community." Smith's "Dear Friends" letter spoke of communist front activities on campus in addition to "the daily problem of extreme, liberal, atheistic teaching by those who feel they have a monopoly on the cry for 'academic freedom.'" She invited representatives from two area newspapers, but they declined. Mayor Julian Lane, however, volunteered to speak for the group. Apparently he contacted Charley Johns on their behalf, along with Harrison, chairman of the State Board of Control. They were advised to present their evidence to Allen, but did not do so because as Smith put it, "they had already been caught up in the investigation through efforts outside their own."[30] Now Smith could cast her name in the I-am-not-responsible-for-the-investigation-ring along with those of Lowry and Wenner.

Smith took particular aim at instructional strategies and curriculum choice. Accordingly, she looked over the first semester English program and noticed that the bulk of material was on evolution, which she claimed was taught more as fact than theory. While she did not mention English professor Grebstein by name, much of his work, including a book, was on the Scopes Monkey Trial, a perfect irony. In any event, Smith cast her net wide and hauled in material such as *Patterns of Culture*, preface by anthropologist Margaret Mead, which she described as a book that dealt with the sex life of the African tribes. The author of *Patterns of Culture*, according to Smith, claimed that "there is no right or wrong behavior that it is whatever the culture or civilization determines it to be at the time–that homosexuality is determined right or wrong in the same manner; that, in some cases it is a sign of greatness or special talent." As for Mead, Smith interpreted the message in her book, *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935), a required text in USF's Human Behavior course, as simply a matter of making a behavior legal in order to make it OK, such as murder.[31] She went on to describe Aldous Huxley's, *Brave New World*, as "a waste of time," and that it was "stupid and boring as well as immoral, but still required."[32]

Perhaps most frightening of all Smith's remarks is her own admission that "What little I know about Communism, I have learned just recently." Yet, Smith clearly viewed herself as an authority on what should be considered good and proper for the rest of us, including views on communism. She said about her role in bringing the issues of communism, immorality, and atheism forward that "[her] interest in all this is motivated by a desire to preserve that which I have found good, so that others may have a choice of belief and way of life. If they do not so choose [to follow her lead], that is their concern. They will have had an opportunity. I am interested in preserving Christianity, and in so doing preserve democracy, for Christianity is the author of individual rights, as God is the Father of liberty."[33] Throughout Smith's often rambling letter, she offered quotes from speeches or writings made by J. Edgar Hoover in support of her ideas and actions. For example, in support of her criticism of academic freedom, she quoted Hoover in the following dependent clause as saying "I do fear so long as school boards and parents tolerate conditions whereby Communists and fellow-travelers under the guise of academic freedom can teach our youth a way of life that eventually will destroy the sanctity of the home, that undermines faith in God, that causes them to scorn respect for constituted authority, and sabotage our revered Constitution."[34]

The tragedy of this soap-opera is that it was real. Tom Wenner really did turn on his university and colleagues based on perceptions that USF was a hot-bed of communism; Lt. Gen. (RET) Lowry really did participate in both the University of Tampa debacle and the probe at the University of South Florida; Jane Tarr Smith really did "put her oar in the water" based on suppositions from her son Skipper who "chose" to come home to Tampa and attend the new university rather than remain at Washington and Lee; and, Senator Charley Johns really was the head of the Florida Investigative Committee which "terrorized" university campuses throughout the state of Florida for a decade. Despite the dark days of Florida's witch hunts, a few actors on the historical stage emerged with integrity somewhat intact. Certainly, press organs of the 1960s which carried stories to inform the public about the travails on Florida campuses, and support the idea of academic freedom on college campuses, did so despite the prevailing conservative climate. Professors whose curriculum and teaching methods came under attack, such as Sheldon Grebstein's, who later assumed the Presidency of New York State at Purchase, went on to distinguish themselves at other institutions. And even the young John Egerton, who created our "looking glass," is today recognized as one of the leading writers on the South. Yet, the purpose of this paper is not to show that "every cloud has a silver lining," but rather to examine the historical stage and its actors regarding Florida's "porkchop" politics, conservative public, and the struggle of one university to not only survive but to support and encourage its faculty and students in the pursuit of investigation, and freedom of thought in a South that Will Rogers once described as "staggering to the polls to vote for Prohibition."[35]

Endnotes

[1] 1996 speech by Egerton at the University of South Florida, hereafter known as USF, Egerton Papers, Special Collections, USF, Tampa, Florida, boxes 1-3.

[2] Ibid, p.2.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid, p.3.

[5] "University of Tampa plans firing of Hardeman," *Palm Beach Times*, Friday, (June 16, 1961), p. 11.

[6] "Tampa Battle Lines Drawn," newspaper article, State of Florida Archives, Tallahassee, Florida, Series 1486, Carton 14.

[7] "Completely Empty Promise," newspaper article, State of Florida Archives, Tallahassee, Florida, Series 1486, Carton 14.

[8] 1996 speech, p. 3, John Egerton, USF, Egerton Papers, Special Collections, USF, Tampa, Florida, boxes 1-3.

[9] See "David Hits Pork Choppers and Bankers in Talk Here," (March 25, 1960), Tampa Tribune, for additional descriptions of "porkchop politics."

[10] Ibid.

[11] "Politics Denied in Probe at South Florida U." *Tampa Tribune*, (May 22, 1962).

[12] "South Florida U. Assured Fair Probe," newspaper article, *Pensacola Journal*, (May 20, 1962), State of Florida Archives, Tallahassee, Florida, Series 1488, Carton16.

[13] "Politics Denied." *Tampa Tribune*, (May 22, 1962).

[14] "Lowry Links Foe To USF Probe; Gibbons Asks Greater Deeds," *Tampa Tribune*, (May 23, 1962), in The Congress Race.

[15] See Egerton speech (1996), p. 5, Egerton Papers, Special Collections, USF, Tampa, Florida, boxes 1-3.

[16] "USF Committee to file Report on Study of Professor's Ouster," (November 2, 1962), *Florida Times Union*, p. 29.

[17] "Shadow on the Campus," an editorial, (October 30, 1962), *Tampa Tribune*, p. 4-B.

[18] Ibid.

[19] "High Cost of Snooping," (December 17, 1962), 7th in a series of 10 by associate editor Mabel Norris Chesley, *Daytona Beach Morning Journal.*

[20] Ibid.

[21] "High Cost of Snooping: Miami Chapter of the ACLU Proves Frustrating to Charley Johns," (December 13, 1962), 4th in a series of 10 by Mabel Norris Chesley, associate editor, *Daytona Beach Morning Journal.*

[22] Ibid.

[23] "High Cost of Snooping: What Started Investigations of Educational Institutions?" (December 14, 1962), 5th in a series of 10 by Mabel Norris Chesley, associate editor, *Daytona Beach Morning Journal.*

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid, p.2 article F.

[26] Ibid, (December 19, 1962), 9th in a series of 10.

[27] "Fla. Witch-Hunters Seeking More $$$, " (May 4, 1963), *Pittsburgh Courier.*

[28] "Letter from Jane Tarr Smith," (June, 1962), Egerton Papers, Special Collections, USF, Tampa, Florida, p.1.

[29] Ibid, p.2.

[30] Ibid, p.4.

[31] See Jane Tarr Smith letter, p. 13.

[32] Ibid, p. 7.

[33] Ibid, p.14.

[34] Ibid.

[35]. 1996 speech by Egerton at the University of South Florida, hereafter known as USF, Egerton Papers, Special Collections, USF, Tampa, Florida, boxes 1-3.

Progress in Dillon: William Chandler Bagley and Montana Education, 1902-1906

J. Wesley Null
The University of Texas at Austin

Historical investigations into American education often reveal the efficacy, or inefficacy, of attempts to improve the education of youth. Studies that attempt to uncover past reform proposals often reflect back to the first half of the 20th century. To understand the complexity of the ideas of this period, any such study should take psychology into account. Since no degrees in education, curriculum, or educational psychology existed at the turn of the century, many individuals who hoped to improve American education completed graduate preparation in psychology. American psychologists at the turn of the century, however, were only beginning to break away from the philosophical traditions from which psychology arose. In making this break, they began to concentrate on scientific, experimental based investigations (Marx and Hillix 1963, 113-152; Boring 1950, 550-583). For at least the first fifteen years of his career, William C. Bagley considered himself a psychologist who was attempting to improve the education of youth through the application of scientific principles to teaching and learning.

As one of Bagley's most significant professors, Cornell psychologist Edward Bradford Titchener attempted to explain the structure of the adult, human consciousness through the individual process of introspection. Titchener's psychology, known as structuralism, grew out of his reverence for and close alliance with Germany's Wilhelm Wundt. To conduct studies, the process of introspection required highly-trained, mentally disciplined "observers," or subjects. Importantly, neither Titchener nor his students at Cornell conducted studies that related specifically to students, child study, individual differences, animal psychology, or abnormal psychology (Roback 1952, 180-191; Flugel 1933, 176-190).

In opposition to Titchener's philosophically related structuralism, another approach to psychology began to capture the interest of American psychologists. Known as functionalism, this very different outlook for psychology worked toward its application to contemporary social issues in general and education in particular. Psychologists such as G. Stanley Hall, John Dewey, and James Rowland Angell eagerly advanced this new movement. By the early 1900s, functionalist psychology began to secure the more dominant role in the field (Dewey 1902; Hall 1903; Turner 1967). Without question, the *zeitgeist* enabled Hall and the other functionalists to influence many psychology graduate students and contribute to the growth of functionalist-related studies (Schultz and Schultz 1996, 119-120).

During his graduate work at the University of Chicago, the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and eventually Cornell, William C. Bagley's professors introduced him to both of these approaches to psychological investigation. In Madison, Bagley studied with psychologist Joseph Jastrow. In the developing functionalist tradition, Jastrow had worked as a student, in the 1880s, with G. Stanley Hall and John Dewey at Johns Hopkins. As one of Jastrow's Master's degree students in Madison, Bagley became introduced to the practical, functionalist approach. He completed his Master's thesis, entitled "A Study in the Correlation of Mental and Motor Ability in School Children," in May of 1898.

Interestingly, Bagley then traveled to Ithaca, New York, to work toward a Ph.D. under the nationally famous E. B. Titchener. Titchener's disagreement with the functionalist approach did not allow Bagley to continue his studies along this line. During Bagley's four years at Cornell, as evidenced by his dissertation, he was immersed in Titchener's structuralist psychology (Bagley 1900). To be sure, Titchener's views on the relationship between psychology and education impacted Bagley's thinking for the rest of his career. Titchener's basic position that structuralist psychology was essential and that functionalism was secondary, if not superfluous, was replayed by Bagley, consciously or not, throughout his career. Although the arena was education and not psychology, the basic positions of Titchener in 1900 and Bagley in the 1930s, which both assumed an "essential" role, were strikingly similar (Marx and Hillix 1963, 113-138; Roback 1952, 189-191; Titchener 1898; Bagley 1938).

In the spring of 1900, Bagley completed his Ph.D. under Titchener. Following the completion of his degree and unable to locate employment in the "public school service," Bagley continued to work in Titchener's laboratory, through the spring of 1901, as a laboratory assistant (Johanningmeier 1969, 8; Kandel 1961, 7-8). After his one year as Titchener's assistant, Bagley accepted an elementary principal position at Maramec Elementary School in the St. Louis public schools—a school system spearheaded by William Torrey Harris two decades prior to Bagley's arrival. After this one short year in St. Louis, Bagley, his wife, and their three-month-old daughter, traveled over 2000 miles west to the western Montana mining town of Dillon.

Five years prior, in 1897, Montana legislators chose Dillon for the state's first teacher training institution. Founded as a land grant school whose sole purpose was the preparation of teachers for the entire state, Montana State Normal School (MSNS) quickly became the pride of this tiny, mountain-nestled community. The city directory aptly described the inhabitants' elegant view of their quintessential western frontier town:

Dillon is a city of 2,600 inhabitants. It is situated on the Oregon Short Line, being a part of the Harriman system. It is one of those marvels of the aggressive West, and is to-day one of the solid, substantial towns of the great Northwest.

It is the County Seat of Beaverhead County, and is most beautifully laid out in one of the prettiest mountain valleys. Located on the banks of the Beaverhead river, one of the headwaters of the mighty Missouri, it looks out upon a broad, level valley, with silvery streams flowing from every side to the Beaverhead river. Few towns in the Northwest can present such a splendid record of progress, or such bright prospects of future greatness as Dillon (R. L. Polk and Company 1906, 17).

Upon his arrival in Dillon, Bagley's position consisted of professor of psychology and pedagogy and the Director of the Teacher Training School. As a typical normal school, Dillon's professors divided instruction into the normal and training departments. Teachers in the normal department formed the general education equivalent and instructed students in such courses as physiology, English, history, physics, biology, German, and calculus. Upon the completion of approximately two years of general coursework, Bagley directed students toward the more advanced topics of psychology and its relation to teaching. After a firm foundation in psychology, Bagley arranged for the students to conduct their practice teaching in the Dillon Public Schools.

After his arrival in Dillon on August 14, 1902, Bagley worked toward improving the education of not only his normal school students but also the students of the Dillon Public Schools (The Dillon Tribune 1902a, 8; The Dillon Tribune 1902b, 4; The Dillon Examiner 1902, 2). In an interesting twist of fate, school board members released the superintendent of the Dillon Public Schools, and, after a good deal of controversy, Bagley accepted the superintendency on January 21, 1903 (The Dillon Examiner 1903a, 5; The Dillon Tribune 1903a, 7; The Dillon Tribune 1903b, 8). In its coverage of the former superintendent's release, the Dillon Examiner reported that the school board "wished the position for another." This "other" was not specified, but Bagley was very likely the desired candidate. In fact, he accepted the position, without the report of any other candidates, only ten days following the previous superintendent's resignation (The Dillon Tribune 1903b, 6). This appointment to superintendent permitted Bagley to assume what some Dillonites viewed as a revolutionary position. He now occupied the twin roles of Director of the MSNS Training School and the primary decision-maker for the entire school district. By doing this, he assured that all the normal school teachers-in-preparation could work closely with Dillon's teachers and students. Also, the students of Dillon now benefited from more intense instruction and a significant number of additional teachers. To many Dillon residents, however, the most laudable aspect of Bagley's new dual-position was his declination of any sort of payment for his role as superintendent. Every mention of Bagley as the new superintendent, in both papers, proudly stressed that he worked "without pay" (The Dillon Examiner 1903c, 5; The Dillon Tribune 1903c, 7).

While he acted as superintendent, Bagley, of course, continued his work as professor of pedagogy and psychology at the MSNS. Class descriptions for Bagley's five years show a conspicuous pattern. In each psychology course, Bagley first had students read works of structuralist psychology with a particular emphasis upon Titchener and William James. In fact, Titchener's *A Primer of Psychology* and *An Outline of Psychology* were used as texts in several of Bagley's psychology and pedagogy courses (Montana State Normal School 1902, 14-15; Montana State Normal College 1903, 17-23). Only after this structuralist foundation had been formed did Bagley venture into the functionalist readings of Dewey and Hall. By no means did he neglect functionalism, but the practical, problem-solving related branches of psychology such as child study, individual differences, and mental testing, were for certain secondary in his courses.

After their completion of normal school requirements and a foundation in psychology, students at the MSNS then entered the classroom to begin their observations with "critic teachers." The Montana State Normal School paid critic teachers, or, in today's terms, "cooperating teachers," a salary as they created the link between the normal school and the public school classroom. Not all residents, however, reacted positively to Bagley's ideas for change. Some of them initially criticized his emphasis on experimentation with children. They viewed him as a "foreigner" who targeted Dillon's students as "guinea pigs." Nonetheless, Bagley quickly earned the admiration of Dillon's residents and, in one short year, was highly regarded throughout the community (Spiegle 1958, 56-60).

In the spring of 1903, after Bagley's first full year on faculty, the normal school adjusted its curriculum profoundly. In order to offer the Bachelor's of Pedagogy and the Master's of Pedagogy degrees, the curriculum was extended and thus the name of the school changed to Montana State Normal College (Montana State Normal College 1903, 7-8). Faculty meeting minutes from this period indicate Bagley's heavy involvement with the changes in curriculum, and his presence on campus no doubt aided the school in its ability to enlarge its curriculum offerings (Lucy Carson Library Archives 1903).

The school's expansion to college status corresponded with yearly increases in student enrollment. From a graduating class of 3 in 1901 to a class of 21 in 1903 and finally to 24 in Bagley's final year, news regarding the college and its efforts to improve Montana education was overwhelmingly positive (History Statistics Studies of Western Montana College n.d.). In the spring of 1904, Bagley accepted the position of Vice-President for the upcoming 1904-1905 school year and retained his Director of Training and professor of psychology and pedagogy appointments. Thus, since his arrival in August of 1902, Bagley had rather quickly assumed the three important roles of superintendent, director of the state's only teacher training school, and Vice-President of the Montana State Normal College (MSNC).

In addition to these three important roles, Bagley also traveled throughout the state to extend the teachings of the MSNC. College administrators required each professor of psychology and pedagogy to instruct, throughout the year, at various county teachers' institutes. The state superintendent of public instruction required each county superintendent, usually in fall or summer, to host a teachers' institute. During his five years in Dillon, Bagley instructed at no fewer than 23 of these institutes and became well known, by teachers and administrators, throughout the state (The Inter-Mountain Educator 1906, 332).

Naturally, Bagley's lessons for Montana's teachers corresponded closely with the classes he taught at the MSNC. Specifically interested in, but somewhat skeptical of, psychology's application to education, Bagley's initial lectures at each of these institutes consisted of his definition of psychology as "a collection of facts about consciousness." He also emphasized those aspects of psychology that could possibly be applied to education (The Montana State Normal College 1903a, 1). Importantly, Bagley also stressed that "the utility of formal psychology to the practical work of teaching has probably been overrated." (The Montana State Normal College 1903a, 1). As he pondered the relevance of psychology to education, Bagley prioritized several important attributes of good teachers:

> The teacher needs (1) common sense, (2) sympathy with childlife, (3) knowledge of subject matter to be taught, (4) cleverness at devices,--and then formal psychology. The last named cannot, in itself, compensate for deficiencies in the others. (The Montana State Normal College 1903a, 2)

Although acutely aware of the limitations of psychology, Bagley held firm to the conviction that science and psychology provided the best available insight into the improvement of instruction. The titles of other lectures that Bagley delivered at the county teachers' institutes included "The Function of the Mind" in which he spoke on life as the adjustment to future situations by the collection of experiences, "Attention" which he defined as a state or pattern of consciousness, "Habit and Fatigue" where he distinguished between automatic and reflex actions and spoke on the pedagogical importance of understanding mental fatigue, and "Memory and Language" in which he discussed the importance of language and its role in educational advancement (The Montana State Normal College 1903b, 1-5).

As has been seen, the possibility, or impossibility, of psychology's application to education occupied Bagley's thinking considerably during this period. Obviously eager to improve teaching through the application of science, Bagley attempted to discover the underlying principles behind the teaching process. Through the discovery and then teaching of these underlying principles to future teachers, he hoped that the educative process could be made more efficient. However, Bagley's mentally disciplined manner led him to hold doubts about the importance of experimental psychology in general and functionalist psychology in particular to education. In August of his second year in Dillon, he wrote:

> Works on educational psychology are of two kinds: (1) books written by psychologists who have

> little or no practical knowledge of the elementary school and its requirements; (2) books written by school men who have an inadequate knowledge of psychology. Of these two types the former possesses, probably, the greater value (The Montana State Normal College, 1903b, 6).

Indicative of his views toward what he would later term "the much-abused cult of 'Child-Study'," Bagley also wrote that the "standard works on child psychology are, however, numerous enough" (Bagley 1905, 185; The Montana State Normal College 1903b, 6).

Bagley's writing during the Dillon years concluded with his publication of *The Educative Process* in the fall of 1905. As a significant work in the attempted application of psychology to education, the topics that Bagley addressed spanned practically every substantial educational issue of the time. Representative of his combination of structuralist and functionalist psychology, Bagley accepted some of the approaches to the adaptation of psychology to education, but only in moderation. Due to the immense scope of *The Educative Process*, only a few of the most important points that Bagley addressed will be discussed.

Bagley began *The Educative Process* by "reducing education to its lowest terms" and, in true scientific form, tentatively defined education as "the process by means of which the individual acquires experiences that will function in rendering more efficient his future action" (Bagley 1905, 22). In other words, to Bagley, education provided the means through which individuals acquired those experiences that would allow them to learn from their own mistakes, and the mistakes of others, in hopes of making better decisions in the future. After detailed descriptions of formal and informal education, Bagley delineated five "aims" of education, each of which he described as important, and sometimes detrimental, in differing degrees. The first, "'The Bread-and-Butter' Aim," he defined as that which would "enable a student to earn a livelihood" and then concluded that this aim was what motivated most parents to send their children to school (Bagley 1905, 44). The second aim, "The Knowledge Aim," consisted of the antithesis of the first. In this definition, the knowledge aim reflected "a view of life that would minimize its material expressions and emphasize the ideal . . . representing the life of leisure" (Bagley 1905, 46). His third educational aim, which he titled "The Culture Aim," emphasized the importance of certain elements of culture that adults should be responsible for passing on to children. When he contrasted "The Knowledge Aim" with "The Culture Aim," Bagley distinguished the two by writing:

> In the latter case [The Culture Aim], . . . knowledge is to be acquired, not for its own sake, but because tradition has developed certain standards of culture which imply the acquisition of certain items of knowledge,--the assimilation of certain conventional experiences (Bagley 1905, 48).

This third aim, The Culture Aim, remained highly important to Bagley for the remainder of his career. In fact, many of the arguments that he would raise against certain aspects of progressive education, over thirty years later, were based on the unwillingness of some "progressive educators" to address ideas closely related to The Culture Aim.

Bagley inelegantly titled his fourth aim "The Harmonious Development of All the Powers and Faculties of Man." He described this approach as aiming toward the student who would become "the jack-of-all-trades" or the "general utility man." In short, he contended that society should desire a system of education that produced some of these generalists but not an entire nation of them. Bagley again addressed the positive and negative aspects of this goal, as he did with all the others, and concluded that some, but not too many, "jacks-of-all-trades" were important (Bagley 1905, 50-51).

With Bagley's fifth and final aim, "The Development of Moral Character," Bagley drew upon Aristotle and Johann Friedrich Herbart to describe his position. Closely related to Bagley's use of the phrase "social efficiency," to be described shortly, Bagley wrote, "morality consists in the dominance of the lower and more primitive impulses . . . by higher ideas; a point of view, it will be seen, quite similar to that of Aristotle" (Bagley 1905, 56-57). The theme of suppressing one's individual, primitive impulses by reaching toward more remote and higher ideals for society pervaded *The Educative Process*. This highly important concept to Bagley took its most concentrated form in his description of "social efficiency."

Attractive and romantic terms in education often grow out of control and take on meanings quite dissimilar from the means by which they were originally employed. Somewhat like "progressive education," "outcome-based education," and "total quality learning," social efficiency, during the first three or four decades of this century, took on a variety of meanings to disparately thinking individuals. Though many Americans of this period worshipped at the altar of efficiency (Callahan 1962), Bagley was one of the first, if not the first, to employ the phrase social efficiency. In *The Educative Process*, Bagley's use of this concept had nothing to do with the training of individuals for work, the sorting of students into their "inevitable place in society," or the elimination of monetary waste in school administration. In contrast, social efficiency, to Bagley in 1905, was nothing more and nothing less than a moral position. As he drew upon the moral philosophy of Herbart and elevated social efficiency to the ultimate end of education, Bagley defined social efficiency as:

> The standard by which the forces of education must select the experiences that are to be impressed upon the individual. Every subject of instruction, every item of knowledge, every form of reaction, every detail of habit, must be measured by this yardstick. Not What pleasure will this bring to the individual, not In what manner will this contribute to his harmonious development, not What effect will this have upon his bread-winning capacity,--but always, Will this subject, or this knowledge, or this reaction, or this habit so function in his after-life that society will maximally profit? (Bagley 1905, 60)

In other words, to what extent did education help individuals to learn the importance of suppressing their own individual wants and desires for the good of society as a whole? Only after certain individuals rushed this view to its extremes was the idea intended to sort and train individuals for their "destined" role in society (Callahan 1962; Kliebard 1995, 77-105; Chapman 1988). Importantly, Bagley's most frequent use of "social efficiency" can be found in *The Educative Process*; and, as the efficiency movement gained momentum, Bagley applied the phrase less and less until he very rarely wrote it at all.

As important as Bagley's definition of social efficiency is to the understanding of his early work, contemporary readers discover the most instructive portion of his 1905 book in the introduction to his chapter on Child Development. While Bagley labored to improve educational offerings in Montana, the child study movement took shape, and, as the years passed, increased in influence. Though the child study literature emanated from points over two thousand miles east of Dillon, Bagley nevertheless posited well-informed positions on these ideas. His writing of this period revealed that he read child study literature and then cautiously addressed his students with carefully selected aspects of functional psychology. However, in typical Bagley form, as the movement gained momentum and popularity, Bagley's emphasis upon it weakened. Even though he fully recognized the importance of child study and what would become one important aspect of "progressive education," Bagley predicted some possible negative repercussions of what he later termed "soft pedagogy" (Bagley 1939). The insightfulness of his introduction to child study warrants its lengthy citation:

> The charge of "loose" schoolcraft and a demand for a return to the older and harsher educative methods frequently recur in contemporary educational literature. Under the present regime, it is asserted, drill and discipline have become obsolete terms, effort is at a discount, and the net result is a loss of stamina and a weakening of the moral fiber. But when these charges are made, the "new" education seldom lacks a champion to defend it. The harsher methods, it is maintained, have been justly eliminated. The well-drilled, finely disciplined individual is at best a machine, and modern life requires delicate judgments, adequate to ever differing situations, rather than the machine reaction adapted only to typical situations.

Both parties to this controversy appear to have neglected some very important data that have been accumulated during the past ten years by the now unpopular and much-abused cult of "Child Study," and this neglect is the more unfortunate because the light that child study throws upon the main question at issue renders these heated and speculative discussions quite superfluous. Effort and interest, habit and judgment, repetition and organization, all have a legitimate and indispensable place in the educative process. If certain methods have been emphasized at the expense of others, it is simply because, with his human propensity to hasty generalization, the enthusiastic educator has assumed that a factor which he finds to be efficient at one period of development is equally efficient at all periods of development (Bagley 1905, 184-185).

With a quick interpretation of Bagley's comments, one might conclude that his position regarding child study was ambivalent at best, or, at worst, inchoate. Nothing could be further from the truth. Closer inspection of Bagley's career revealed his lifelong tendency toward intellectual eclecticism and a mentally disciplined, passionate-free approach to educational reform. Without question, he strongly supported some elements of developmentalism. However, he always tempered his advocacy of these ideas with cautious comments about their possible overemphasis.

These three lessons from *The Educative Process* should most certainly inform teachers and administrators when they arrive at decisions today. Bagley's level headed approach to reform attempts, his five aims of education, and his instructive definition of education combine to provide an important historical lesson. To repeat Bagley's most concise view of education:

> Education may be tentatively defined, then, as the process by means of which the individual acquires experiences that will function in rendering more efficient his future action (Bagley 1905, 22).

Bagley's positions on these issues raise several important questions. First, and to use his terms, to what extent have educators acquired the experiences of Bagley, and other historical figures, to render more efficient their future actions? In other words, how important are the experiences of historical figures in typical contemporary educational discussions? Secondly, have teachers, administrators, and policy-makers attended to Bagley's warnings? Or, do some educators continue to suffer, almost a century later, from a "propensity to hasty generalizations"? If policy-makers choose the dimmer path and ignore the experiences of Bagley, and other past educational leaders, their decisions lack historical depth.

Disagreements between psychologists such as Titchener and Dewey are absolutely necessary to the consideration of lessons from this period in educational history. The attempted application of psychology to education, through the functionalist approach, followed Bagley as he departed Dillon in June of 1906 and accepted the Director of Teacher Training position at Oswego, New York. Bagley's Oswego appointment corresponded with the shrinking importance that psychologist's placed upon Titchener's structuralist approach. In his subsequent work, he had little choice but to practice some aspects of the functionalist psychology that many viewed as directly applicable to teaching. These formative years of Bagley's career, which consisted of his graduate school preparation and his time in Dillon, indicate several important precursors to his future positions. His choice to work with E. B. Titchener required his study of non-education related topics that were in opposition to those aspects of psychology that would form the basis of progressive education. Also, Bagley insulated himself from the leaders of developmentalism, child study, and mental testing when he relocated to Dillon. He most certainly read the literature that emanated from more eastern locations such as Chicago and New York, but his isolation from the centers of progressivism no doubt affected his association with and attitude toward the "new education." The differences in context between Dillon and larger cities cannot be overemphasized. That which would have been considered more "traditional" in Chicago was most certainly progress in Dillon.

Interestingly, Bagley virtually ended his relationship with functionalist psychology toward the middle portion of his career. Rather than write on psychological topics, Bagley focused his efforts on issues such as curriculum, American and world history, and the general acceptance of teaching as an art rather than an applied psychology (Johanningmeier 1969; Bagley 1931; Yoakam, Bagley, and Knowlton 1938; Beard and Bagley 1935; Nichols, Bagley, and Beard 1938; Beard and Bagley 1925; Bagley 1937; Bagley and Macdonald 1933). In the late 1920s and 1930s, he practiced a form of psychology much closer to that of Titchener's structuralism. Rather than his concentration on the direct application of psychology to education, in the functionalist tradition, Bagley assumed the philosophical role of mental reflection. With this disciplined, meticulous, mentally controlled approach to educational issues, Bagley avoided advocating any of the unfortunate reforms that he often referred to as "the new fashions in education" (Bagley 1931, xi). Perhaps today's educators could benefit from Bagley's approach.

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Middle 19th Century Heartland Schooling: A View from the Top

Mark McKenzie
Illinois State University

Here in the State of Illinois (sometimes called the "heartland") at the beginning of our "grand experiment" of public education, there were few if any qualified professional educators to serve on our (or any other mid-west state's) State Board of Education. Thus, out of necessity the "tradition" of lay boards began. At least some of the members of these lay boards (and the Board in particular) have been portrayed in the histories as educational heroes (Marshall 1956, Teacher Education 1957), often characterized as leaders without fault and faultless decision makers.

Whether the lay board is still the only option in any state is debatable, but in contrast to those previously published histories, a not very careful reading of this Board's work as preserved in the Board's proceedings indicates that they were "shooting in the dark," uninformed by rigorously debated theories of education and training as far as their decisions of educational policy were concerned. Instead of men of "vision" imbued with foreknowledge and special insight into what our society needed, a great deal of what they accomplished was situational. That is to say that the experiment worked (survived, persisted, grew) this time because the time was right. For this particular situation, never before experienced concentrations of population and wealth and the demands of a changing economy defined the time. To be blunt, the experiment worked because it made sense in the context of these times while other experiments (or theories that never made it to the experiment stage) did not because in their times they did not make sense. And once started, mere inertia accounts for a great deal of the continuance of their enterprise.

That is not to say that the study of the work of these early "directors" of the public education experiment is not worthwhile, for even when all of these influences are factored out, there is still something left. Something that can perhaps inform us about the working of present day boards of education and how much faith we ought to have in the decisions and pronouncements they make. For after all, the work of the boards of education had meaning, impacted the lives of many, and is worth investigating to see how they approached problems and implemented attempts at solutions, even when they got it wrong.

Purposes

Why did we so involve ourselves with the schooling of the state's children? Why did we involve ourselves in the training of teachers to teach these children? The answer is paternalism, a paternalism of the community's elite members directed to all others, including both the adults and children of the State. This perspective is manifested as the central ideology of an address given by General C. E. Hovey during the quarter Centennial of the University.

> This principle has its foundation in the fact that every child has an absolute right to an education at the hands of somebody, to an extent that shall properly qualify him to discharge his duties as a citizen. Experience shows that when education is left to the voluntary actions of parents and others, it is greatly neglected, and amounts almost to failure. Children come into the world in a helpless condition and remain so for years. They cannot educate themselves anymore than they can provide for themselves food and clothing. Hence, the duty and necessity of government, providing general laws, ample means for their education. (Hovey 1882, 184)

The general meanings (elitist paternalism) of Hovey's looking back assessment are upheld when we examine the minutes of earlier Board meetings. In a report to the Board, a committee, consisting of only Board members, addressing the addition of a course in agricultural studies, say, "So far as the letter and spirit of the charter (and in the spirit of this essay it is interesting to note that while they say charter here, there is no charter, there is only the legislative act founding the University) are concerned, there is no doubt but the object of the University is to furnish competent teachers for the Common Schools" (Illinois State Board of Education 1868, 9). The committees use of the word "competent" would seem to imply they are conscious of practicing teachers' general incompetence. Thus, the paternalism of Hovey's comment on ample means for the education of the State's children can be extended even unto the teachers of those children. This paternalistic ideology will, however, undermine the development of a clear mission for the new Normal University.

In another report, this time authored by the full Board and read into the record by S. W. Moulton, President of the Board at the December 20, 1860 meeting, reflecting upon the accomplishments of the Board and the University, they state, "In section four of the act the object of the Normal University is defined to be, to qualify teachers for the common schools of this State, by imparting instruction in the art of teaching in all branches of study which pertain to a common school education, in the elements of the natural sciences, including agricultural chemistry and animal and vegetable physiology, in the fundamental laws of the United States and of the State of Illinois in regard to the rights and duties of citizens, and such other studies as the Board of Education may, from time to time prescribe" (Illinois State Board of Education 1868, 4-7). Thus even within the language of the legislative act is the implicit assumption that the teachers working in the Common Schools were not academically prepared for the task of teaching.

While the founding legislative act does not explicitly so state, there is such a belief explicitly evidenced by the language of the Board's members that the teachers now working in the new, free Common Schools of the state are not academically prepared for the work. This view of teachers employed in the free schools is exemplified in a report to the Board in 1857 by one of the founding Board members, Dr. George P. Rex:

> No person can teach that which he does not himself fully understand. To understand what to teach is therefore the first logical step in his course of preparation. Our Normal University should not be required to take this step, but will be compelled to do so by reason of the defective superficial teachings of our primary schools. Could our Normal University be supplied with pupil-teachers already qualified in respect to mere scholarship, the labors of our institution would be vastly abridged and simplified, and it would be far more efficient and useful. (Rex 1868, 9-10)

Not only are the teachers in the free public schools poorly qualified in the act or art of teaching, they lack proficiency in the subjects and knowledges being taught. The tension caused by the competition for time and energy in the training of the teaching art and teaching the knowledge to be taught will persist for a long, long time in the University.

Indeed, every few years the question reemerges of where the boundary ought to be between teaching the art of teaching scholarship to others and teaching the pupil-teachers scholarship. Periodic challenges will be made to the level of funding the University receives because of how much time is spent in academic instruction. The dissatisfaction with teaching candidates' academic preparation (a preparation achieved in the State's Common Schools) exists at the beginning and will persist regardless of the numbers of Normal School graduates who begin teaching in the Common Schools of the State. So, while the University may be improving the competency of the teachers, the students they teach never become competent enough to eliminate academic instruction at the Normal University.

The other important element of the 1857 act creating Illinois State Normal University is the broad and non-specific powers granted the Board in bringing about improvements in schooling in the state. The Board will not ignore this gift of power. They will exercise it, and in the beginning without any consultation with any versed in or "students" of the schools of the United States. By virtue of their appointment to the Board of Education, they become qualified to rule on what ought to be in all areas of schooling in the state.

Goals, Tensions

Some problems seem truly intractable. As today, when efforts to improve school teachers come into conflict with a voracious school system that chews up huge numbers of new teachers and is willing to go outside the professional route and employ any warm body if the numbers of available teachers ever falls below replacement values there is a problem. As a result anything done in teacher preparation to sort out the worst candidates or increase the standards for professional admission which might decrease the numbers of available teachers must be ballanced against the possibility of becoming irrelevant.

This type of situation is normal for the Normal University during the early years. The number of graduates are small, there are just ten members of the first graduating class (three of who are hired to work in the University's model school) for example. And public schools wanted the teachers trained by the normal schools. Public schools wanted them so much that they often would not wait until they had graduated. Even attending just one or two terms would get the normal school student a job offer at one of the better common schools and with higher than average wages. Is it any wonder the completion rates for people entering the four-year training program were so low despite all attempts to convince pupil-teachers of how important completing training would be in their work?

The Nature of the Board, Lay Expertise

The Normal University begins very humbly. There are only two faculty members, C. E. Hovey, the principal of the University, and Ira Moore. While the numbers of faculty increases in the early years, for the first two years, as Hovey was traveling around the state drumming up support for the new University, Ira Moore was left with the responsibility for the instruction and day-to-day operations. Mr. Moore is of interest because he is an exemplar of what can happen when non-professional educators hold ultimate power of judgement over professionals.

In July 1861, a complaint is filed against Mr. Moore because of demerits he assigned to one M. I. Morgan, which prevented Mr. Morgan from graduating. Twenty-five students sign a letter (with some writing additional letters to the Board) about the matter. In the group correspondence, the students write that Mr. Moore showed "unwarrantable bitterness of reproof, and gross injustice, in recording undeserved marks against Mr. M. I. Morgan and others" (Illinois State Board of Education 1868, 4-5).

The documents were placed on file and a special committee was constituted to investigate the matter. The committee, consisting of Mr. Post, Mr. Green and Dr. George Rex, reported that while "they are unwilling to interfere with the discipline of the school by ordering the removal of the misdemeanor marks against Mr. Morgan and others, they are at the same time clearly of the opinion that the treatment of Mr. Morgan by Mr. Moore, and other acts of the latter, in the premises, were much harsher than the circumstances required or justified" (Illinois State Board of Education 1868, 9).

While the school Board may have been unwilling to remove the marks, they are more than willing to make sure the marks mean nothing. The Board allows M. I Morgan to graduate with the 1861 "class" even without completing the class "Theory and Practice of the Teacher" (what we today would call a foundations of education course, of course) as he did not need it because of prior teaching experience.

While unwilling to interfere with the discipline of the University, they are willing to change the make up of the faculty when the next year's contracts are made. It is not surprising that Ira Moore's new contract, while submitted to the Board, is voted down.

Perhaps Mr. Moore was a very bad person and perhaps Mr. Morgan did not deserve to be so treated that it would prevent his graduation. It is often difficult to know these things even after the passing of time. In this case, however, there is some interesting information that comes out over the times of their respective lives to support the proposition that the Board ruling perhaps did not do full justice.

The United States Civil War has begun before Ira Moore is fired. Eventually both Ira Moore and M. I. Morgan will join up. Mr. Moore will join an Illinois company led by his old colleague, the soon to be General Hovey. Mr. Moore will serve until the end of the war and then go on to a long career in schooling, including holding the principalship (presidency) of a Normal School in Minnesota, the vice principal position of San Jose Normal and the Presidency of Los Angeles Normal (Harper 1939).

In contrast, Mr. Morgan will teach for a year, then resign to join the military as an officer. He will serve for about a year before leaving because of "ill health." Back in Illinois, he will serve as principal of a common school until his health recovers (one year) and he moves to Ohio to become a farmer. After the Ohio move, M. I. Morgan disappears from the "educational" scene having been involved in schooling (post Normal University experience) only two years.

At the celebration of the school's existence for 25 years, old students return and share stories about their experiences. These stories consist of retellings of many of the misdemeanors they committed, often targeting their instructors (including Ira Moore). There is no lack of complaining about various habits, demeanors, and behaviors (academic or otherwise) of various instructors who served at the University in those 25 years. This tearing down does not include Ira Moore. Indeed, the episode of the challenge to Ira Moore is absent from these tales. It is also interesting that the student M. I. Morgan is not only absent from the celebration, he is also absent from the reminiscences of his classmates.

Considering how the comments made by the various principals/presidents of the Normal University during the 19th century about the lack of seriousness and dedication of too many of the students it is entirely possible that there was some justification for using the formal power of the institution to chastise and punish a few of the students in Morgan's class. Considering how many people who want to be students in the Normal University will be either turned away or counseled out in later years for either lack of preparation in academic skills and knowledge or the self-discipline needed to acquire those skills and knowledges, it is possible that M. I. Morgan was just an earlier example of one of the people who had not exactly found their life's calling in teaching.

Following the explanation of the Board, it is possible that in the courts of law the demerits given for what are legally only misdemeanor offences did constitute unjust punishment. It is also possible that the same hot, fiery pot belly stove pranks would produce more laughter if it occurred somewhere other than a school, the prankster was someone other than a student, and the person being "pranked" was other than the teacher (John W. Cook and James V. McHugh 1882).

Politics and the Board's Powers

The Board also adopted several interesting positions on politics. Perhaps following the model of the United States Supreme Court, the Board believes that despite the political process by which they are appointed to serve, once appointed they will conduct their affairs "independent" and "without recognition" of any political party. Here the analogy breaks down, however, for the relationship between a justice and their law clerks perhaps ought to be different than the relationship of Board member to University faculty. Yet the Board believes it can impose its decision about its own actions to the rest of the University. In 1864, the Board resolves, "That in the sense of this Board it is improper for teachers in the Normal University to take an active part in partisan politics; that to do so distracts their attention from their duties, and tends to impair their usefulness to the cause of education; by exciting political prejudice against not only the participants but the institution itself" (Illinois State Board of Education 1864, 4). The Board is aware of the perhaps constitutional import of their words so they qualify their first resolution with another resolution saying, "Resolved, That in expressing these views, the Board disavow any intention to interfere with the right of teachers to exercise the elective franchise, or to enjoy their political sentiments, free from censorships or dictation from any source" (Illinois State Board of Education 1864, 4). Thus 130 years ago we have a model of "don't ask, don't tell." Teachers are able to think political thoughts and even think they identify with and belong to political parties, just do not let anyone know what you think or believe. In this way the Board is able to protect both the University and the United States Constitution. Indicative of the relationship of the professional teacher, administrator, or professor to the Board, at least at the level of Board challenge, no formal protests are made to either of these resolutions.

There are also few limits the Board places upon itself regarding what goes on in the University. Just how controlling they can be is evidenced in an interesting resolution voted on and passed by the Board (with only one dissenting vote) regarding the pronunciation of the name of the State. For on the grounds of "euphony, and taste, and historic association" the Board decides that the "s" ending the name of the state of Illinois must be silent. All but one member of the Board found the "hissing sound of the s distasteful" (Illinois State Board of Education 1868, 11). This distasteful sound had practical consequences for, by its grating upon the ear, songwriters would avoid using the State's name in song and epic. And if songwriters would not use the State's name, then how could the deeds of the State's sons be immortalized?

The Board even realizes the possibility of challenges to foundation of its authority in this matter, for included in their directive to the personnel of the University is a statement indicating that "while we have great deference for the opinion of persons authorized to teach in high places" (Illinois State Board of Education 1868, 11), but even so, we still know better than you how to use the English language and how to pronounce the name of the State. An earlier Board, of course, could have said the same thing when they considered the punishments meted out by Ira Moore. They have great deference for the opinions of people qualified to teach in high places, but they hold to the belief that their knowledge is better than that of the professors.

The Board's expertise is not just about how to speak of and in the state, its expertise also includes the knowledge base a teacher ought to have. In 1865, the Board decides that all candidates for graduation write and give to the President of the University a paper on a subject in the fields of Geology, Botany, or some other subject in Natural History. What perhaps is more interesting is what the papers may not be about. There may be no titles about pedagogy. It is interesting that a higher education institution devoted to preparing people to teach would have the students doing the work of Natural History as a prerequisite for demonstrating their capacity for teaching the many skills and knowledge's of the common school.

The Board also extends the curriculum of the university beyond the subject of Natural History. In a resolution adopted in 1862, in part most likely motivated by the United States Civil War, states that the University should, as a "leading feature," teach "subordination to rules, obedience to laws, respect for Legislative enactment, and a high love for the state of Illinois (naturally pronounced with the s silent), as our own State" (Illinois State Board of Education 1862, 9).

The View of Public Schooling (including the University) From the High Places

The look of the new Normal University is important. Image may not be everything, but to the President of the University and to the Board, it is a definite something. In the case of Illinois State Normal University, this concern with a "look" for higher education will be manifested in a tree-planting program. The beginnings of this can be found in Principal/President Richard Edwards's address to the Board in 1865. Principal Edwards states:

> I feel that, in keeping up the tone and vigor of the institution in its internal life, there has been less attention paid to the externals--to the trees, grounds, etc.--than would have been desirable. But two things must be remembered in this connection: first, that it is not easy for one man to do all things well; and secondly, that of the two things mentioned, the internal life, the soul of the school, is by far the most important. It is said the curious traveler some times finds it very difficult to ascertain the location of some of the most eminent European Universities, so little display do they make externally. But this is a state of things by no means to be commended; either in the abstract or as applied to our own institution. No institution of learning should consent to be shabbily surrounded, except as a result of the direst necessity. (Edwards 1865, 6)

The way to dress up the University, sited as it is amongst grasslands and marshes, is to plant trees. Jesse Fell, one time newspaper editor and nursery man turned land developer, influential in Bloomington's winning the bid for the new school and now member of the Board, undertakes the task to acquire and plant mature and well-grown trees about the grounds. While Jesse was the most expert tree planter on the Board, Fell might not have done such a great job with his assignment. Despite the school still having an arboretum that carries Fell's name; we have no idea if any of the trees still living were trees that Fell planted, for Jesse kept no records. Perhaps even more telling than the lack of records about the planting activities is Fell's speech to the Board in 1876. While Fell was no longer a member of the Board, he was present at the meeting and was asked to speak. What he told the Board was that there were too many trees planted too close together on the grounds and many should be cut down. The Board then resolves to have Fell select and take down the problem trees (Illinois State Board of Education 1876).

While the Board has committed itself to not being political in its decisions about schooling in the State, other government officials are less so and have more strategic or vested interests in what they ask for. Thus we have periodic appeals to the Board to append what the University and the free public schools will teach. An example is a letter to the Board from I.N. Hayne, Adjutant General, asking for military "education in high schools and college." The logic runs something along the line of: since it took 18 months to prepare young men to fight and die in the Civil War, and skills of fighting are not beyond the capacity of even an elementary student, it would be more efficient and cheaper to train all boys to be fighters rather than wait until they are needed and only train some (Hayne 1866, 5).

At the same Board meeting another letter is read into the minutes, this time from W. L. Pillsbury, a faculty member calling for physical training to be made part of the curriculum. The object of Physical Exercise, he says, "is to give a man command over his body, so that he can use it with vigor, ease, and grace; and to promote such a degree of health that he may be, so far as health has anything to do with it, in the best possible condition for his work" (Pillsbury 1866, 6).

Just for fairness sake, at the time of this letter, there are 100 males and 279 females enrolled at the University. Although there are more women at the University than men, Physical Exercise is just for men. And while the exercise is to make the man more capable of his work and the work of the student is the study of teaching, during the exercise, if it is proper exercise, he should not think of his work. Therefore, the exercise must be of "such character that it shall wake up his interest, and make him forget, for the time, all thought of study" (Pillsbury 1866, 6).

The Curriculum

The State Board of Education has within its domain of responsibilities all the public or common schools in the state and not just the Normal University. At the Board's and the University's beginning, a committee is formed to examine and then recommend textbooks for use in the common schools. While the men given this responsibility are not professional educators and do not seek out the advice of any whom might have expertise in schooling and teaching, they cannot be accused of not having an ambitious schedule of work. A list of the titles recommended in 1857 included: Davie's, Ray's and Thompson's series of Arithmetics; McGuffey's and Sander's Revised Spellers and Readers; McElligott's Analyzer, Manual; Thomas' First Book of Etymology; Cornell's and Warren's Geographies; Green's, Clark's, Wells' and Pineo's Grammars; Weber's, Berard's, and Wilson's Histories; Quackenboss' Composition and Rhetoric; Cowdries' Moral Lessons; Well's Science of Common Things; Canning's Physiology; Parker's and Wayland's Philosophies; Youman's Chemistry, Atlas and Chart; Johnson's Agricultural Chemistry; Ray's and Davies' Algebras; Perkin's Geometry; Gillespie's Surveying; School Harp and School Melodies; Payson's, Danton's and Scribner's Writing Books; Webster's series of Dictionaries; Spencerian System of Penmanship; Bryant and Stratton's Bookkeeping; Bryant and Stratton's Commercial Law; Bryant and Stratton's Commercial Arithmetic (Committee on Textbooks, Illinois State Board of Education 1868, 14).

In total 21 books or series of books to be used as the common school curriculum. All to be completed in just six years. Although certainly very ambitious, nothing particularly outrageous is suggested by this curriculum list. The Board believed the children of the state ought to be able to read, to speak in public, and to write using clear sentences (and spell consistently when they wrote). The children ought to know something about the "lay" of the land they live in, both the physical and the cultural or historical lay of the land. They ought to be able to find their way about that land using maps and to mark their places on the maps using surveying techniques. They ought to know how the common things of their experience worked, they ought to be able to keep their financial accounts, lay out a field for playing that new fad baseball, as well as find the area of their farm fields and the volumes of containers (geometry and algebra). In addition, the children ought to be able to think deep thoughts (philosophy) and appreciate the finer things in life (playing the harp and singing melodious songs).

The last four books are additions to the list suggested four years later in 1861 and focus on what someone interested in running their own business might want to know. In this we already see the start of vocational training in the public schools.

The companion list for use at the university is somewhat smaller, but no less ambitious. The readings, not including what work the pupil teacher would complete in their professional studies classes and readings included: Mitchell's Series of Geographies; Gray's Botanies; Hanford and Payson's Book Keeping; Robinson's Elementary and University Astronomies; Robinson's Elementary and Analytical Geometries; Robinson's Surveying and Navigation; Guyof's Earth and Man; Maury's Physical Geography of the Sea; Haven's and Hamilton's Mental Philosophy; Andrew's Series of Latin Books (Illinois State Board of Education, 1868, 14).

Comparison of the two lists is revealing in that they are not the same in their breadth of knowledge. The areas or subjects of study do not exactly match up. Those who would be teachers are being asked to go beyond what they will be asked to teach their future students. This is not intended to be either simply remedial training to compensate for what they missed in their own common school experience. This is not intended simply to train the teachers for what they will be expected to teach. They are pursuing a course of study that combines with teacher training a curriculum similar to what would be found in a liberal arts college. In addition, if it is the intent of the Board for teachers to teach all these subjects to their students, then some will be taught by the teacher using only their own memory as resource for there are no comparable texts suggested for use in the schools.

It is also interesting to see the Board include a text on the physical geography of the sea, a text on astronomy, and a text on navigation. As studies of the stars and other celestial objects, sometimes-called astronomy, was practiced for centuries without the benefit of telescopes, it is possible to make this a subject of study in the common schools. Attempting to answer the question of the intent of these studies from an application perspective, however, it would seem the three subjects when put together would have the most immediate application when traveling across the oceans. I have no idea how many of the state's young men and women went to sea (or possibly Lake Michigan) for their careers. Perhaps members of the Board were just romantically influenced by the 1853 publication of "Moby Dick."

We can also see how this curriculum was internalize and operationalized by the early students because they were required to write a thesis for graduation and the Board decided to officially recognize this scholarship. As a result we have the titles of the thesis written by the graduating class of 1869. The titles of those works of scholarship, first from the women students, included: The Osage Orange; The Pines; Geraniums; The Linden; Water; Oak Trees;

Grasses.

And from the men students we have the following titles: Topography of McClean County;
Combustion of Coal; The Common Locust (with illustrations); Arboriculture; The Elm Tree; Frogs (with illustrations); The Wild or Black Cherry (with Illustrations); Ventilation; Ventilation (with Illustrations); Coal Veins of McClean County; Relative Strength of Different Lengths of Wood; The Two Maples (with Illustration) (Illinois State Board of Education, 1869, 6-7).

It does not take much analysis of these lists of to realize that there were some interesting processes occurring in the minds of the University's students in the selections of themes and the genders of the authors. In 1868 men graduates are still outnumbering women graduates (despite the predominance of women in attendance). The men also seem to like drawing more than the women do (although this could just be strategic action by the men to reduce the words they need to write while still producing an appropriately weighty tome). All of the titles are referring to items of personal experience, trees, plants, grass, and terrain. And when we consider the ongoing concern with the poor ventilation in the University's new building, even the two papers on ventilation make sense.

It may be no more than coincidence, but six months later at the next Board meeting, President Edwards reports that they have made efforts to raise the standard and quality of scholarship at the University. It is also resolved at the meeting that "Professors and Teachers in the University are requested to discountenance the presentation of gifts to them by students" (Illinois State Board of Education 1870, 9).

The construction of schools and the teacher training institutions producing teachers for those schools was a work in progress. Illinois State Normal University was the ninth public teacher training institution in the nation. There were few experts available to rely upon for advice. The powerful individuals within the community saw that the conditions of their society were slowly changing from agriculture to industrial businesses. Voting rights were expanding. Concerns for how much your neighbors and workers know becomes an important consideration for the lives and goals of these men.

The men who made up the Board felt the need to act and they did act. These acts, however, were not as certain or always successful as many of the histories of public schools, state school boards and universities seem to suggest.

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In Search of Education: Formation of Chinese Schools in the Mississippi Delta

Sieglinde Lim de Sánchez
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The Chinese of the Mississippi Delta comprise one of the lesser-known currents of the Chinese diaspora. Their settlements are cultural islands as well; for the immigrant Chinese and their descendants are remarkable for their collective independence, preservation of homeland customs, and maintenance of traditional social organization in a variety of alien environments. The experiences and struggles of the overseas Chinese attest to being accused of refusing to assimilate, as well as give vivid testimony to the resilience and adaptability of their old world institutions.

The Chinese of the Mississippi Delta are *sui generis*; their community stands out from those established by their ethnic compatriots throughout North America as there is no Chinatown in the Delta. These Chinese have been cut off from the religious, medical, educational, familial, village, and communal institutions that Cantonese brought with them to America. Most significant there are no clans, *hui kuan* [speech and locality associations], secret triads and temples established among the Delta Chinese (Kwong 1987). Such institutions are the mainstay of the overseas Chinatown – not only in the United States, but also throughout Southeast Asia, Latin as well as South America, and Africa. The Mississippi Chinese have forged a community without these traditional forms of organization. They have constructed their community around two other institutions: the nuclear family and the family-centered grocery store (Loewen 1971).

The Delta Chinese have been able to create their own type of community, first, because of the presence of sufficient women among them to make marriage and domesticity possible; second, because they took up a strategic if unwanted position between the White and African American populations, providing goods and services to the latter, while preserving and protecting the caste superiority of the former.

In addition, the children born of these intra-ethnic marriages also helped to solidify the Chinese group and deter its inter-ethnic marriages with African Americans. Ironically the very fact that these children were citizens of the United States by reason of their birth in America – while their immigrant parents remained "aliens ineligible to citizenship" until 1943 – caused them to suffer the rigors of segregated schooling. When Mr. Gong Lum brought suit in the United States Supreme Court in 1927 to prevent his children from being sent to the school for "colored" children, the Court decision was that Mr. Lum could not avail himself of the equal treatment clauses of the Burlingame Treaty between the United States and China because they applied only to Chinese aliens.

The first Chinese immigrants to the Delta were classified as "colored." They and members of the second and third generations managed to transform this pejorative identity tag and to establish a functional Chinese community. Nonetheless, their search for education as Mississippi Chinese and as Americans occurred against a background of shifting economic pressures and changing race relations. Though many if not most of the Chinese have left this region, the American South is richer as a result of their presence as a community.

In Search of Education

Since the arrival of Chinese immigrants into Mississippi during the 1870s, public state educational institutions in their districts of residence were set aside under the law for white students, and Chinese Americans were allowed to attend only on an individual basis (WPA 1939). African American schools were available to them, however their conditions were far from equal to their counterparts. Rejection from white schools was simply tantamount to complete exclusion from public education.

By the 1920s, several Chinese merchants who had managed to bring over their families from China faced the problem of providing their children with an education. Furthermore, many Chinese by this point in time were trying to evade their "colored" classification and did not want to utilize the existing African American schools (WPA 1939). Chinese men with families were particularly likely to feel this pressure, since they had already begun the transition from sojourner to immigrant (Loewen 1971). They made desperate attempts to avoid discrimination against their children.

Previous to the year 1924, Chinese children were admitted to the local public school for White children – the Rosedale Consolidated School. For many years, there were no restrictions in Rosedale on the Chinese race, perhaps because of their small numbers while, in some of the other towns and in surrounding counties, they were unwelcome (WPA 1939). Therefore, when news spread amongst the Chinese families of this particular town, several families attempted to send their children, by boarding them with another Chinese family, or, by moving into the Rosedale district themselves. This situation continued for approximately fifteen years, until the first case of the exclusion of Chinese from Mississippi schools occurred in 1924 in the circuit court case of *Lum v. Rice* (139 Ms. 760).

When Mr. Gong Lum's daughter, Martha, was asked to leave the Rosedale Consolidate School because of her race, he resolved to fight for her right to do so. His lawsuit set out to establish that being Chinese was different, and as such, should have different rights. Judge Alcorn, of the Mississippi Circuit Court, ruled that the Trustees had no right to forbid the Chinese the right of scholarship – that they were of the Mongolian race and not of the Negro. As such, "it is unreasonable, unjust, and arbitrary discrimination and classification to put the Chinese in a class with the members of a race wholly different from them in racial characteristics and thus to extend school facilities in such shape and under such conditions as to deprive them of their value or render them impossible of enjoyment" (139 Ms. 760). The case was then carried to the Mississippi State Supreme Court where in which Judge Alcorn's ruling was reversed, and the case dismissed. Judge Etheridge's Court found that under the Constitution of 1890, the Caucasian race had the right to preserve its race from a mixture with other races; and that, while the law was primarily made to protect the white race against amalgamation with African Americans, the Constitution Convention used the word, "colored," and the Court considered that it had been used "in the broad, rather than the restricted sense, its purpose being to provide schools for white, or Caucasian race, to which schools could not admit any other race, carrying out the broad and predominant purpose of preserving the purity and integrity of the white race and its social policy" (139 Ms. 760).

The Chinese were not satisfied with his finding, and therefore took their case to the United State Supreme Court. They too were unanimously disposed against the Chinese family's claim to exemption from the laws of Mississippi directly referring to the 1890 Mississippi Constitution where in which "separate schools shall be maintained for children of the white and colored races." Yellow, after all, was a color. Although the case did not triumph and resolve the problem of exclusion, it settled the debate on the definition of "colored races" as well as the status of Chinese and other non-whites, as understood in Mississippi (275 U.S. 78). In addition, it further exemplified how certain race relations were handled in the South where it occurred in small numbers.

One interviewee commented on the educational situation in the mid-1920s:

> The Chinese legally weren't allowed to go to the *Bo Guey* [White] schools, but because there weren't hardly many Chinese families back then, some went anyway. If a Chinese lived in a smaller town and interacted with the *Bok Guey*, they would let them attend their schools. Why you wonder? 'Cause they don't know no better. But as soon as someone objected on account of the law, they had to get rid of 'em (Wong, interview).

Another Delta Chinese resident added:

> Schooling was sure messed up in those days. I mean, if somebody – anybody – said you's colored, you's Chinese, then you would have to be dismissed. You see, that's what happened to Mr. Gong Lum. He got angry with the Rosedale School Board because they wouldn't let Berda and Martha in the *Bo Guey* school. But after he lost that court case in Mississippi, and then in Washington, the Chinese were bitter and unhappy (Gong, interview).

Although they were not necessarily upset at Mr. Gong Lum, the loss of this important case further decreased their educational options. Where in which prior to *Lum v. Rice*, Chinese children were able to attend White schools in small numbers, however, with the US Supreme Court's ruling, not only was this no longer possible, it was also considered illegal. Furthermore, this case exemplified that perhaps being a Chinese national was a far better choice for Delta Chinese in terms of their educational rights and privileges as granted by the Burlingame Treaty of 1868. Henry Joe, a Delta Chinese resident, commented on this while remembering the intervention of the Chinese ambassador on behalf of the Chinese during the hearing of that case.

> At that time, the Chinese were protected under the United States and China's Burlingame Treaty and Chinese citizens were supposedly entitled to live and go to school here… Even the Chinese Ambassador, V. K. Wellington Koo, attended the U.S. Supreme Court hearing. But you see, the Supreme Court said that Lum's children were not Chinese citizens. Both of them, Berda and Martha were born here… so they were American citizens. The Chinese lost the case. We might have won it if the children were Chinese nationals (Joe, interview).

After that ignominious setback, the court case set the parameters for the Delta Chinese in terms of new choices they could make as well as the paths they would have to create in order to attain education. One of their solutions included sending their children out of state for their education rather than have them attend the African American schools. If the parents chose not to take this option, another alternative was to hire private tutors, and the children therefore received their education at home. Often several families banded together and hired a Chinese tutor from California, or if this was not financially possible, they would seek the services of several local White schoolteachers.

In 1936, a more effective solution was finally agreed upon in the towns of Cleveland and Greenville. The school boards in both towns were willing to employ two White teachers, paid for by tax funds, to teach in a separate Chinese School. These separate Chinese schools would teach the same curriculum as the neighboring White schools during the day, and in the after school hours along with any vacations, the Chinese teacher, hired by the Chinese community, would supplement the children's studies with Chinese language, literature, and culture lessons. The Delta Chinese I interviewed noted that the these school were built with funds solicited from local businessmen and Chinese merchants in communities as far away as Chicago, New York, and San Francisco (Gong, Joe, Wong, interviews).

A desegregation process begin in 1945, when the school boards in both towns sought to close the Chinese schools because of their additional expense. By this time, the Chinese community had gained considerable influence in the Delta, and had several patrons to sponsor their admittance into the public schools. Although there was a large amount of local controversy regarding this matter, the Chinese won, and were admitted to the White schools in Greenville in 1946. As Greenville took the lead, many of the other Delta towns soon followed suit. However, in each case, the admittance required the passing of a city ordinance to this effect. It would not be until 1953 when the last town in the Delta, Leland, finally admitted Chinese students into their public schools (WPA 1939). Once they were open to the Chinese, the Cleveland and Greenville Chinese Schools lost their *raison d'être*.

Although the Chinese of the Mississippi Delta historically suffered discrimination throughout their quest for educational opportunities, they were nonetheless able to successfully establish alternative schools which paralleled the White educational institutions they were barred from. The schools that were founded prior to 1945 in the Delta were the results of the efforts of leading Chinese of the County and their friends, who, with tenacity and continuity of purpose, made it possible for the Mississippi Chinese children to be taught, not only English, but the Chinese language, literature and culture as well. As such, these schools not only functioned as sights of instruction, but as custodians of tradition.

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Bilingual Education and the Campaign for Federal Aid

Joseph Watras
University of Dayton

In the late 1960s, advocates of linguistic minorities tried to persuade the federal government to adopt legislation that would force educators to follow particular models of curriculum planning. These advocates claimed that educators had denied the rights of their constituents. Using this argument, they recruited parents and teachers to join their organizations. They hired lawyers who had worked for the NAACP, filed litigation in federal courts, and used the pressure from their political organizations and the resulting legal victories to shape federal legislation (Salomone 1986, 87-109). Unfortunately, questions arose about the role of public schools in preserving the family's heritage. For example, should programs of bilingual education teach Hispano children Spanish if they spoke only English? These concerns weakened the efforts to gain federal support for bilingual education.

Advocacy groups for linguistic minorities began as political associations whose aim was to advance the social and economic integration of immigrants into American society. For example, from 1920 to 1929, more than 500, 000 people emigrated from Mexico to the United States. These people joined together to help each other. For example, in 1918, a fraternal society in South Texas, the Order Sons of America (OSA), superceded the former mutual aid society, Liga Mexicanista de Beneficencia y Proteccion, and expanded its concerns to voter registration, citizenship applications, and representation in jury selection. In order to coordinate the activities of such groups as the OSA, several prominent Mexicans met in 1929 in Corpus Christi, Texas and formed LULAC, the League of United Latin American Citizens. In 1956, LULAC began a series of pre schools called the Little School of 400. Named after a list of 400 essential English words for children to learn before they entered first grade, the Texas legislature imitated this model from 1960 to 1964 (Marquez 1989, 15-17, 51-52).

Professional educators organized efforts to help linguistic minorities. In 1965, the National Education Association (NEA) surveyed the Mexican American children in the southwestern region of the United States. In their report, The Invisible Minority, the NEA committee noted that there were 1.75 million Mexican American children in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. Although the region once belonged to Mexico, these people spoke a language and held a culture different from most of the people. The NEA committee asserted these Mexican Americans did not try to assimilate nor did they strive to succeed as did the English speaking Americans. Consequently, poverty was prevalent among Mexican Americans (Committee on Education and Labor 1978, 169-177).

The NEA was most concerned that the Mexican American children failed academically. In California, for example, in 1960, more than half of the males and nearly half of the females more than fourteen years old with Spanish surnames had not gone beyond the eighth grade. In the general population, however, less than 30 percent of the males and twenty-five of the females had not gone beyond the eighth grade. According to the report, Mexican American children left school at a high rate because they started school with a language disability and each year their academic performance fell behind that of their English speaking peers (Committee on Education and Labor 1978, 177-179).

The NEA committee traced the language problem to the children's homes. For example, in 1965, a study of six hundred Mexican American adults in San Antonio, Texas found that 71 percent of the parents spoke only Spanish to each other. Thus, although the children knew some English, the language of their home and childhood was Spanish. In schools, they had to use a language foreign to them and frequently the parents could not help. While some schools reduced the content of most subjects to give the children time to learn English, this caused the children to fall behind even more. The NEA report noted that other schools forbade the children from speaking any Spanish and punished the children for lapsing into it on the playgrounds. One member of the NEA committee found a school where teachers admonished the children, "If you want to be American, speak American." However, the NEA report concluded that such compulsion caused the children to withdraw, to feel inadequate, and to fail (Committee on Education and Labor 1978, 179-186).

In March 1966 in New York City, personnel from the US Bureau of Indian Affairs, members of the Modern Language Association, the Center for Applied Linguistics, the National Association for Foreign Student Affairs, the National Council of the Teachers of English, and the Speech Association of America officially formed the organization, TESOL, Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (Committee on Education and Labor 1978, 330).

During the process to renew ESEA in 1967, the US House of Representatives' Committee on Education and Labor held hearings where witnesses testified that the problems of linguistic minorities were pressing and existed in all parts of the United States. For example, in Hoboken, New Jersey, the population of Puerto Ricans rose from 3 percent in 1953 to 34 percent in 1967. At the same time, the population of foreign-born students was 9.4 percent, and this gave the Hoboken schools a student population with 43 percent linguistic minorities (Committee on Education and Labor 1978, 521).

With little controversy, the US Congress approved and President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the US Congress passed Title VII of ESEA also called the Bilingual Education Act in 1968. This authorized federal funds to carry out imaginative elementary and secondary programs to meet the educational needs of children who came from an environment where the dominant language was other than English and who attended schools with a concentration of low income families. As a result, from 1969 to 1973, $117.9 million of federal support went to bilingual programs, most of which were in elementary schools (US Commission on Civil Rights 1975, 171-172, 180-181).

The law did not specify whether the children would learn English or learn it in addition to their own language. However, in 1971, when the US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare released its instructions for applications for the federal funds, it noted that the goal of bilingual education was a student who functions well in two languages on any occasion. To some people, this implied that schools would teach children their own language as well as English. This was important because some educators believed that it was insufficient to teach English as a second language (ESL) to the children. ESL was a method of instruction developed in the 1930s for university students and foreign diplomats. In the 1950s, many elementary schools offered this instruction to non-English speaking students in special classes away from their regular work. However, since ESL ignored the children's unique language and heritage, some educators feared that the children came to dislike their culture (Crawford 1989, 27-28, 38).

How did advocacy groups use the federal courts to support bilingual education?

In the 1969, a member of the newly formed, militant Mexican American Youth Organization, Jose Angel Gutierrez returned to Crystal City, Texas seeking an issue on which he could organize a movement to begin a third political party. He had graduated from the high school in 1962, and he asked the school board to sanction a home coming celebration for former students. When the board refused, Gutierrez organized a boycott by Mexican Americans. On 6 January 1970, the board agreed to the students demands, and on 23 January 1970, the parents and citizens form a political party, Cuidadanos Unidos, and filed applications to challenge the members of the school board in the coming election. Three candidates from Cuidadanos Unidos won seats on the Crystal City Board of Education. The party soon changed its name to La Raza Unida and for a short time competed with the two main political parties, Republicans and Democrats, in Texas state politics (Garcia 1989, 37-61).

Gutierrez's work in Crystal City is often cited as a model for Chicano activists (Hammerback, Jensen, and Gutierrez 1985, 81). However, one of the most wide reaching effects was the demand the students of Crystal City High School made for bilingual and bicultural education. In reaction to controversies similar to Crystal City's, then director of the US Office of Civil Rights, J. Stanley Pottinger, issued a memo on 25 May 1970 warning that all school districts with more than five percent national origin-minority children must take affirmative steps to rectify any language deficiencies that would exclude them from effective participation in educational programs. Pottinger pointed out that school districts had to comply with these orders or they would be in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 forbidding discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin (US Commission on Civil Rights 1975, 204-205). This was a serious threat because, once found out of compliance, the federal government could deny the school district federal funds.

The biggest legal victory for bilingual education came in January 1974 with the US Supreme Court decision in the case, Lau v. Nichols. In this case, the Human Rights Commission showed that, in 1971, there were 3,457 Chinese students enrolled in the San Francisco, California school system who spoke little or no English. The plaintiffs who brought this suit did not urge any particular remedy. They agreed that teaching English as a second language would be acceptable as would teaching the children in Chinese. Although the parents lost in the US District Court, they won in the US Appeals Court and in the US Supreme Court.

In writing the opinion, Justice William O. Douglas noted that, although English was to be the basic language of instruction, the California Education Code allowed bilingual education. The justices based their judgement on the US Civil Rights Act of 1964 which banned discrimination on the basis of race, color, or national origin in any program receiving federal financial assistance. It was obvious to the justices that the Chinese speaking children received few benefits from the schools. Consequently, they ordered the district to take affirmative steps to rectify the language deficiencies. For example, any tracking system had to be designed to meet the language needs of the children.

In February 1974, the US Department of Health Education responded to the US Supreme Court's decision by issuing a memorandum clarifying federal regulations. The Department reminded schools of the need to provide services for children of limited English speaking ability. However, the memo stated that the Department has never indicated what form these services should take. For example, it had never adopted a position on whether the schools should help the children maintain their original culture (Schneider 1976, 106).

In 1974, the US Congress had to reauthorize the Bilingual Education Act of 1968. US Senators Edward Kennedy and Alan Cranston introduced the bills to expand the bilingual and bicultural education. In part, the Senate was receptive to expanding the legislation because of the active involvement of ethnically based organizations. The most active was the Raza Association of Spanish Surnamed Americans (RASSA) which later changed its name to the National Congress of Hispanic Citizens. RASSA produced supportive materials, argued and lobbied during the conferences, and was able to influence senators representing states with Hispanic voters. The Puerto Rican Forum, the Puerto Rican Association for National Affairs (PANA) and ASPIRA argued for Puerto Ricans. Representatives from various native American tribes and associations testified at hearings and the US Bureau of Indian Affairs urged the expansion of the legislation (Schneider 1976, 41, 63-65).

The series of reports of the US Commission on Civil Rights on the education of Mexican Americans influenced the senators to act as well. In 1972, the Commission released the third report in that series. Entitled The Excluded Student, this report focused on the linguistic and cultural problems that Mexican American children had in schools and considered programs to alleviate those difficulties. The members found that schools excluded the Spanish language, the Mexican heritage, and the Mexican American community from participation in school affairs (11-12).

As the US Senate drew up legislation for bilingual education, the staff from the US Commission on Civil Rights interacted with the Mexican American lobbying groups and with education groups. These three forces often participated in planning sessions with the senate staff charged with drafting the legislation for bilingual education (Schneider 1976, 65).

During the congressional hearings and conferences, two issues arose repeatedly. One was whether bilingual education was to establish a bilingual society. The second was whether bilingual education should include instruction in the cultural heritage of the children. In line with the US Civil Rights Commission reports, the advocacy groups lobbied for instruction in the proper use of the native language as well as in English. They wanted to include lessons about the cultural traditions so that the children who were not proficient in English would not feel inferior to their peers. The final bill did not include these requirements, yet the lobbyists from the bilingual advocacy groups accepted the legislation. The law required that federally funded programs include native language instruction and cultural enrichment, and it did not forbid such programs from persisting into the secondary schools where the children could acquire a sophisticated understanding of their own language. Although such dual instruction was necessary only as long as it took for the children who were not proficient in English to learn as effectively as their peers, programs using only an ESL approach would not be acceptable because ESL provided instruction in English without reference to the children's cultural heritage (Schneider 1976, 128, 146-147).

The same year, 1974, the US Congress passed Title II of the Equal Opportunities Act. This bill was designed to prohibit the transportation of elementary or secondary school students to enhance racial desegregation. However, one paragraph of the law read as follows: "No State shall deny equal opportunity to an individual on account of his or her race, color, sex, or national origin by the failure by an educational agency to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers that impede equal participation by its students in its instructional programs" (US Civil Rights Commission 1974, 197). Although the US Congress did not define what appropriate action meant, the law allowed people to sue in federal court for redress. As discussed below, African Americans used this law to force the Ann Arbor, Michigan schools to include Black English in the curriculum.

Was bilingual education effective?

In 1975, the US Commission on Civil Rights visited several sites to examine bilingual bicultural education. The members liked what they saw. However, they complained that there were no systematic evaluations that would indicate the results of the effort (103-105). In 1978, such a survey was published. It was extensive, thorough, and disappointing to the advocates of bilingual education.

The nation wide study of the impact of ESEA Title VII was contracted by the US Office of Education with American Institutes for Research (AIR). During the 1975-1976 academic year, the AIR researchers gathered evidence from all Title VII Spanish/English bilingual education projects that had received funding for four or five years. The general design was to compare the performance of the students enrolled in the projects with similar students who did not participate. Initially, the researchers chose 11,500 students in 384 classrooms in 38 sites across the United States from which they sampled smaller groups at random for specific examinations (Danoff 1978, 10-12).

The results showed that the bilingual programs did not seem to help the children master academic subjects. That is, for second to sixth grade students, the achievement gains in English, reading, and mathematics computation were what they would have been without participation in the bilingual project (Danoff 1978, 22-23).

In addition, the study indicated that bilingual programs did not serve the goals of the legislation. That is, less than a third of the students attended bilingual education classes to learn English. About 75 percent of the children in the bilingual education programs either spoke only English or spoke English better than they spoke Spanish. When the AIR researchers asked about the goals, they found that most project directors wanted the children to be fluent in both Spanish and English, and the teachers engaged in activities consistent with this aim. Further, when the AIR researchers tested the children's ability to read Spanish, there was an increase in this ability among the students in the Title VII classes (Danoff 1978, 18-20).

Although a major claim about the need of bilingual education was that it would increase children's affection for school, the AIR researchers did not find this happening. In both groups, those who were in bilingual education and those who were not, the children held neutral feelings about their schools (Danoff 1978, 23).

Bilingual advocates complained that the AIR study was unfair because it collected a patchwork of classes labeled bilingual and compared them to children in regular classes. This treatment, the advocates argued, did not allow investigators to focus on well designed classes and examine their success (Crawford 1989, 87- 89). Other researchers claimed that the AIR study was inaccurate. For example, K.N. Nickel noted that the two groups of children the AIR study compared were not similar. That is, the children attending the non Title VII classes had a better command of English than did the children who attended bilingual Title VII classes. Further, since most of the teachers in the Title VII classes were not bilingual themselves, Nickel contended, the Title VII classes could not represent bilingual education (1979, 260-261). The lead researchers for the AIR study responded to Nickel's criticisms by claiming that they had used statistical controls to avoid those biases (Danoff and Cole 1979, 261-262).

Researchers went back and forth about the effectiveness of bilingual education. For example, in 1981, Keith A. Baker and Adriana A. de Kanter reviewed twenty-eight studies of bilingual education. They found that some programs helped some children. Nonetheless, they did not find enough evidence to justify the federal government relying on this method, and they believed that other models such as immersion in English might be more valuable. On the other hand, in 1985, Ann Willig conducted a meta analysis of twenty-three of the same twenty-eight evaluations used by Baker and de Kanter. Employing different statistical procedures, Willig found the bilingual programs to be beneficial.

Did bilingual education include African Americans?

As researchers debated the effectiveness of bilingual education, advocacy groups continued to use the federal courts to advance their cause. Although Lau v. Nichols was the only case about bilingual education that the US Supreme Court decided, federal district courts considered these issues and expanded the requirements for bilingual education to include African Americans. In July 1977, lawyers filed suit in federal district court on behalf of fifteen Black elementary school age children who resided in a housing project. They claimed that the Ann Arbor, Michigan school district failed to establish a program enabling the children to overcome the cultural, social, and economic deprivations that prevented them from making normal progress in schools. The court dismissed all of these allegations except the question of whether the children suffered from a language barrier that impeded their participation in schools (Martin Luther King, Jr. Elementary School Children v. Ann Arbor School District Board 3-9).

In its decision, the court directed the school board to submit a plan defining the steps it would take to identify the children who speak Black English and describing the ways that the teachers will use that knowledge to help the children learn to read standard English. In August 1979, the school board submitted a plan that called for training the professional staff in identifying Black English, providing assistance to the teachers in planning lessons and in offering instruction that used Black English to learn standard English, maintaining a link with the most current professional information on the educational effects of Black English, and establishing improved communications with the parents for suggestions and support. The lawyers for the children asked for several changes such as including a parent's representative on the teacher's supervision team. Although the court found these requests reasonable, they did not impose them on the school board. The court asked for more complete evaluation of the effectiveness of the children's instruction and declared that the plan complied with the Equal Opportunities Act of 1974 that required schools to take appropriate action to overcome language barriers (Martin Luther King, Jr. Elementary School Children v. Ann Arbor School District Board 24 August 1979).

Why did some people disagree with the aims of bilingual education?

In 1977, Noel Epstein published Language, Ethnicity, and the Schools. He criticized the federal government for requiring local school districts to implement bilingual education even though evaluations of bilingual education were not positive and the direction such programs should take was unclear. He wrote that bilingual education advocates wanted the federal government to finance and promote pupil attachments to their ethnic language and history because the advocates wanted to provide bilingual instruction to students who were already proficient in English. Further, Epstein complained that the US Office of Civil Rights allowed some school districts, such as San Francisco, California, to segregate students and teachers in order to maintain their culture in such bilingual programs. For Epstein, ironically, if such programs succeed in teaching children their native languages and English, they will find English more useful and the native language will fade (1-4).

Epstein claimed he did not oppose parents seeking to maintain ethnicity among their children. For him, the central question was whether the federal government should take a role in encouraging students to feel an attachment to their ethnic languages and cultures. This might not promote better relations among groups, and within ethnic groups, some people supported teaching the children the native language and other disagreed. Although bilingual educators claimed that such instruction led the children to school success, Epstein pointed out that research studies did not demonstrate these claims to be true (6-8).

Despite these criticisms, in August 1980, US President Jimmy Carter sought to extend the federal regulations making bilingual education essential in schools where more than 25% of the students belonged to the same minority group. Public reaction was immediate, overwhelming, and negative. The US Congress voted to block Carter's changes. Further, in 1981, federal officials loosened the regulations to allow Fairfax County, Virginia to conduct intensive ESL programs instead of bilingual education with cultural components. The reason was that the Fairfax schools enrolled students representing more than fifty languages (Crawford 1989, 42).

In April 1981, Senator S. I. Hayakawa of California proposed an amendment to the US Constitution that would make English the official language of the United States. Although his proposal languished in a congressional committee, Hayakawa claimed his amendment was necessary to counteract the ethnic chauvinism of Hispanic leaders who wanted to use public schools to advance their language and culture. He added that he did not oppose people learning foreign languages: his son and daughter learned to speak and read Spanish fluently. However, Hayakawa said he wanted to prevent the United States from being torn apart by linguistic differences as was Canada, Belgium, and Sri Lanka (1992, 98-99).

An organization that Hayakawa founded, US English, supported efforts in forty states from 1986 to 1988 to make English the official language. Ten states passed such resolutions, among them were states with high concentrations of foreign language speaking immigrants (Casanova and Arias 12). Although US English, sometimes called "Only English," spent more than $18 million in these campaigns, the group's influence weakened in 1987. Several administrators and a prominent spokesperson, television personality Walter Cronkite, severed ties with the group when the chair person wrote anti-Hispanic comments in a memorandum (Crawford 1992, 171-172).

In 1985, US Secretary of Education William J. Bennett called bilingual education a failed effort and made clear his intention to allow funds from the Bilingual Education Act to finance methods of teaching children who were not proficient in English without using their native language. He claimed that since 1975, the US Department of Education had required educational programs for students be conducted in large part in the student's native language. Bennett argued that the federal government did this because of an arrogance in Washington that local school officials could not be trusted to devise the best means to teach the children. Yet, he contended, after intensive federal involvement spending more than $1.7 billion, there was no evidence that bilingual education helped the children. Consequently, he asked the US Congress to give the local school districts the flexibility to find their own best ways of dealing with the problems (1992, 359-362).

The US Congress did what Bennett wanted them to do. In 1984, when the US Congress reauthorized Title VII, it changed the law to allow about four percent of the appropriations, up to $140 million, for special alternative programs that would not use the students' native language. When Title VII came up again for consideration in 1988, the US Congress increased the percentage of appropriations available for English only instruction to 25 percent and stipulated that, in general, three years of bilingual education was adequate for a child. Although individual evaluations could lead to exceptions, programs would not maintain a longer transition to English (Crawford 1989, 44, 83-84).

Why did the bilingual education advocates enjoy only limited success?

There is no simple answer why a group of advocates does not succeed. A serious possibility is that teachers could not or would not make the commitment to learn another language. In California in 1985-86, only 25 percent of the elementary school age children with limited English proficiency were taught by teachers fluent in their language. One district bilingual coordinator noted that the schools did not expect teachers to be fluent. Instead, they wanted teachers to have some acquaintance with the language, to know some phrases, and to be able to put the children at ease (Crawford 1989, 157). A second explanation bilingual educators wanted to advance the training in the native language and the cultural traditions. Once empirical studies called this process into question, the advocates could not easily deny requests for flexibility in choosing curricula.

Most important, bilingual education may have lost some support among Chicano leaders. In a series of interviews of 241 Chicano politicians and organizational leaders from 1978 to 1980, Rodolfo O. de la Garza found that 97 percent of the leaders supported bilingual education in principle and 67 percent strongly supported bilingual education that stretched from kindergarten through twelfth grade. Despite this apparent consensus, Garza noted several important distinctions. For example, some leaders were upset that bilingual education was implemented with teachers who were not fluent in Spanish. Other leaders felt that Mexican American students should not be segregated from other students from the elementary schools through high school. Some leaders thought that bilingual educators were promoting themselves not the children (1982, 12-14).

In all, there was no clear mandate for bilingual education. It was not clear what should be done for children whose native language was not English and it was not clear who should be entrusted with determining the curriculum. Most important, there was not a strong organization of advocacy groups who supported bilingual education. Not surprisingly, bilingual education received some federal attention, but not to the extent that its supporters wanted.

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Expectations of College Life Before 1940

Mark McKenzie
University of Illinois

The entertainment products of our mass media culture are important archives of popular cultural understandings and interpretations of large social/cultural phenomena, including the social institution of higher education. This paper examines one possible way to decode the interpretive content of mass media sources and applies it to the question of student expectations of college life before 1940 as contrasting with institutional statements of student life and institutional purposes.

This work, therefore, is a study of the "sights" presented an American populace, from which they would "see" and "make out" the institution of college while they sat and watched the lights and shadows (language and visual symbolism patterns) of "picture shows". Through the use of a form of "voyeurism" (the particular "seeing" needed for criticism/critical perspective), this project makes one examination of the complex cultural message implicit in the mass media of pre World War II cinema.

Within the "postmodern present," cultural logics of mass media are privileged definers of social discourse. This definitional power persists despite the presence of private/personal knowledge of the social subject/object. Indeed, mass media's definitional power is given such primacy that interpretation of experience, even at the level of the private/personal, is defined by the images of a "public" interpretation communicated by the media.

Although the time period of this study predates the beginning of the postmodern period, in 1920's to 1940Ős America, mass media agencies already existed, and of those, American cinema was the most "massive". The global context of the postmodern may not yet exist, but one of the two agencies (cinema) for knowing the reality of the "post" world (Baudrillard 1988) is already "performing" for its audience, acts/actions implicitly capable of modeling perspectives usable for constructing political conditions (Downing 1987). Consequently, in this particular instant of cinematic analysis, application of postmodern perspectives to pre-postmodern acts seems appropriate.

Cinematic Experiences

The predominant presentation pattern of fiction, both written (novels and stories) and cinematic (movies) consists of narratives recognizable and acceptable as possible worlds or possible world models. Regardless of how imaginative or innovative, how outrageous or offending the work, there remains a pattern recognizable to the observer/participant as possible or "real"(in a very loose sense the word "possible" and the word "real" are interchangeable in this context)(Booth 1961; Krieger 1984). These cinematic works, experiential texts, and private narratives are all methods of theorizing (Blum and McHugh 1984). They are methods of creating both the actors and possible societies in which they may act their roles.

These possible societies (or for this paper, possible social institutions) are "thickest" in their descriptive and interpretational potential when the observer's own experience is "thinnest" (here meaning limited). For the average cinema patron before World War II, limited "college life" experience was the "norm." First person experience of college life was at best meager for the vast majority of people alive during this period.

College from the 1920s to the 1940s was still the purview of a select elite. While John Thelin (1982) stated that by 1930 there was some small amount of public pressure to force college enrollment beyond 4 or 5 percent of 18 year olds, and Seymour Harris (1972) in "A Statistical Portrait of Higher Education," reported that by 1930 .9 percent of the total population had any college experience, and only 7.2 percent of people aged 18 to 24 were enrolled in college. Even land grant colleges had not meaningfully extend the participation in "college life" to great numbers of Americans. Again, Harris reported that in 1930, of the small percentage of the total American population enrolled in college, a nearly equal number of students attended public colleges (53%) as attended private colleges (47%).

When cinema of the prewar period told stories about college and college life only 1 in 100 Americans had any personal experience with college. Thus all but a small minority of movie theater patrons had no basis for deconstructing those cinematic collegiate images. For those who neither attended college nor intimately knew anyone who attended college, the pattern of college, life "theorized" in the cinema would be the only pattern available.

Academic History

Society and societal institutions tend to be large, complicated, and always changing (Dewey 1937). The social institution of college at the end of the progressive era was no different. It was big, complicated, not unitary and had an internally inconsistent understanding of itself.

Further, during the progressive era the "role of higher education shifted to serving the needs of the corporate state" (Spring 1994, 268). The generalizable "needs" of the corporate state meant applied research, the products of which could be put to practical use to maintain business' competitive edge in the market place.

Despite these internal inconsistencies and shifting foundational purposes, historians of higher education have declared that colleges served a consistent and universal purpose regarding the "education" of students. That characteristic purpose of the progressive college/university was "the preparation of young Americans for active lives of service" (Rudolph 1962, 356). Colleges were for "clean, hard-working, honest young men and women, determined to live good lives in a good world, gone down or up to the state college, there to broaden their horizons and to perfect their ingrained common sense" (Rudolph 1962, 264).

This last characteristic, the perfection of ingrained common sense uses the values of small town/rural America to bridge the purposes of progressive era undergraduate schooling (even at the large land grant universities) and the older collegiate purpose of creating ladies and gentlemen (Thelin 1982). Evidence supportive of this interpretation of "foundational" purpose is embodied in the rapid progressive era growth of the honor system (which sought to make students responsible for one another) and the honor society (which "identified" and "publicized" the man or woman with the most "character" [read "virtuous"] on campus) (Rudolph 1962).

These perspectives on the official purpose of college can be found in historical documents pertaining to Illinois State University. For example, to anchor the official understanding as far back as possible in time there is the statement of purpose as it appears in the Proceedings of the state board of education June 23, 1857, as reported by Dr. George Rex, chairman of committee appointed to visit various Normal schools already in existence. Dr. Rex stated that ÒThe exclusive objects of a Normal School are and should be to train teachers, both theoretically and practically, to the complicated and responsible duties of their profession.Ó Thus, a person capable of taking on the responsible duties of the profession would seem to be a person we might consider as possessing character. How would this be accomplished? Again, according to Dr. Rex, Òthis is to be accomplished by a thorough and rigorous mastery on the part of the pupil-teacher, of all those subjects which are necessary to be taught in the public schools, by a careful and systematic study of the principles of education, including teaching properly, so called, government, and the development of moral and physical power & c:, and by in actual application of his knowledge to the practice of his proposed profession, in the model schoolÓ (9-11).

Despite Dr. Rex writing from so many years before the progressive era, he seems to believe that his normal university ought to be concerned more with character building than with academics when he laments,

> No person can teach that which he does not himself fully understand. To understand what to teach is therefore the first logical step in his course of preparation. Our Normal University should not be required to take this step, but will be compelled to do so by reason of the defective superficial teachings of our primary schools. Could our Normal University be supplied with pupil-teachers already qualified in respect to mere scholarship, the labors of our institution would be vastly abridged and simplified, and it would be far more efficient and useful. (Rex 1857, 9-11)

Reinforcement of the character building aspect of college can be found in the ÒStatement of Purpose and QualificationÓ in Illinois State Normal University Bulletin of 1937 June 12- August 6. On the inside of the front cover it is stated,

> The Illinois State Normal University is a character-building institution of high ideals. The attitudes, motives, and practices of students and faculty are highly comparable with the most favorable ideals prevailing in the best colleges and universities emphasizing such important characteristics.

So, college is complicated. There are even aspects of college that the inner circle of institutional membership is not happy with--mainly each other. Yet, the stated expectation of student preparation for service in life after college transcends both the complexity and internal squabbling. Such complexity is difficult (impossible) to capture in the simulacra. Will the commonality of student "education" be the image dominant in cinematic re-presentation? Will the cinema "see" and thereby "show" the same acceptance of the necessity of college for the perfection of "common sense?" The primary question of this work remains, What aspects of college life will be re-presented in film?

The Films

THE BLOT (1921) opens with a progressive sequence of views from the back of a classroom of taller and taller students (and hopefully older). "Written" across these scenes is the proverbial saying, "Men are only boys grown tall." Once these boys are as tall as men the school classroom becomes a college classroom and the story of a college professor's family and the liabilities and disadvantages resultant from his "professions" low wages begins.

The plot of the movie was inspired by an expose on the "sorry state" of pay for the nation's college professors and local religious leaders. We are even shown, and given sufficient time to read (a technique missing in today's films), an excerpt of a Literary Review article stating that the 1921's laborer made more money than the average college professor at an endowed institution, and too many professors were leaving teaching as a result. For the movie, this social "reality" of poorly paid educators is acted out by Professor Griggs, Mrs. Griggs (his wife), their daughter (Amelia Griggs), and Mrs. Griggs' mother all "living" at the edge of starvation.

There are three young men interested in the professor's daughter. The three men see themselves in a contest for the daughter. One is a student of the professor, Phil West, son of the wealthiest college trustee. The second is the town's minister, Reverend Gates. The third is the only son, Peter Olsen, of the immigrant shoe maker neighbor. Peter is, however, only a suitor from afar, for he is never invited into the Griggs' house for even the "poor" tea.

Each suitor has different social/economic strengths and weaknesses, and the balances of these strength and weaknesses determine who will be accepted as the husband. The "winner" of the contest is the young man able to offer the "desirable" professor's daughter the "best" life.

What does a young Indian require to become the next chief of his tribe? In *BRAVEHEART* (1924) it is apparently an Anglo college experience. Braveheart, whose tribe's treaty rights to salmon fishing (without which they face starvation) are denied them by the nasty cannery owner, wants to take their "case" to the Anglo court system.

Even though Billings, the foreman of Nelson Cannery, has murdered one of the tribe, Chief Standing Rock, Braveheart's father, accepting that to respond with violence is futile, declares that the tribe must "fight" in the Anglo's courts. To fight this peaceful war however, Chief Standing Rock decides that Braveheart (who has attended the government schools) must be trained. That training occurs at Strathmore College, the expenses of college paid for by the tribe after several years of patient sacrifice.

The son of the cannery owner, Frank Nelson, is also attending Strathmore College, and Frank and Braveheart are both members of the football team. While Frank Nelson squanders the money sent him by his father on gambling and parties, Braveheart writes a best selling book about the "romantic life of the red man" to pay back the tribe for his schooling.

While Braveheart and the cannery owner's daughter, who just happens to be visiting Strathmore College discover the joys of young love, Frank loses too many gambles and makes a deal with the gamblers to get out of debt by throwing the "big" game.

Braveheart catches the Frank in the act of passing the teams plays to the gamblers at half time of the big game, but is himself accused of the "act" by Frank. The football coach defers any decision of guilt to the College Committee which will meet much later. Braveheart and Frank both play in the second half of the game. During the play, Braveheart becomes the hero by scoring the winning touchdown and even kicking the extra point. At that later meeting of the College Committee (made up scholars, faculty and administrators and not coaches or players), however, they privilege a piece of written evidence over the physical actions of the players during the game. Despite the committee's experience with written "texts," and despite Braveheart contribution to winning the game, they misinterpret the written evidence and Braveheart is expelled.

Even though Braveheart has been wronged by the Anglo's institution of college, he stoically refuses to excuse himself or explain how he was wronged. His tribe, apparently having great faith in an Anglo justice that has twice ruled against them in their fishing rights battle, brand Braveheart and cast him out of the tribe as a liar.

Holding no grudges to either culture wronging him, Braveheart wins the tribe's case in the state supreme court just as a militant "brave" in his tribe (Ki-yote) runs out of "patience" and kidnaps the cannery owner and his daughter. Braveheart challenges the militant and inpatient Ki-yote to combat and wins the day and saves everyone but Ki-yote.

With all the melodramatic trials and tribulations resolved, Dorothy sends for Braveheart and professes her love for him. Braveheart, portraying the greater awareness of race relations learned from a lifetime of persecution from Anglos (just as Peter Olsen was aware of his "low" class status), tells Dorothy, "You are white, I am red. Return to your people with an Indian's blessing--as I return to mine..."

In the film *COLLEGE* (1927), a poor but studious lad (Ronald) from a single parent household follows the girl of his dreams (Mary Haines) to college to win her hand from the not so studious athletic hero (Jeff Brown). Even though they are in college, the only way to compete with the athlete is to excel at athletics himself. Academic achievements do not count for much, at least in the contest that counts the most--the marriage game.

Despite early setbacks in his every attempt at athletic competence, Ronald perseveres against conniving and vicious fellow student athletes and coaches to help win the big rowing match. When his main competitor for the attentions of Mary is dismissed from school and kidnaps her (hoping to get Mary expelled as well once they are discovered together in her dorm room), Ronald almost magically becomes expert at all the physical activities he has previously demonstrated such incompetence and saves Mary from ..... Ronald's victory within the physical proves to Mary that the fellow she was emotionally drawn to from the very first reel is the "real" fellow for her.

The Metaphors

The dominant class of metaphors for the portrayal of college life are those of competitive games. As such, much of the talk revolves around winning and losing. Regardless of your eventual status as "winner" or "loser", being a "winner" while in college is not dependent upon academic excellence. Braveheart became economically successful and independent of his tribe/family by authoring a popular and exploitative book, titled "The Red Skin: The Remarkable Story of the Red Man by an Indian Football Player," about the "romance of the Indian." The point is clearly made that this is a story by a football player, not by a college student. And with the advertisement for the book featuring a photograph of Braveheart in his football uniform, I doubt his book qualifies for inclusion into his "classic literature" studies at Strathmore College.

Trying out for sports team after sports team may require so much of a student's time that they may fail at their studies, but even this may not constitute failure at college if your reasons are part of a "strong human theme." Ronald, in *College*, who was called into the Dean's office because of poor academic performance, left that office as coxswain of Clayton's rowing team as his reward for failing in all his studies. While this gift of athletic team membership was motivated by a desire by Dean Edwards to help Ronald "win" Mary ("the girl" for Ronald), he was awarded this opportunity despite his poor academic performance. In this instance, neither failure at academics or athletics prevented Ronald from being rewarded (thereby "winning") at college.

Being a winner at the "game" of college is not necessarily to win at life. *The Blot* and *College* provide examples of people who have "won" at college but are "losers" now that they are "through" college.

Professor Griggs and Reverend Gates are both college "educated" and attempt to serve others, but are not "successful" professionally or personally. Reverend Gates can neither help himself or his church enough to meaningfully change the lives of the poor of his community or "win" himself a family. Professor Griggs can neither "win" the respect of his students or help the family he has.

In contrast it is possible to be a "loser" at college and still be a successful in life's journey. The most common way of "closing the road" through college in cinema is to be kicked out. For a female, being caught with a male in your dormitory room is reason for expulsion. Dean Edwards, discovering Mary and Ronald in each others arms in her dormitory room, asks Mary (referring to her impending expulsion), 'Young lady, do you know what this means?' Mary replies, 'Yes...it means we are going to be married.' Neither Mary or Ronald finish college yet they still have the greater "prize" of one another for life. Mary and Ronald may have "failed" college, yet by their beginning a life-long commitment to each other and starting a family they are "winners."

Conclusion

We have an archive of material usable to answer important questions about public perceptions of important social institutions and phenomena. In this particular application, films are a source of information which can tell us that college, as represented in the cinema, is part of the journey of life, but neither a necessary part of or directly on the "path" of life. College is a place with walls and boundaries that separates the student from the main path of life. College is a "next step" and therefore belonging to or attached to the path of life, but because of its closure, it may be an obstacle, a side trip or detour. While as stated in College, you either "went to work or went college" after high school, indicating that there is a branch in the road, but when college ends then there is the same destination of work, wife, and family. So, no matter which branch in the road is taken, eventually the branches in the road rejoin and the journey of life continues.

Just as it is not necessary that you attend college to proceed with life, it is not necessary that you complete college to continue on the path of life. This is part of the Òcollege as a gameÓ or Òcontest.Ó In games and contests there are losers and in cinema's college there are losers at the college game. Braveheart, Mary, and Ronald are all examples of students not able, for some reason or another, to finish the college race or contest. Yet they continue on in life with a capacity to serve. Braveheart wins his peoples case in court, defeats Ki-yote, and becomes chief of his tribe. Ronald and Mary marry, raise a family and upon their deaths are buried side by side after having given each other a lifetime of service.

In contrast, the people who are winners at college, particularly the college faculty in these films, are not portrayed as people better able to serve or service either themselves or others. There was Dean Edwards, successful at college but without a wife, lonely and sad--a failure at life. Professor Griggs, lecturing to students but unable to either feed his family or effecting positive change in his life. The college committee, the members of which allowed race to cloud their judgment and expelled the wrong person. And finally, the college coaches, overseeing the performance of already skilled athletes, unwilling to assist or teach someone in need, but more that willing to denigrate the lacking person.

Few characters within the films were able to positively grow in capacity and motivation to serve, but this growth was the consequence of experiences had, perceptions altered, and beliefs forged outside the walls or boundaries of college and college life. It was the experiences on the journey of life that had the greatest potential for the "education" of people. Indeed, if the college life cinematically portrayed, had any influence upon the change that occurs for some college students, that influence was negative. Frank Nelson certainly did not experience positive growth in college. He started smoking, gambling, and then cheating while in college. And since Frank gambled and cheated at college football, those behaviors were connected to his college life.

In sum, college is not the place of learning in life. You go to college either when you are able to go, or when there is something at college that you want. Most often the student's desires are either a husband or a wife. Nothing is ever learned at college. And even sports, which is more prominent and shown as more "important" and "valuable" than academics is not learned at college. Athletes simply "do" sports at college. And lastly, if you want to be successful at gaining the interest of and eventually marrying the best possible husband or wife, academics or scholarship gives no comparative advantage.

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Limelight or Edge of a Precipice: An Exemplary School's Multiple Purposes

Elaine Clift Gore
Connecticut College

A 1993 political cartoon depicted the entrance to Houston, Texas's High School for the Performing and Visual Arts with the American flag flying bravely amidst dark storm clouds. The label "SCHOOL CLOSINGS" was superimposed on the clouds in white letters (School Closings 1993, 2). This cartoon represented neither the first nor the last time the community would worry about the school's continuance (Denney & Nipper 1997; Hurst 1987, 1). Founded in 1971, the school was the first of its type in the southwestern United States. As the Houston Independent School District's high school with the highest academic standardized test scores and largest number of national artistic honors, how could continuance of this exemplary school ever be seriously called into question?

The 'limelight' enjoyed by the school informally known as HSPVA was recognized both nationally, in large numbers of honorable mentions, finalists, and Presidential Scholars in the prestigious Arts Recognition and Talent Search, and locally, in the media attention and applause which greeted outstanding HSPVA academic and artistic performances (Cox 1990, 1; Magnet schools 1985, 2; Moore, D. 1997; Morgan 1997; NFAA 1988; NFAA 1998). Despite the presence of the school in this limelight, an undercurrent of tension persisted over what some people called a 'private school' funded by public dollars (Garver 1997). This tension suggested that the school teetered on the edge of a precipice. Document and oral history research of HSPVA's twenty-five year history, from 1971 through 1997, uncovered lingering questions about the multiple purposes conceived for HSPVA in its early years, and their individual effects on HISD policy decisions. In their multiplicity and individual maturation lay the potential for discontinuance of the school.

Dropout Prevention for the Artistically Talented

Founding director Ruth Denney's original purpose for HSPVA was dropout prevention for the artistically talented, a purpose which was verbally reaffirmed by the succeeding three principals (Adams, A. 1997, 1, 4; Cox & Daniel 1983, 5; Stanton, 1991, F1, F7). Their reaffirmation appeared to be hollow, however, in light of 'the catch' revealed in this excerpt from a 1991 interview with the school's third principal, Annette Watson:

> We find that some students who were marginal or at risk in the past come into an environment [at HSPVA] that builds their self-esteem. We've seen some real turnarounds as a result (Stanton 1991, F1).

The catch came in these words:

> Students have to be organized and able to budget their time, prioritize and be self-disciplined (Stanton 1991, F1).

Such an ideal seems problematic certainly, or maybe just unrealistic. Marginal or at-risk students likely have not learned the time-management and self-discipline skills Watson described as necessary to survive at HSPVA. Additionally, potential dropouts, even if they had a favorable artistic audition, improbably could qualify for the highly competitive school which HSPVA had become. On-grade-level academic status was a criterion for admission for twenty of the school's twenty-five years, including those lead by Watson (Karpicke 1997; Merrill 1997; Moore, D. 1997). The purpose of dropout prevention may have remained an ideal, but, as the school matured and became more popular, the ideal became less reachable and reaffirmation of the purpose became an empty slogan. Dropout prevention, however, had never been the official HISD purpose of the school.

Natural Racial Desegregation

HISD General Superintendents Garver and Reagan, as well as the Boards of Education during their tenures from 1971 through 1986, hoped HSPVA would become a naturally racially desegregated (Garver 1997) or integrated (Reagan 1997) school because of its educational focus on performing and visual arts. Both superintendents believed that this goal was met when HSPVA enrolled a tri-ethnic student body (Garver 1997; Reagan 1997). However, some Black members of the HISD community questioned whether or not the school had true desegregation value (Anderson 1997). Its reputation from the 1980s through 1997 as HISD's only majority-White high school helped fuel the controversy (Markley 1992, 1E). HISD official insistence on more aggressive minority recruitment from 1986 through 1995 (Merrill 1997; Moore, D. 1997) eventually increased minority enrollment in the school's student body. The White student percentage, however, never fell below 51.5 percent, although the district's White high school population dwindled to 12.3 percent (Fall 1994 & 1996). Other aspects of HSPVA's history may have affected this outcome, but their significance remains unanalyzed. These aspects include the school's history of a color-blind philosophy, all White principals, and a predominantly White faculty.

The question of whether HSPVA's ethnic diversity should have been or should be reflective of HISD's ethnic diversity has never been publicly addressed by HISD officials (Blank, Levine & Steel 1996, 167).

The school's fourth principal, Herbert Karpicke, instituted a mentoring program in 1997 which focused not on minority under representation in his student body, but on schools which rarely sent graduates to HSPVA. He hoped to prepare talented students for audition at the school who would look forward to attending (Karpicke 1997). This sidestepping of the natural racial desegregation goal is characteristic of the HSPVA community which liked to believe the school's primary purpose was artistic meritocracy. The larger educational issue of meritocracy versus equity remains problematic within Houston as well as in the educational, scholarly, and political communities of the United States (Blank 1989, 15; Doyle & Levine 1983, 11; Klauke 1988, 2-3; Tannebaum 1995, 485).

Artistic Meritocracy

HSPVA's meritocracy was rooted for the entire twenty-five years in the artistic standards of the school's pre-professional arts preparation. Those standards were evident in rigorous auditions and graduates who immediately obtained lucrative post-secondary jobs and arts scholarships. For example, in May, 1985, 22 graduating art majors topped all previous HSPVA records by becoming the 'million-dollar class,' after art teachers worked to promote their talented students and bring them to the attention of scholarship providers (Feigelson 1985, 11; HSPVA's Million 1985, 3). On the other hand, it is impossible to ignore the fact that no HSPVA graduates have become artistic 'household names.' Evidence suggests that only 40 percent of graduates continue as adults to pursue their arts area professionally (Thomas 1997, 1D). HSPVA jazz studies director Bob Morgan offered one possible explanation for why more graduates from his program have not pursued jazz full-time:

> ItÕs a very hard career to pursue these days. I think that only a very few should have any business actually pursuing it, so I actually tell my students that. Basically, I try to talk to the upper level kids, juniors and seniors, at least once a year, and basically try to talk them out of doing this for a living. I know officially our school is career preparatory, and the way I figure it, if I can talk a kid out of doing it, he shouldn't be doing it....If they just canÕt imagine doing anything else, then, okay, they may have a chance (Morgan 1997).

Talking students out of making a living with their art may also have occurred in other arts areas (Schulman 1985, 5SO).

HSPVA's clear intention across its history was to develop each student as a whole person, not just as an artist. If the faculty and administration had emphasized solely career preparation in the arts, and if their goal had been preparing national standouts in every arts area, question exists as to whether they would have been able to recruit 600 students at all times to fill the student body.

Academic Excellence

Student academic excellence was consistently the goal of HSPVA's academic faculty members. Originally intended to provide strong fallback possibilities for students who chose not to pursue the arts professionally as adults, many of HSPVA's arts faculty supported this purpose throughout the school's history (Morgan 1997). Strong academic achievement was evident in the high standardized test scores of the student body, often the highest in the district (Cox 1990, 1; Denney & Nipper 1997; Gray, T. 1991, 9; Magnet schools 1985, 2; Richards 1993; Sanchez 1994; TEA 1997; Top-notch 1995).

Academic strength likely was an attribute of admitted applicants rather than skill fostered by HSPVA academic teaching, although most interviewed participants failed to acknowledge this possibility (Barrow 1987, 294). This understanding of causality seems particularly probable during second principal Norma Lowder's tenure, when admission required both high academic standards and artistic talent demonstrated in an audition. Whether the net effect of her emphasis on strong student academic backgrounds was positive for both students and HSPVA, or negative, destroying the school's original mission and eliminating the very students who needed the school's help, remains a matter of opinion. Unresolved conflict over this issue was evident in most of the oral history interviews conducted with adult members of the HSPVA and HISD communities. The power elite of Houston, however, revealed no such conflict.

Promoting Houston's Greatness

For Houston's White arts community and wealth/power elite, HSPVA's purpose was to promote the city's greatness. Civic leaders long had understood that great cities must have excellent arts organizations (Carleton 1985, 8; Houston/Harris 1993, 3, 4; Lanier 1992). To that end, they were happy to support financially HSPVA's visibility, through activities such as international Sister Cities' tours (Morgan 1997), and to intervene with HISD officials when they believed necessary, as they did in 1980 when they convinced Superintendent Reagan to build the school's new physical plant in the city's arts corridor (McLanahan 1997).

All four principals worked to strengthen the school's connection with the Houston power elite in order to foster support and to fund HSPVA's continuance within HISD (Anspon 1992, 16; Moore, D. 1997; Morgan 1997; School and community 1985; Watson 1997). In actuality, each new HISD Board of Education trustee, HISD general superintendent, City of Houston mayor, and Greater Houston Partnership member personally determined how important it was for HSPVA to represent HISD, Houston, and the Houston area to the world. They did so with their public recognition or lack of recognition of the school as exemplary (Cunningham 1987, 8C; Five 1987, 1; 150 1986, 18). One nagging question remains today. If HSPVA became a majority non-White school, would it continue to enjoy the support of Houston's White power elite?

The Confusion of Multiple Purposes

From its beginning in 1971, HSPVA has stood both in the limelight and on the edge of a precipice. In part, this awkward situation seems to have persisted because stakeholders have never agreed on a unified mission for the school. Also, policy makers and administrators never seriously considered HSPVA's ability to meet simultaneously all its avowed purposes of dropout prevention, desegregation, professional artist preparation, academic excellence, and exemplary representation of HISD, Houston, and the greater Houston area. The risks of never making a decision, or of shifting purposes over time, may continue to mean that HSPVA never is fully illuminated by the limelight.

On the other hand, the multiplicity of purposes conceived for the school may, in reality, have been responsible for its continuance and exemplary status both within the local and national educational communities. With HISD's 1997 adoption of a magnet admissions policy which ignores race and ethnicity (HISD Board 1997, November 20), HSPVA is now free to flourish as the artistic meritocracy its participants wish it to be. The school community's 25-year espousement of a color-blind philosophy outlasted the political need for racial desegregation. As the purpose of natural racial desegregation expired, artistic meritocracy gained the necessary prominence to perpetuate the school's exemplary status. The same adjustment of purpose may have occurred in the 1980s when academic excellence replaced both natural racial desegregation and artistic meritocracy as most significant. Although at some points the impression was one of political peril for HSPVA, the school's continuance was assured.

Perhaps most neglected from the start has been the issue of which of the multiple purposes best serves the HSPVA students. Although continuity and dedication of faculty members sustained the academic and arts programs for a quarter century, no guarantees exist for the future. A unified mission based on student needs might help ensure the schoolÕs continuance, excellence, legitimacy as an HISD high school, and exemplary status within the performing and visual arts magnet high school genre.

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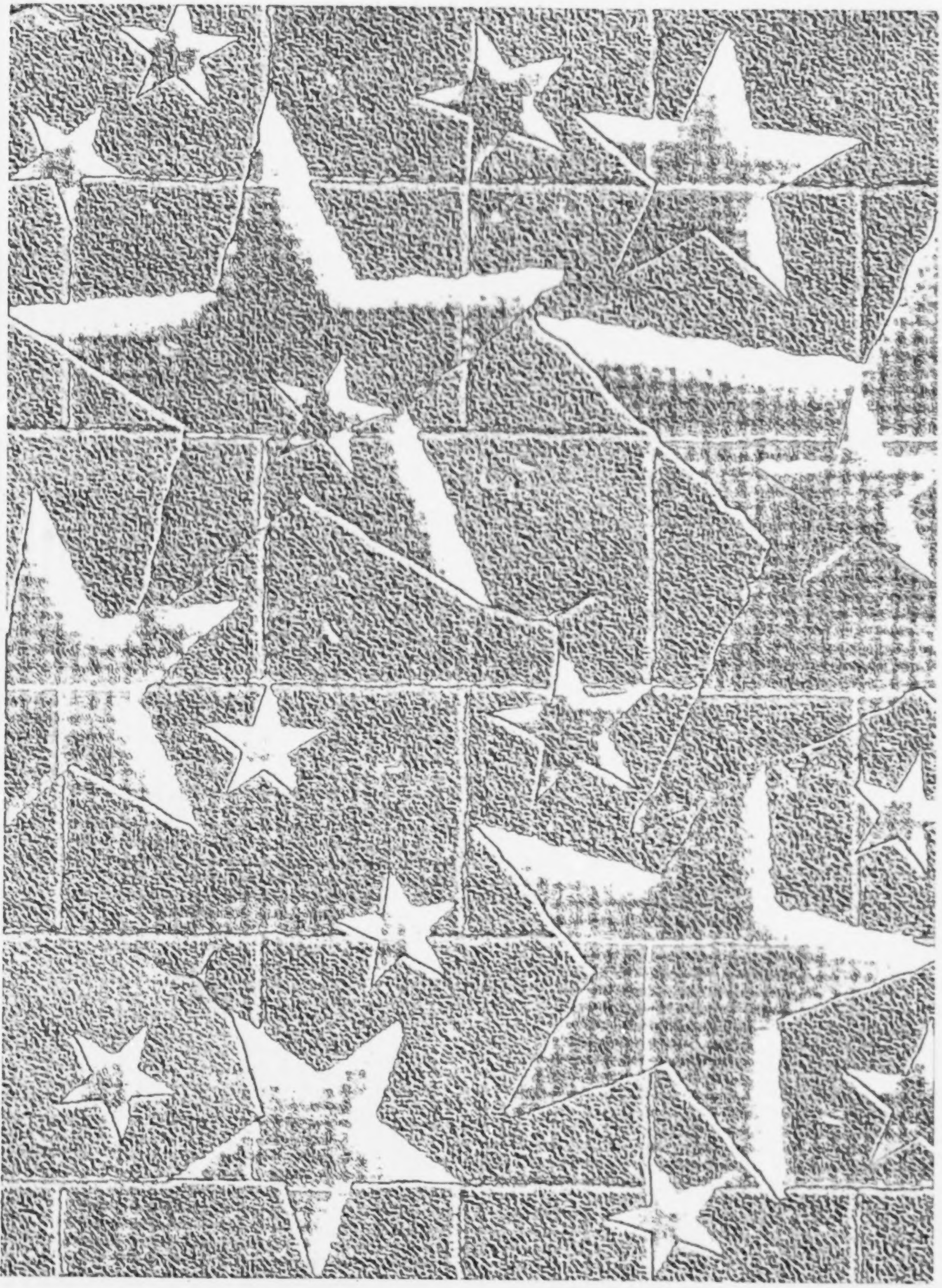

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